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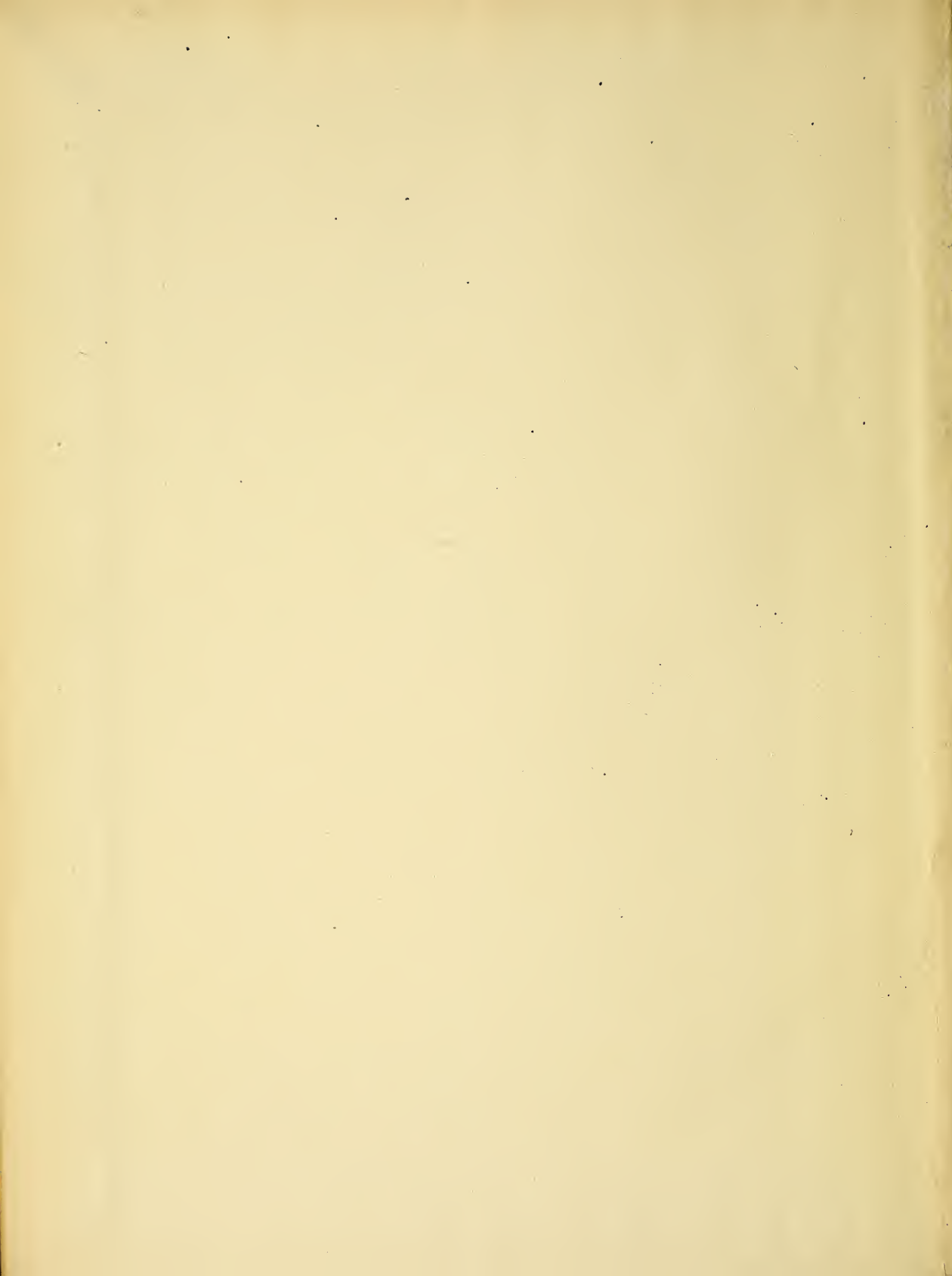
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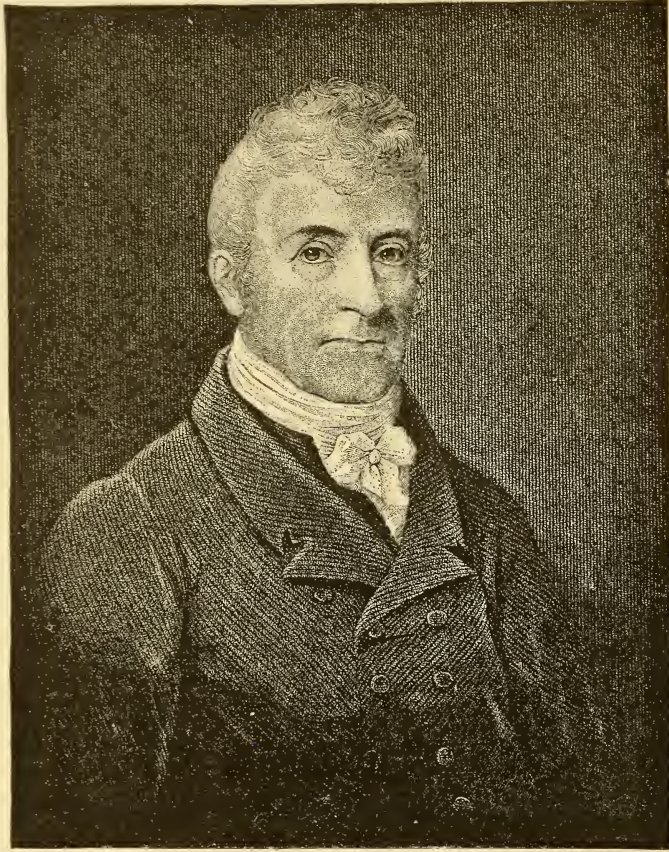


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STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

*S. Van Rensselaer*

THE  
MAGAZINE  
OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY  
WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XI  
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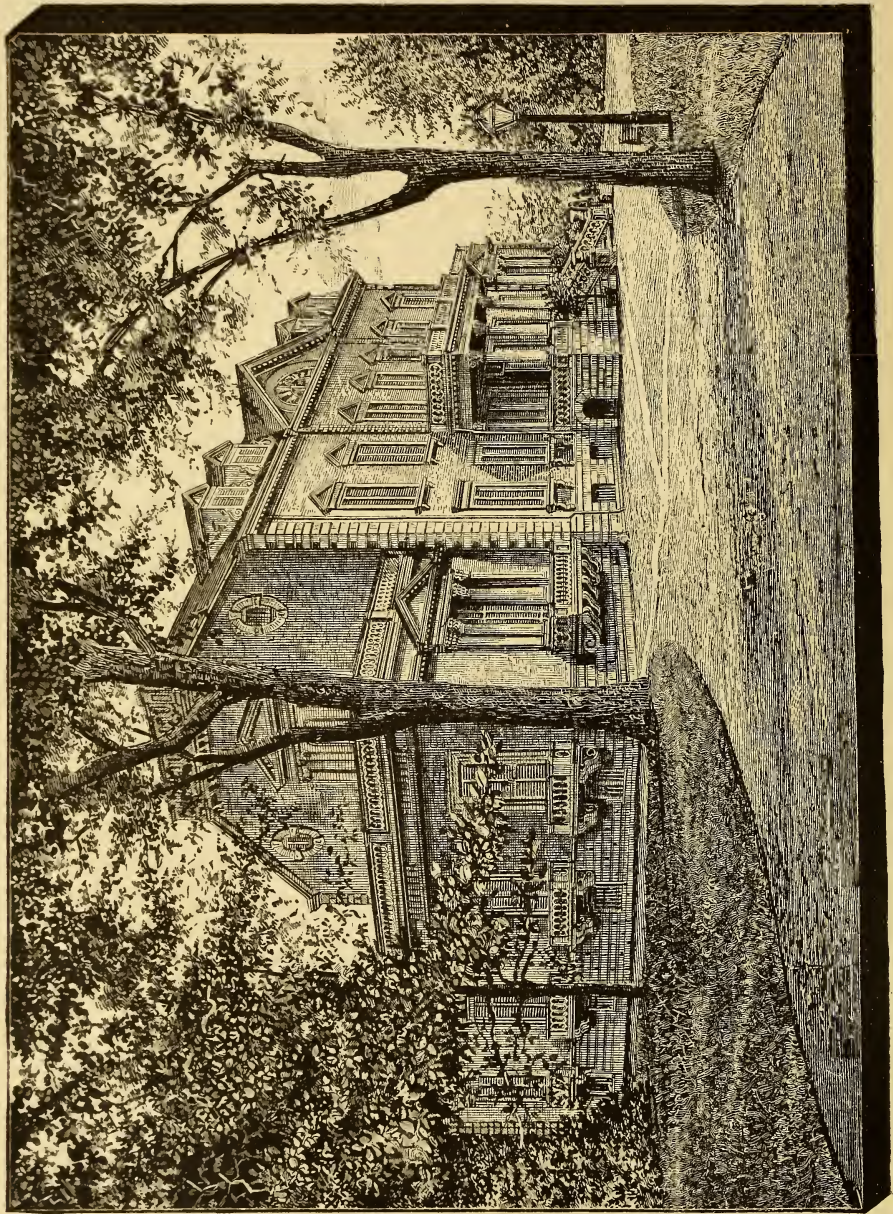
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## THE VAN RENSSELAER MANOR\*

AS we cross the threshold of a new century, the broad and picturesque colonial period lying back of our national existence becomes suddenly invested with fresh attractions. The genius of history is abroad in the land, and the American mind seeks knowledge concerning American beginnings and the progressive conditions of its various generations as never before. An eminent New Englander once said he "could span with his hand two centuries of Massachusetts"—having seen a man whose father had seen the first child born in the harbor of Boston. In a similar sense the intelligent reader may span two and one-third centuries of New York, and go back to the more serious era of advent and settlement, by accompanying the writer on a visit to the princely old edifice in Albany known as the Van Rensselaer manor-house. It is something more and better than an exceptionally interesting relic of colonial days; it is one of the very few existing links which connect us with the feudal institutions introduced into New York from Holland in the earliest century of life in the New World. It stands like a sealed volume—deserted and dismantled—on the level ground between the hill and the Hudson River, a short distance to the north of the Delavan Hotel, and yet—even in its desolation—is a monument of architectural elegance, alive with varied and significant historical associations. It would be difficult to find a private dwelling on this continent in itself possessing so much of the human element, or that more vividly reflects the life and character of its succession of occupants. It was built in 1765—the date in great iron letters gracing the outside of the edifice—and it was so much finer and grander and more gorgeous than any other house of the age that it had the effect of a palace. No picture can do it full justice, or give an adequate idea of its dimensions, the artistic eye having no immediate object of comparison while taking its measure

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THE VAN RENSSELAER MANOR



VAN RENSSELAER MANOR-HOUSE. [FRONT VIEW.]

from the grounds. It has not been inhabited for some half a dozen years—although still in possession of the Van Rensselaer family—but is in charge of the inmates of a lodge by the gateway, from which the approach through a park of magnificent old trees is imposing in the extreme.

Ascending the front steps and passing the massive portals we find the great entrance hall a full third broader than the average city house, or to be more explicit, some thirty-two or thirty-three feet wide. It is decorated with the veritable paper imported from Holland before the Ameri-



THE ENTRANCE HALL.

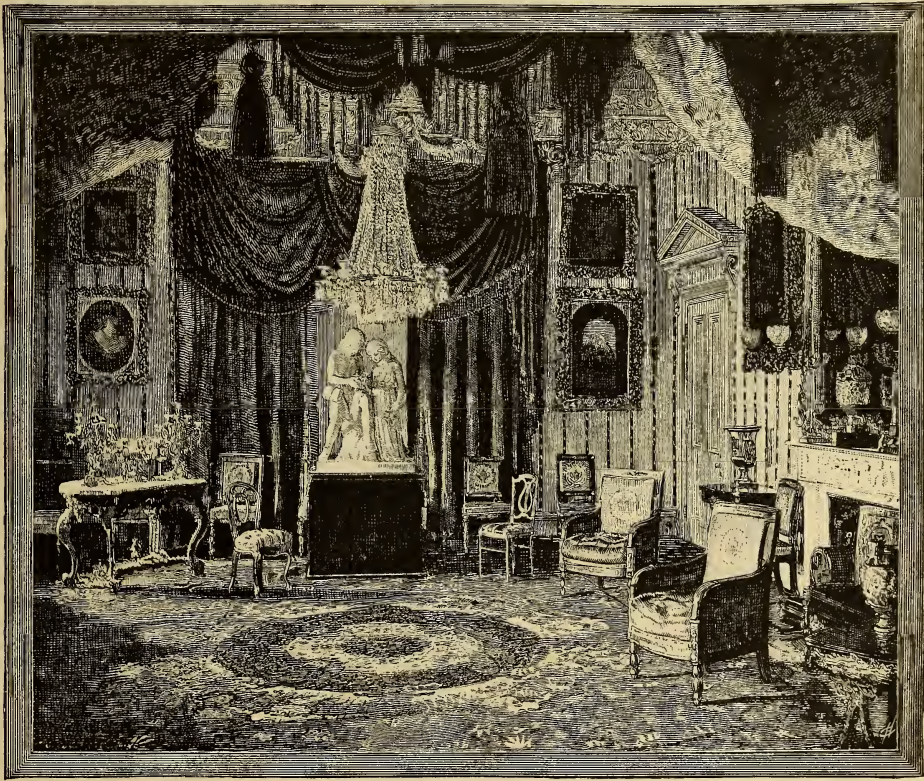
can Revolution, the design being such that it has the appearance of an antique fresco. In the palmy days of the manor a large piece of statuary stood

in the center of this hall, and choice works of art were arranged on every side. The pedestals, or some of them, remain; and a few chairs and sofas, relics of early manufacture, and of a fashion we might any of us rejoice to see in vogue in our own time. On both sides of the entrance hall are two suites of apartments, each some thirty-five feet wide. Those to the right include the spacious drawing-rooms, the state bedroom of the mansion, and an immense library with book-cases of highly polished dark wood in each of its four corners—covering not less than sixty or seventy feet of the wall space. The ceilings are as lofty in proportion as the rooms are extensive; and the finest and most exquisite of old-time hand wood-carving may be studied on every side. To the left of the central hall, in front, is a large, pretentious reception room; in the rear—overlooking beautiful gardens—is the home room of the patroon and his family, with book-cases of ancient and suggestive pattern covering the entire wall on one side; and between these two apartments we have the grand staircase, made in Holland. Beyond this the western wing of the edifice is devoted to a palatial dining-room—the windows of which appear in the sketch—that extends from front to rear, twin, as it were, to the entrance hall. It is handsomely decorated, and has a cheerful, majestic, and thoroughly refined aspect, in harmony with the generous, high-bred, and courtly hospitalities for which it was famous in all the various decades of its history. If its walls could but reflect the portraits of the illustrious men of many countries who have gathered about its festive board from time to time, we should have a gallery of notables worthy of an edifice for special preservation. The ornate character of the wood-carving suggests speech (if not photography) and the imaginative mind is harrowed under its influence with the wit, repartee, learning, magnetic genius and singular foresight of the golden period which it represents.

One incident in the annals of this historic dining-hall will illustrate the many. The patroon gave a banquet in the early part of the present century in honor of one of the first commoners of England, who was on a visit to America. He was a brother-in-law of Earl Grey, and a celebrity who was sixty-two years in parliament, and twice in the king's cabinet. Many years afterward meeting in London a New York gentleman of distinction, this illustrious Briton described the entertainment of the patroon, and pictured in glowing colors the remarkable elegance of the dinner appointments. He said his surprise was unspeakable—that nothing he had ever seen in Europe could excel the magnificence of the scene—as the party, including some twenty public characters of note, of whom was Governor



John Jay, the first chief justice of the United States, proceeded from the superb drawing-rooms, through the stately passages, to the dinner-table, where behind the chair of each guest stood an ebony black negro slave—the blackest of the black—attired in white vest and white apron, to do duty on the occasion; and the narrator dwelt upon other equally striking features of the memorable occasion with undisguised enthusiasm.



THE DRAWING ROOM

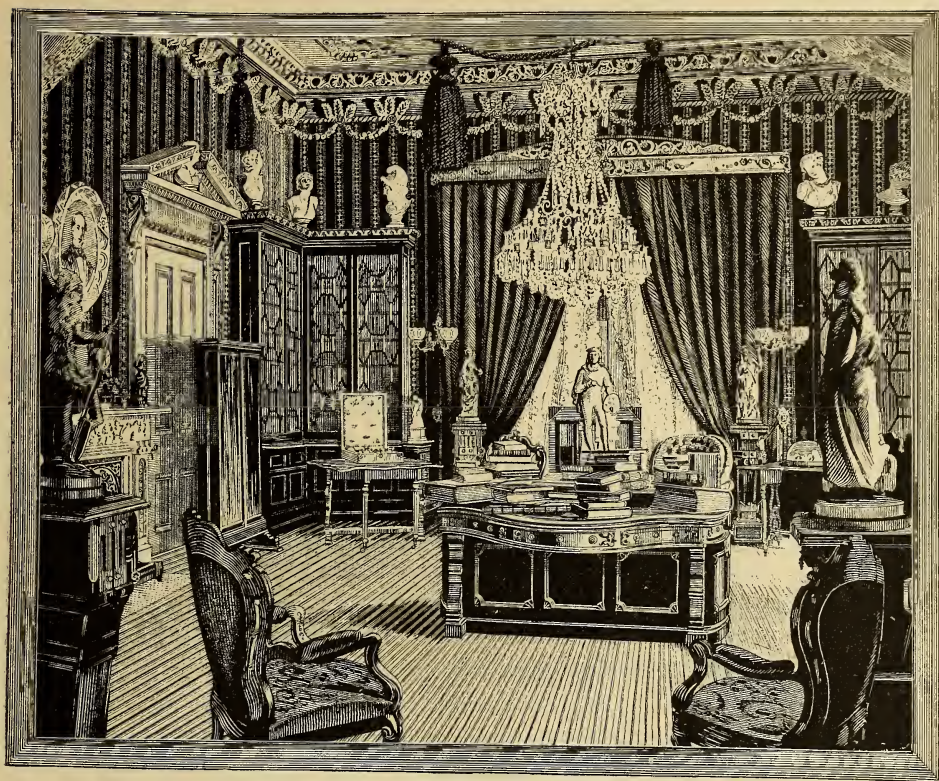
The chambers of the manor-house, on the second floor, correspond very nearly in size, number, and general arrangement, with the apartments below. Large book-cases remain in two or three of these rooms, telling their own story of the habits, tastes, and culture of the family. The third floor is divided into smaller sleeping-rooms—so numerous, that some fanciful writer has counted one hundred! The real number is believed to be fifteen. Scattered through the entire house are pieces of massive and

exquisitely carved furniture, importations from Europe, undoubtedly manufactured for this house in particular, and too large ever to be used in any ordinary sized dwelling, elsewhere, but of such rare novelty and beauty of style and workmanship as to intensify our longing for further knowledge of that bewitching age, which always charms and never tires. The structure has an ample and admirably arranged basement for household convenience—kitchens and cellars—and, as a whole, is a specimen of feudal-republican domestic architecture, quite in keeping with the age of hair-powder, shoe-buckles, high-sounding titles, kingly rule, and lordly possessions. Its windows and shutters are closed to aggressive-looking machine shops hovering ungraciously near; and to countless railway tracks just outside the inclosure. It seems to ignore the present, with its rumble and roar of car-wheels and locomotives shrieking into its privacy at all hours of the day and night—and points loftily to its origin, and the beginning of empire on our soil.

Its builder and first proprietor was Stephen Van Rensselaer, who, at twenty-three years of age, the lord of a domain comprising several hundred thousand acres, brought his handsome young wife and infant son, in a sloop from New York city, to enter upon the sweets of home life under this broad roof. The lady was Catharine, daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence. The infant son, born in New York city, was the afterwards distinguished Stephen Van Rensselaer, known as the general.

Backward let us still further turn, until from the site of this manor-house we have before us a picturesque wilderness on every side, without even a column of smoke to mark the cabin of a European settler. At our feet the Hudson River creeps along its silent way like a huge canal, while across its waters, toward the rising sun, may be seen a billowy, fathomless expanse of green, in all the shades, ending in a soft colorless mist among the Massachusetts hills.

Fancy must sketch the first quaint Dutch craft that appeared in view. Its mission was fulfilled when a trading post was established with the Indians. The Dutch visitors, with their buttons and beads, took the red man's 'soul captive, and carried beaver, wild-cat and rat skins to the Holland market. Furs were much worn in the cold European countries, and hitherto could only be obtained at fabulous prices from Russian and other speculators. If the same skins could be procured in the new world for a few inexpensive trinkets, it was worth grave consideration. The news spread. Visions of sudden wealth dazzled many a Dutch brain. Yet only now and then a Dutch merchant had the temerity to undertake such a long,



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uncertain voyage, at private expense and risk. No purchase of land was effected; no attempt at colonization made; not one family emigrated to the region. The aristocratic Dutch East India Company was in the full tide of its prosperity, coining immense profits from Oriental commerce, and seemed to regard all American traffic as grotesque. Even the discoveries of Hudson under its own flag were turned into ridicule. A movement was in progress, however, making little headway for years, which, breathing fresh impetus from the highly colored reports of the traders on the Hudson, developed into a power that shook the Netherlands from center to circumference, carried to the scaffold the venerable statesman and founder of the Dutch Republic, John of Barneveld, and culminated in that extraordinary corporation, known as the Dutch West India Company—to which New York owes its origin.

Just here, it will not be amiss to observe for a moment the nature of the forces that shaped our feudal institutions.

The gigantic project of the West India Company was born of quarrels—religious, political and commercial. When Spain ruined the ancient trade and opulence of Belgium a new element of commercial strength was driven into Holland. The discontented and fiery Belgian exiles wished to continue hostilities with Spain, until their native province was recovered and their wrongs avenged. Thus they conceived the bold and brilliant scheme of a war-company of private adventurers, to fight an empire that overshadowed the whole earth. To attain their object they kept the political life of Holland in constant ferment for nearly a third of a century. Opposition from the Dutch government and from the powerful East India Company only served to quicken the genius of the enterprise. Barneveld's policy was peace with Spain. In 1606, he inclined so far to the clamor of the Belgians as to encourage the discussion of the West India Company question by the states of Holland, and by the States-General; and the assembly appointed some of its most distinguished members to act as commissioners. But Barneveld never seriously thought of confirming the corporation. He used it merely as a threat for the intimidation of Spain; and chiefly through this menace the twelve years' truce was accomplished in 1609, that played so important a part in the history of the Netherlands.

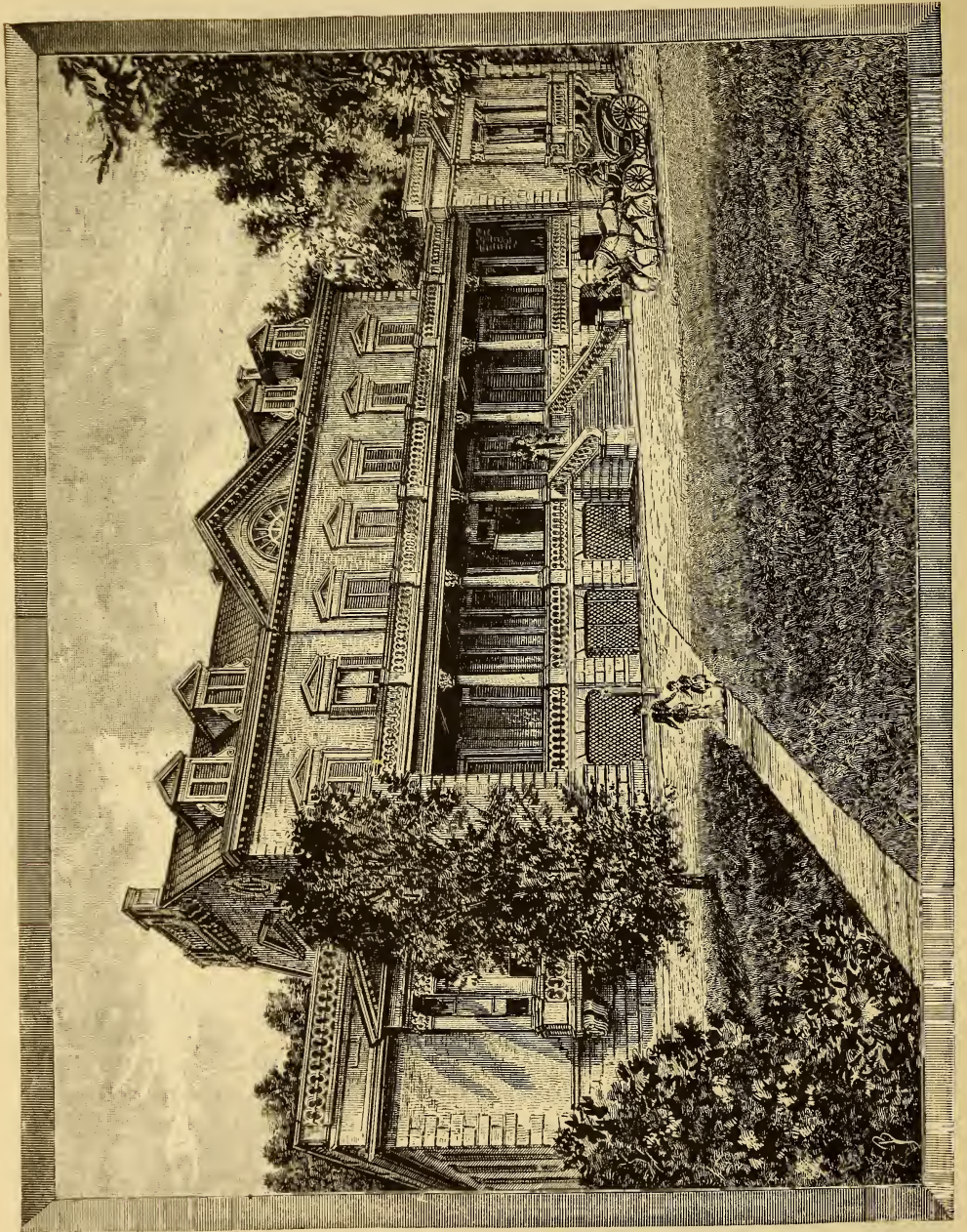
The embittered minority saw the postponement of a pet scheme inevitable, but quietly took the daring steps needful for the sweeping away of obstacles, prior to the expiration of the truce. They found energetic allies, including many influential men from the other Dutch provinces; together with the Prince of Orange, who coveted glory and hoped to wear a crown. Two great political parties were soon divided on a whole host of public questions, as well as the one main point at issue. For a time the outward character of the strife was religious. The Barneveld adherents were Arminians, the Belgians strict Calvinists. Barneveld advocated religious toleration; the Belgians accused him of popery. The clergy, checked on the route to religious despotism, were in sharp conflict with the civil authorities, and presently helped to spread the story (which they perhaps believed) that Barneveld had been bribed with Spanish gold to kill the West India Company. The storm grew into a tempest, and the great advocate fell. The subscription list for the West India Company was at once started, the Calvinists having gained an important victory; but its progress was still hampered by the turmoil, by attacks from the East India Company, and by the failure of sympathy from the Dutch central government. The original plan of the founders of the company was not to carry on trade. They talked of nothing in the earlier part of the struggle for existence but Spanish conquest, and of capturing the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico.

But they had the tact and the diplomacy to modify their stipulations, to meet a special exigency. The English ministers were by this time warning the States-General against permitting Dutch ships to cruise in the New York waters for purposes of traffic; and both governments were striving to define their claims to the disputed savage territory. Attention was adroitly called to the fact that the prospective West India Company would pledge itself to promote the "increase of trade" by "peopling" New York. The current of public opinion suddenly changed, and their High Mightinesses yielded; for actual possession was the only means by which they could possibly hold the fur region of the Hudson.

Ere long the great armed mercantile monopoly became a fixed fact, and was invested with enormous powers. It was authorized to conquer provinces and countries, form alliances (at its own risk) with native princes, build forts, project plantations, appoint officers, and administer justice—subject always to the approval of the States-General. Its admirals on distant seas were authorized to act independently of administration. Its governing body was the College of the XIX., consisting of nineteen delegates from five chambers of managers, located in five principal Dutch cities. The Amsterdam chamber furnished eight of the nineteen delegates, thus its relative consequence may be seen at a glance. Care was exercised in the selection of the directors for each chamber, and men only of wealth and the highest known integrity were eligible for the trust. We can appreciate the need of such caution, for the company was taking upon itself in a private capacity one of the greatest of public burdens—war against a powerful foe. The eight chosen men, who were placed over the affairs of the Amsterdam chamber, commanded, at the time, the entire confidence of the nation. One of these was Kilian Van Rensselaer, the founder of the Van Rensselaer manor, whose name has been handed along through every generation of men who have since had their day in New York and contributed to its progress, and is interwoven with all that is historical in city and state.

The capital of the company was some two and one half million dollars. It received the sanction of the States-General June 21, 1623, and at once proceeded to strike out boldly. Its fleets presently numbered as many as seventy armed vessels each. Its victories were intoxicating. Spain was humiliated by the spectacle. Her vessels, treasure laden, could no longer cross the ocean with safety. In one year the company divided fifty per cent. among its shareholders, and another year seventy-five per cent. To the original capital was added five millions of dollars, almost without an effort. Spanish prizes were captured of enormous value, notably the silver fleet, of

THE VAN RENSSELAER MANOR



VAN RENSSELAER MANOR-HOUSE (REAR VIEW).

nineteen ships, laden with 140,000 lbs. of pure silver! Holland ran wild with excitement when the victors returned, and the admiral who commanded was introduced into the august presence of the States-General, and received the public thanks of the nation. The annals of Holland record with pride those early marvelous successes of this famous corporation, through which her maritime superiority over Spain was established for all time.

But when the stimulus of war ceased the reaction was disastrous. The company lacked the essential elements for founding colonies or commerce. The affairs of New York received only such attention as the actual language of the contract compelled. The Amsterdam chamber was intrusted with the duty of beginning settlements on our soil, and went so far as to send over a few inhabitants, bought Manhattan Island for a great commercial capital, and erected the indefinite stretch of territory along the Hudson, and inland to the Pacific Ocean, into a province, with an enormous seal. By the end of half a dozen years it was obvious that the New York plantation was a failure. A few hundred settlers, more or less, were all that ventured into the savage wilderness; and these complained that the climate was colder in winter than had been expected, and that the means of living were scanty. The directors were chagrined, and avoided speaking of the subject whenever possible. They apologized to the States-General, saying: "The colonizing such wild and uncultivated possessions demands more inhabitants than we can well supply." The fur trade was prosecuted to some extent. But there was not enough of it. None of the soil was yet reclaimed, save a few acres here and there for private needs. Current expenses were lamentably in excess of receipts.

In this dilemma a device for developing the apparent resources of the troublesome province was mentioned at one of the meetings of the Amsterdam chamber, and favorably considered. It was discussed at several subsequent meetings, and finally came before the College of the XIX. A year or more was spent in arranging its details, and then it blossomed into a law, June, 1629, styled the "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions;" its intent was to induce capitalists to remove to New York. It promised to make a great feudal chieftain, with the title of patroon, of any member of the company who would found a colony of fifty adults in the new territory; he would be invested with full property rights, and endowed with baronial honors; he might appoint his own civil, military, and judiciary officers, and administer the laws in person at his option; his tenants would owe him fealty and military service as vassals; his estate would be constituted a manor, or, in Dutch parlance, a patroonship, with

privileges similar to those of a baron in England. This feudal charter contained 31 articles, and not the least among its promises was the importation of negro slaves for the great landholders of the future. The directors argued that strong inducements were required to tempt men across the seas into a region of uncertainties. The Dutch were not driven by persecution like their neighbors. They were doing very well at home, and the prospect must be fancy painted and colored or they would not emigrate. While the question of the charter was pending, Kilian Van Rensselaer sent three of his own vessels to New York, bearing agents instructed to ascertain the most desirable situations for manorial grants, not only for himself, but for three or four of his associate directors. He was one of the most enterprising and influential of the company's officers, and twice during its history is known to have advanced money to save its credit. His ships were frequently placed at the disposal of the company in sudden emergencies, and in other ways contributing to its material prosperity, he seems to have been an important factor of the great institution. His American agents executed their business with discretion, securing three immense tracts of land—one in Delaware, styled "Swaanendael" *valley of swans*—one on the Hudson about Albany, called "Rensselaerswyck"—the "wyck" meaning *retreat* or *place of refuge*—and one in New Jersey, with the musical name of "Pavonia"—the *land of peacocks*.

The Van Rensselaer manor was the only one of the three that survived the changes of the next half century. The land was purchased from the Indians in due form, the larger portions of it during the year 1630. The conveyances were ratified in presence of the governor and his five sage counsellors at Manhattan. The names attached to the deed, which bore the great seal of the province in red wax, were Peter Minuet, Peter Byvelt, Jacob Ellertsen Wissinsk, Jan Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, Reynert Harmenssen, and the private secretary of the governor, Leonad Kool—good Bible names, if that is any index to the character of the worthies. The son of Jansen Brouwer married the daughter of the famous Anetje Jan, and his descendants are to-day among the substantial citizens of the city and state. Leonard Kool was the ancestor of the Cole family in America, the orthography of the name having been twisted through countless variations. The spelling of the Indian names were strictly from sound, doing the work of thought with the least burden of material—in accordance with the "new rules."

Rensselaerswyck was forty-eight miles long and twenty-four miles wide, the Hudson River dividing it into two equal parts. It could hardly have been located more advantageously, even with our present knowledge of the



physical peculiarities of New York. The courses of the Hudson and the Mohawk, in their wonderful adjustments, were from the first the strength of the state, one angle of which rests on the Atlantic, another on the St. Lawrence, and the third on the great lakes, connected by valleys and streams with the Mississippi, whose tributary the Missouri has its source within a single mile of the headwaters of the Columbia River. Van Rensselaer founded his manor at the confluence of the two rivers, which have justly been called the key to the whole continent, and at a time in the world's history when the known geography of America extended scarcely beyond its coast line. Upon the site of his baronial acres have since arisen numerous thriving towns, villages, and cities—of which are Lansingburg, Greenbush, Troy, and Albany. He sent over settlers and their families, servants and merchandise; and as early as the autumn of 1630 a score of habitations were erected. A small settlement close about the fort at Albany, claimed by the West India Company, was called Beverwyck, *Bever-town*. Van Rensselaer's property surrounded this, and his colony grew, multiplied, and became prosperous—more notably prosperous than any other portion of the province. It attracted exceptional attention in Holland through published descriptions of its fertility and productions. Van Rensselaer's ships were continually arriving with planters and appurtenances. The ground was tilled, comfortable houses were built, schools and churches established, and order and method were everywhere apparent.

When the manor was about ten years old every other part of the province was in distress through bloody Indian wars and incompetent rulers, but peace and comfort reigned at Rensselaerswyck. The region about Manhattan Island was desolated, and the terror-stricken inhabitants who escaped the scalping knife huddled in the fort for protection. The winter of 1643 was one of the coldest on record; the suffering people were half clad and half starved—in absolute despair. At this critical moment one of Van Rensselaer's ships sailed up the bay, bearing a cargo of goods for the patroon's store at Rensselaerswyck. Governor Kieft made application for necessaries, and among other specified articles for fifty pairs of shoes for his soldiers, and was refused. His anger was so great that he ordered a forced levy, searched the vessel, and, finding a large supply of guns and ammunition not included in the manifest, confiscated the whole cargo.

As the manor in the natural course of events grew into an independent power, the West India Company were fearful it would prove injurious to the interests of the province, and made overtures to the patroon to cede some of his rights to the corporation. He was satisfied to let things move

on as they had done; and being familiar with the immunities claimed for manors and municipalities in Europe, he exacted all the feudal privileges which had been granted. When the company found he could not be bought over, instructions were given the new governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to circumscribe his jurisdiction as far as possible.

Not far from this date Van Rensselaer died. According to tradition he visited Rensselaerswyck in 1637; but if such were the fact (as many are inclined to doubt) his stay in this country was short. His home was in Amsterdam, and he died in Amsterdam. He was married twice, his first wife, Hellegonde Van Bylet, leaving one son, Johannes, the future patroon. His second wife was Anna, daughter of Johannes Van Wely, to whom he was married in 1727, while the company in which he figured so conspicuously was in the noontide of its wonderful career. She was a woman of property, and of great personal beauty. Her eight children, four sons and four daughters, were all young at the time of her husband's death, and she survived him by a full quarter of a century. Even Johannes was not yet of age, and was by his father's will left under the guardianship of Johannes Van Wely, his grandfather, and ex-governor Wouter Van Twiller, his cousin, whose sister he afterward married. The accompanying picture has been engraved for the *Magazine* from the photograph of an original painting now hanging in the Orphan Asylum at Nykerk. The Holland records inform us that there are two noblemen in the group, one upon the extreme right—Jonkheer Jan Van Rensselaer; one upon the extreme left of the group—Jonkheer Nicolaus Van Dalen. Next to the latter is Dominie Albertus Nyenhaus; and the others are Jacob Van Filen, Wouter van Henckler, and Rykert Van Twiller. Mr. Eugene Schuyler, who caused the painting to be photographed, in a recent visit to Amersfoort, Nykerk, and other towns in Guildersland, writes: "There was scarcely a church that I visited in Guildersland that did not have, somewhere, the Van Rensselaer arms on the tombstones, either alone or quartered with others. The original manor of the family from which the Van Rensselaers took their name is still called 'Rensselaer,' and is about three miles south-east of Nykerk. It was originally a *Reddergoed*, the possession of which conferred nobility. Two other Van Rensselaers are named in the lists of Regents of the Orphan Asylum (of which Jan Van Rensselaer was one of the founders), Richard in 1753, and Jeremias in 1803." The guardians of the young patroon, who were also the executors of Van Rensselaer's estate, selected Herr Brandt Arent Van Slechtenhorst, the scion of a very ancient Holland family, to manage the affairs of Rensselaerswyck, and he was soon at his post. He was not a mild man in any sense of the term.



PORTRAITS OF THE FOUNDERS AND REGENTS OF THE ORPHAN ASYLUM [1638] AT NYKERK, GELDERLAND, HOLLAND.

*[Engraved by permission, from a photograph of the painting by Breckner, in 1645.]*

On the contrary, he was bold, resolute, active, swift in decision, immovable in his opinions, and inclined to be captious as well as caustic. His energies were focused to the exceedingly precise point of undeviating loyalty to the

patroon, and of resisting all pretensions of the company's officers to supreme rulership in New Netherland, having been forewarned of their probable action before he left Holland. He looked like an athlete. He was tall, of almost gigantic proportions, with a round, levelhead on broad square shoulders, nerve and confidence in every line of his strong florid face and every movement of his well-knit frame. In the elements of leadership and in will power he was not inferior to Stuyvesant, and the two remarkable men were presently in a sharp conflict. The governor sent a written order that no buildings should be erected by the patroon within 600 paces of the fort at Albany. Van Slechtenhorst paid no attention to the mandate. A sheriff was then sent up the Hudson to prevent the erection of a fort for the patroon on Beeren Island. The quartermaster of Rensselaerstyn in his turn entered a formal complaint for "meddlesome interference," saying the fort was only to exclude the "canker of freedom from the colonie of Rensselaerswyck," and it was completed, cannon planted, and the patroon's flag hoisted. The next document informs us that Govert Lookermans, of the sloop *Good Hope*, was ordered to strike its colors while passing Beeren Island, and not obeying, a shot was fired from the feudal fortress through the sloop's mainsail, tearing the flag of the Prince of Orange.

Matters were approaching a crisis. Stuyvesant's willing hands were full in straightening all sorts of crooked affairs for a time after he reached the little Dutch dorp which is now our great metropolis. But as soon as other duties permitted, he went to Rensselaerswyck, with a military escort. Arriving at the fort he summoned Van Slechtenhorst into his presence to answer for contempt of authority, who came at once, and charged Stuyvesant with proceeding contrary to all ancient order and usage, as if he, the governor, was lord of the patroon's colony! Stuyvesant retorted with offended dignity, and Van Slechtenhorst retorted in turn.

Stuyvesant said the buildings were objectionable, and endangered the fort, and Van Slechtenhorst declared, hotly, that the soil on which they stood belonged to the patroon, and that the governor's argument was a mere pretext, and used several forcible expressions in Dutch, difficult to translate into good English. No definite results were obtained, and the parting was in high temper on both sides. As soon as Stuyvesant sailed for New York, Van Slechtenhorst continued his improvements, precisely as before. Stuyvesant wrote to him that force would be used if he did not desist; but it only provoked an impertinent response, with a scathing criticism upon the technical formality of the governor's legal proceedings.

The angry Van Slechtenhorst even went so far as to issue orders forbidding the officers of the garrison from cutting timber or picking stone from the Van Rensselaer domain, with which the fort was completely environed. As soon as this came to Stuyvesant's ears he sent a military force to arrest Van Slechtenhorst, and demolish the buildings in question. The mission was full of thorns, and was not altogether accomplished. Van Slechtenhorst was a shrewd lawyer; ridiculed with grim humor the irregularity of the summons, and refused to appear with his papers and commissions at Manhattan, until the order was in correct legal form. He demanded, furthermore, a copy in writing of the governor's claims and complaints. The savages wondered why "Wooden Leg," as they called Stuyvesant, wanted to destroy houses which were to shelter the people in winter! "Come to us," they said, "and we will give you plenty of land." As the excitement increased, through the insolent bearing of the soldiers, the Indians were with difficulty restrained from an attack. The troops were prudently withdrawn, and the houses left standing. But Van Slechtenhorst was commanded to appear in the month of April following, at Manhattan.

Stuyvesant was sorely perplexed. But he never lacked the courage to carry out to the very letter the peculiar policy of the company; and the insubordination of Van Slechtenhorst was becoming notorious.

It was a curious spectacle. A legally established government within a government, with prerogatives of sovereignty and baronial appendages, akin to a principality. The child was too much for the parent. What to do about it was the problem.

News traveled slowly in those primitive days, and Stuyvesant, before proceeding to extremities, desired to consult the Amsterdam chamber. The directors wrote to him that they were informed "The proprietors of Rensselaerswyck were determined no one should navigate the Hudson River with a commercial view," and ordered that Béeren Island, which the patroon's agents had usurped in "such lofty way," be deprived of its artillery. They derided the pretensions of Van Slechtenhorst to the soil about the fort, which was constructed and garrisoned years before Rensselaerswyck had an existence; and speaking of the New York province in general, which formerly was scarcely mentioned in Holland, observed: "Now it would seem as if all heaven and earth were interested in it." Stuyvesant sent two proclamations to Albany, one annulling Van Slechtenhorst's ordinances, which had prohibited the cutting of firewood for the uses of the fort from the unfenced forests; the other annulling all grants of land from the patroon's agent, within six hundred paces of the fort. The procla-

mations were totally disregarded, and the first soldier who went into the woods for fuel was arrested for trespass. This audacity filled the measure of Stuyvesant's forbearance, and Van Slechtenhorst was arrested and imprisoned four months in the fort at the Battery, from which he made his escape by secreting himself on a sloop bound for Albany, the skipper of which he had fully indemnified against possible harm. Of course the skipper was arrested and tried by the governor on his return to Manhattan, but the fine was paid by Van Slechtenhorst, who estimated the cost of his luckless trip down the Hudson at about 1,000 guilders.

Once more at Rensselaerswyck, he caused the oath of allegiance to the patroon and his representatives to be taken by all the householders and freemen of the baronial colony, in order to hold more firmly the populous little village about the fort. Shortly afterward some of the soldiers were guilty of aggressions which nearly produced a civil war. On a new year's frolic they threw ignited cotton upon the roof of Van Slechtenhorst's house, and the most active exertions only on the part of the family saved it from destruction. The next day Van Slechtenhorst's son meeting some of the mischief-makers, accosted them threateningly, whereupon they charged upon him and beat him until his life was in danger. Young Schuyler, who had recently married his sister, rushed to his assistance, and was coolly notified by the commander of the fort to keep out of the way, or he would run him through with his drawn sword. Others interfered, but the soldiers were victorious, and the commander ordered the guns of the fort, loaded with grape, to be turned upon the manor-house of the patroon, promising to batter it down if there was an attempt at revenge. The next sensation was a placard from the governor, declaring the jurisdiction of the fort to extend over a circumference of six hundred paces around the citadel, which he ordered published through the colony "with the sound of the bell." The commander, with nine soldiers in full uniform, proceeded to the court-house of the manor, where the magistrates were in session, and demanded the ringing of the court-house bell, and the reading of the placards. Van Slechtenhorst, who was presiding over the court, ordered the intruder to leave the room, exclaiming: "It shall not be done as long as we have a drop of blood in our veins, nor until we receive orders from their High Mightiness and our honored masters." It was contrary to law for a man to enter another's jurisdiction with an armed posse, without previous consent of the local authorities. But the commander of the fort either did not know or care for the legal issues; he retired, but it was only to increase his force. He returned, ordered the porter to ring the bell, and that being vigorously opposed, he caused the fort bell to be

rung three times, then mounted the steps of the manorial court-house, and directed his deputy to read the placards. As the latter was about to obey, Van Slechtenhorst rushed forward and tore the paper from his hands, "so that the seals fell to the ground." Violent words followed, and the crowd were about to engage in a general scrimmage, when the youthful Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer looking on, exclaimed; "Go home, my good friends, it is only the wind of a cannon ball, fired six hundred paces off!"

The messenger to Stuyvesant from the fort, with an account of the affair, returned as soon as practicable, with another placard, and orders to affix copies of it to posts, to be erected on the new line at every side of the fort. The posts went up in the night time, and Van Slechtenhorst tore the posters down contemptuously as soon as they appeared. He pronounced the act illegal, and in direct violation of the sixth article of the charter of 1629; drawing up a long remonstrance against the "unbecoming pretensions" of the governor, whom he declared had no authority over Rensselaerswyck whatever. The patroon's lands, he said, had been erected in a perpetual fief, which no order emanating from the West India Company was sufficient to destroy. This paper was denounced by Stuyvesant as "libelous." A rumor soon reached Rensselaerswyck that Stuyvesant was coming up with a gallows on which to hang Van Slechtenhorst, his son, and young Van Rensselaer. The exasperated governor was actually on the way, but the romance of the rumor—the gallows—was not a portion of his luggage. When he arrived he sent orders to the manor-house for the patroon to strike his flag. Van Slechtenhorst refused peremptorily. The soldiers who bore the order then entered the grounds, fired a volley from their loaded muskets, and hauled down the flag themselves. Stuyvesant proceeded to erect a court of justice in the village, apart from and independent of the court of the manor, the notice of which was posted on the Van Rensselaer court-house; but this notice was torn down in a twinkling, and a proclamation asserting the rights of the patroon posted in its place.

The day following armed men broke in the doors of Van Slechtenhorst's house and forcibly conveyed him to the fort, where he was excluded from all communication with his wife, children or friends; and (according to his memorial), his furs, clothing and food were left hanging on the door-posts. He was soon removed to New York, "to be tormented," he said, "by unheard-of and unsufferable persecutions." It was months before he was brought to trial, and then the case was too complicated for a decision to be reached. He remained under "civil arrest," spending his time chiefly on Staten Island.

The course of Stuyvesant was variously criticised, but it severed the village of Beverwyck, the germ of the present city of Albany, from the estate of the Van Rensselaers. Before returning to Manhattan, Stuyvesant issued patents for several lots of land within the prescribed boundary, to confirm more emphatically the right of the West India Company to the soil. The whole controversy, in due course of events, was brought before the States-General, in Holland, who inclined to favor the patroon instead of the corporation, which it was proven had never purchased, and did not own, a foot of land at Albany. The soil on which Fort Orange stood was included in the purchase made by the patroon.

After the English came into possession of New York, Nicolls, the English governor, ordered the renewal of all land patents. Jeremias Van Rensselaer created a buzz of excitement by claiming Albany as a part of Rensselaerswyck. Nicolls declined to admit the claim, referring the question to the Duke of York. It continued unsettled until 1673, when New York was retaken by the Dutch, and then, at that late day, came an order from the States-General for the restoration of Beverwyck to the patroon. Before obedience could be enforced, New York was again an English province; but the same order was issued by the Duke of York's law council in England, and Sir Edmond Andros was instructed to deliver up the village to the patroon, who was authorized to levy a tax of three beavers on each dwelling house for thirty years, and afterwards such an amount as could be agreed upon with the inhabitants. Andros never executed the order, and his successor, Governor Dongan, said it was "all wrong for the second best town of the government to be in the hands of any particular man." He visited in person the patroon, and made formal purchase of a concession of his feudal rights over the miniature capital of our state, and from thence sixteen miles into the country westward. The next year (1686) Albany was incorporated into a city. Its houses at the time were clustered thickly around the fort, which stood about half-way up the present State street. The shape of the village, as Dongan found it, was an equilateral triangle, with its base on the margin of the river, and the fort as the apex, the whole inclosed with a heavy board fence. The church stood at the foot of State street, and sustained three pieces of artillery. The business of the villagers was almost exclusively traffic with the Indians. Domine Megapolensis wrote about the year 1641, "The turkeys and deer are so numerous that they come to the houses to feed, and are taken by the Indians with so little trouble that a deer sold to the Dutch is equal in value to a loaf of bread, a knife, or a tobacco pipe." The farming interest was almost exclusively connected with the manor of Rensselaerswyck.



The valiant and irrepressible Van Slechtenhorst was succeeded in the directorship by Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, a half brother of the second patroon, Johannes. The latter had once or twice visited his great possessions in New York, but he resided in Holland. Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer was not more than twenty-two years of age at this time—a bright, magnetic, dashing young potentate, who, notwithstanding Stuyvesant pronounced him frivolous, was exceedingly popular with his people. Philip Petersen Schuyler was also twenty-two when he reached Albany in the early part of 1650. The first important event in his career thereafter (of which we have any definite knowledge) was his marriage to Margritta, one of the daughters of Van Slechtenhorst. The wedding festivities in the manor-house on the 12th day of December, 1650, brought together all the best people of the province. The bride was herself twenty-two, and resembled her father in many ways; she was fully his equal in independence of spirit and force of character. Her life extended over a

period of sixty years after her nuptials, and nearly all of her ten children distinguished themselves in the affairs of New York. It is said that after her husband's death in 1634, she exercised a controlling influence in the public affairs in Albany. During the exciting scenes connected with the revolution of 1689, while the French were coming down like a cloud from the north, she advanced funds to pay troops at Albany. When Jacob Leisler sent Milburne from New York to command the Albany fort, and the whole town resented the interference, it is said that Mrs. Schuyler in great indignation made a personal assault upon the "usurper's deputy," as Milburne was called, while he was attempting to force an entrance to the fortress of which her son Peter, the mayor of Albany, was in charge. A party of Mohawks appeared upon the hill at this critical moment, and threatened to fire upon the Leisler soldiers if they persisted in their purpose. Milburne saw his defeat, and was obliged to retire in humiliation.

Mrs. Schuyler had two daughters, upon each of whom her mantle fell with exceeding grace. Gertrude was the wife of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the mayor of New York city at that same troublous period—a tall, grandly proportioned woman, with a touch of imperialism about her as if born to command. One instance of her heroism in the midst of the

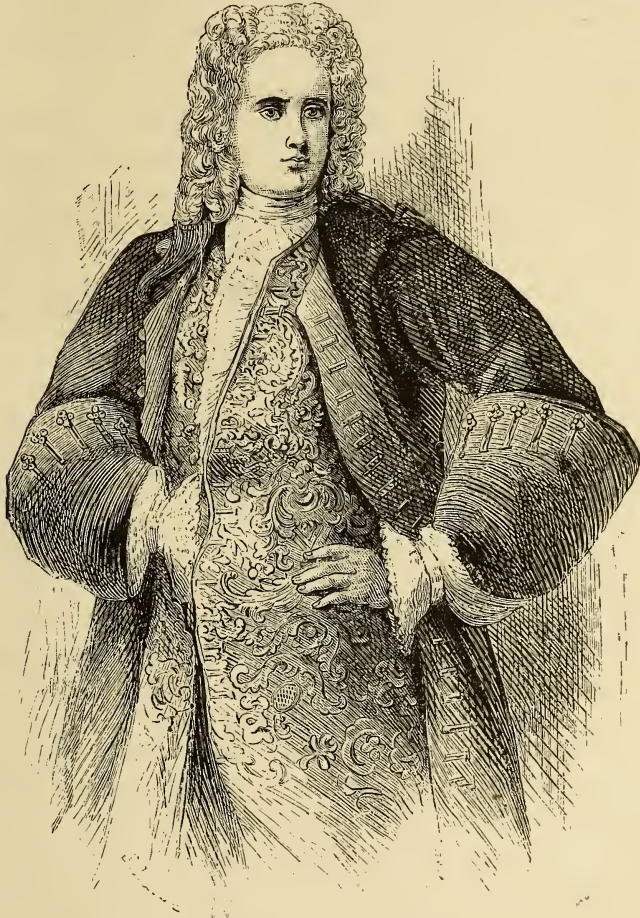


VAN RENSSELAER ARMS ON THE  
CHURCH WINDOW.

confusion of those extraordinary events, was when a constable came to her house for the city charter, seals, records, etc., after her husband had failed to escape imprisonment. The treasures were demanded from her in vain. She was presently visited by a sergeant-at-arms, but upon learning his errand she coolly shut the door in his face and defied his blustering threats. Alida Schuyler was next to Gertrude in point of age, and at seventeen married Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer, the eighth child of the first patroon, and brother of the second patroon. He was an ordained clergyman, who had been licensed by Charles I. to preach in the Dutch church at Westminster, and came to New York recommended by James, Duke of York, to fill one of the Dutch pulpits in the province. His familiar acquaintance with Charles commenced when the latter was an exile in Holland, whose restoration to the throne he predicted. Soon after that happy event, Van Rensselaer was appointed chaplain to the Dutch embassy in England, where he was quickly recognized by the king, who presented him with a gold snuff-box with his royal portrait on the lid. The dominie died in Albany. His widow in 1673 married Robert Livingston, the founder of the Livingston family in America. Thus not only the Schuylers but the whole race of Livingstons, also one of the leading branches of the Van Cortlandts, as well as many of the Van Rensselaers, trace their descent from the courageous and able Van Slechtenhorst.

In 1658 Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer returned to Holland, where he married and remained. His next brother, Jeremias, succeeded him as Director of Rensselaerswyck, and for sixteen years managed its affairs with discretion and acceptance. His portrait represents a singularly handsome man, in a richly embroidered waistcoat, and large cuffed, much befrogged velvet coat, with ruffles about his well-shaped hands. His wig is densely curled and powdered, and his delicate frills and necktie seem to indicate that he was not without his share of human vanity. He acquired great influence among the Indians, and won the sincere respect of the French in Canada. His correspondence, which still exists, shows native talent and enormous industry. His autograph is remarkable for its beauty, and is one of the most characteristic that could be found in a century. He presided over the Landtag, or Diet, that assembled in New York city about five months before the surrender of the province, it having been called by Stuyvesant to discuss the precarious condition of affairs and give advice. From the records it appears that his conduct of the meeting in dignity and ceremony could hardly have been excelled by their High Mightinesses themselves. His wife was Maria, daughter of

Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt, the first of the family in New York: their daughter, Maria Van Rensselaer, married Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany. Thus Van Rensselaer, Schuyler, Livingston, and Van Cortlandt were not only contemporaries, but brothers-in-law all around—and in a certain sense members of the same family circle. Anna, another



JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER.

daughter of Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Maria Van Cortlandt, married her cousin Kilian, son of Johannes, the second patroon; he died in New York, without children, and she subsequently married William Nicolls. It was her daughter, Mary, who in 1713 became the wife of Robert Watts, the founder of the Watts family in New York. The only son of Jeremias

Van Rensselaer became the next patroon; his name was Kilian, and he married his cousin, who bore the same name as his mother, Maria Van Cortlandt. She was the daughter of Mayor Stephanus and Gertrude Schuyler Van Cortlandt. This patroon occupied a seat in the assembly from 1691 to 1703, and he was the first grantee of the manor under the patent of 1704. His two sons, Jeremias and Stephen, were successive lords of the manor. The former died without children. Stephen died in 1747, leaving a son Stephen, five years of age, who upon reaching his majority built the manor-house as heretofore stated.

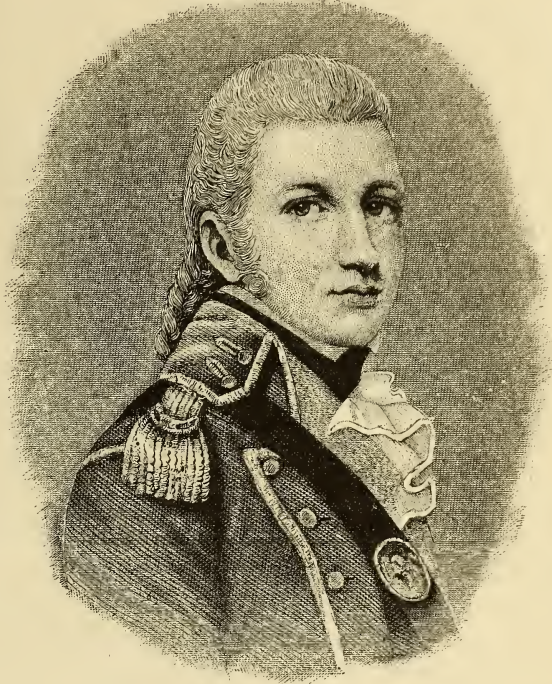
To many of the present generation a simple sketch of the style of life of these old feudal chieftains would read like a veritable romance. Upon the Van Rensselaer manor there were at one period several thousand tenants, and their gatherings were similar to those of the old Scottish clans. When a lord of the manor died these people swarmed about the manor-house to do honor at the funeral. They regarded the head of the family with reverence, a feeling shared by the whole country. The manor-house was well peopled with negro slaves. The manor always had its representative in the assembly; and whenever it was announced in New York that the patroon was coming to the city by land, the day he was expected crowds would turn out to see him drive through Broadway with his coach and four as if he were a prince of the blood. An actual glimpse of the Van Rensselaer estate, in its old time grandeur, would unfold as much to astonish the progressive New Yorkers of to-day, as the patroons of colonial memory would be lost in wonder and amazement could they but be with us long enough to cross the Brooklyn Bridge!

Stephen Van Rensselaer, the fifth in the direct line, and the last of the patroons, was destined to bridge the chasm between the two opposite political systems. He belonged in a manner to both. He was the scion of a feudal aristocracy that had a legalized and legitimate growth, and yet the country did not contain a more conscientious republican than he. Born in 1764, the subject of a king, with immense inherited estates as well as chartered baronial rights, the proprietary of a landed interest remarkable for any country, he favored from his earliest youth the changing sentiment in America regarding popular sovereignty—and cherished the democratic doctrine that all men are equal; nor during his entire life did he ever lament the loss of his power and consequence. When he came into possession of his vast domains, shortly after peace was restored, he is said to have leased as many as nine hundred farms, of one hundred and fifty acres each, on long terms. His education was obtained in the midst of the excitements of the Revolution. His grandfather Livingston placed him for a time at school

in Elizabeth, New Jersey; then he was at Kingston under John Addison's tuition; and as the fortunes of war drove people from one point to another, he came under the care of the famous scholar and patriot, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, the President of Princeton College, which proving too near the seat of war, he was removed the next year to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he was graduated with honors in 1782. He married before he was twenty the daughter of General Philip Schuyler, and thus was brought into near relationship with both Schuyler and Alexander Hamilton. The wife of John Jay was his cousin. His mother married after the death of his father, the Rev. Ellardus Westerlo, of Albany, and occupied the manor-house until he reached an age to take possession of his property. Philip Van Rensselaer, his only brother, married the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt: he was mayor of Albany for many years. Their only sister married John Bradstreet Schuyler. The young patroon was soon in public life. In the great struggle over the constitution, he was a warm partisan, espousing the cause which his brother-in-law, Hamilton, was using his wonderful genius to promote. In 1789 Van Rensselaer was elected to the assembly by a large majority. Ere long he became an arm of strength to his party. He was much admired by Washington, and while New York was the seat of the national government, he was a frequent and welcome guest at the first president's table. In 1790 he was elected to the Senate of the state. In 1795 he was chosen lieutenant-governor of the state, with John Jay governor. In 1798 both gentlemen were renominated, and both re-elected. Van Rensselaer had not even an opposing candidate, both parties having made him their choice. It was said no individual in the state, at the time, carried with him a more potent personal influence. And it was the man, not the trappings. He seemed to have inherited the virtues of all his notable ancestors, with none of their vices. He was a Christian, a philanthropist, and a patriot, as well as a gentleman. He assumed nothing, he offended no one. His judgment was respected, and his unconquerable firmness wherever a principle was at stake was well known. The worst thing that his political opponents said of him was that he was rich. He did not esteem himself so very rich, for, in spite of his great landed interests, his income from the rents never exceeded two per cent., if they did one per cent., upon the property, at a very moderate valuation. He was glad to bring his lands under cultivation, but would take no steps to increase his receipts. If rents were not paid the tenants were not disturbed. In 1801 the New York election for governor was a spirited conflict. Van Rensselaer was again a candidate for lieutenant-governor, and this time was beaten. During the

excitement a rumor was started that his tenantry in arrears for rent were to be prosecuted for payment if they refused to vote for him. As soon as the report reached his ears, the high-minded patroon immediately denied it in all the papers printed in Albany and the surrounding country, assuring his tenants that he wished them to vote as in their judgment duty required, and that no man should be molested who voted against him. As years rolled on he was one of the foremost in any and every measure for the public good. He interested himself in agriculture, and in the manufacture of wool; was one of the incorporators of the first wool company in the state, the date of the charter being 1809. He engaged in laborious enterprises for the promotion of various industries, and for education and science, and the general welfare and prosperity of the state. He was one of the first commissioners appointed to explore a route for the Erie canal in 1819, and with Dewitt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris rode on horseback from Albany to Lake Erie. When the war of 1812 brought the borders of New York into a situation of dire peril, and Governor Tompkins ordered into immediate service a considerable body of militia, Van Rensselaer was appointed to take the chief command; he did not hesitate, but bidding adieu to his luxurious home, marched to the frontier with the utmost dispatch. The choice of the patroon for this position occasioned much comment. He was known to be greatly opposed to the war, and he was not a military man. He was, moreover, the political opponent of Governor Tompkins, and the two were regarded as rival candidates for the governorship of the state at the next spring election. The Federalists were accused of every phase of hostility to the war—and particularly of cherishing designs averse to its successful prosecution. And Van Rensselaer was a Federalist. Thus the wonder grew. But it was easily explained, at least by those who were in Tompkins' confidence. It was a master stroke of war policy, since the example of a man of such wealth and prominence in the state would influence favorably the disaffected. In accepting the appointment the patroon made his own course in the matter conditional with the appointment of his cousin, Solomon Van Rensselaer, the adjutant-general of the state, as his aid and counsellor. The latter was the son of General Henry Kilian Van Rensselaer, who was wounded at the capture of Burgoyne. Solomon was ten years younger than the patroon, was a born soldier, like his father before him, and was well versed in military science. It was generally understood that Colonel Solomon would be the general in a practical military point of view. He had seen service in the wilderness of Ohio under Anthony Wayne in the old Indian wars, and distinguished himself at the notable battle at the foot of Maumee Rapids

in 1794—then only a boy of twenty—by leading his mounted troops in one of the most brilliant and effective charges ever made against the savages of this region—in which action, however, he was severely wounded. He married his cousin, Harriet Van Rensselaer, the incidents of which are tinged with romance. The mother of the lady was opposed to the match, but the father was proud of his handsome nephew and quite willing that he should become his son-in-law. While the mother was taking her accustomed afternoon nap one frosty afternoon in the library, the young soldier was married to her daughter in the next room, and, after the ceremony, the venerable dominie who officiated, the father of the bride, and the bridegroom all climbed out of a back window, and the mother was none the wiser for some days.



*Sol Van Rensselaer.*

About the time the two Van Rensselaers started on their unpromising trip to Niagara, the patrol invited John Lovett, an Albany lawyer, afterward member of Congress, to become his military secretary. He was a man of genius, charming in conversation, full of anecdote, and an acknowledged wit. His letters give graphic pictures of the hardships the officers were obliged to endure as well as the soldiers, in this memorable campaign. In deciding where to establish his headquarters, the general and his staff rode along the frontier for several days, in the tiresome occupation of prospecting in a wild, woody country. They were obliged to seek shelter, on one occasion, in a deserted house, at midnight. Lovett wrote: "We placed our general on the table, about four and a half feet long, crooked

up his legs, borrowed a thick blanket of a soldier, and covered him up quite comfortably. The colonel then laid down upon two boards, in his great coat. I selected a large Dutch oven, as the thought struck me it would be the safest retreat from the vermin. But how to get in it I knew not. I finally took a wide board, placed one end in the mouth of the monstrous oven, laid myself on the board, and bade the sergeant of the guard raise up the other end and push me into the oven; and in I went, like a pig on a wooden shovel; and there I staid, and had one of the loveliest night's rest of my life." The exciting incidents of that struggle, in which these two Van Rensselaers were conspicuous officers, would be interesting in any connection. It was a fiery ordeal in more ways than one. At the storming of Queenstown, Colonel Solomon was carried bleeding from the field, and his life was in extreme peril for five days. A cot was finally rigged with cross-bars and side poles, upon which he was carried to Buffalo, by a party of riflemen, who expressed their readiness to bear him on their shoulders from Buffalo to Albany. When he finally, weeks afterward, reached his home, he was met in the outskirts of the town by a cavalcade of citizens, and received with the honors of a victor.

The patroon, after the war, entered heart and soul into the canal project. During one of the debates in the assembly he sent in a proposition for undertaking the whole Erie canal at his own expense, so confident was he of the vast profits and advantages in prospect. He was a member of Congress from 1823 to 1829, and had the honor, by giving the casting vote, of determining the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency of the nation. He was, through all those years, a regent of the University of the State, and subsequently became its chancellor. He established a scientific school at Troy, which was incorporated in 1826 as the Rensselaer Institute; he bearing fully one half of its current expenses. It was under his direction and at his own private cost that Amos Eaton, senior professor in the Institution, made geological surveys of New York, in 1821. He was also one of the founders of the Albany Institute, and its first president. He was a man of fine personal appearance, tall, fully six feet, very straight and symmetrical, weighing perhaps 180 pounds. He dressed plainly, but with scrupulous elegance, and had the graceful, courteous, dignified manners of the old school. He walked a great deal, much more than he rode, and was usually seen every day on the streets of Albany. His countenance was lighted with a benign expression, and no one could see him without respecting him. No act of his life seems to have provoked criticism or reproof. The hereditary title of patroon was yielded to him by common courtesy and consent to the end of his life. It was never claimed, but always conceded.



His first wife died early, leaving one son, Stephen. He married again, in 1802, Cornelia Patterson, only daughter of Judge Patterson of the Supreme Court. They had nine children, and at the death of the patroon the manor property was divided among them.

Then came the anti-rent difficulties, by which the public peace and tranquillity were severely disturbed. This subject requires a special chapter in itself.\* The heirs claimed the payment of rents. The indulgence of the patroon had extended over so long a period of years that the tenants were all in debt. They resisted the steps taken to collect rents, and complained that these semi-feudal land tenures were totally inconsistent with the spirit and genius of republican institutions. When the matter was pressed, they armed and disfigured themselves as Indians, and offered such resistance to the civil officers, that military interference became necessary. The governor sent troops to quell the riotous proceedings, and the disturbances attracted national attention. The newspapers were full of the subject, it was carried into politics, and then into the courts. In the end the state constitution of New York, 1846, abolished all feudal tenures. The leases were converted into freeholds—that is, the parties who had rented bought their farms, giving mortgages; and thus became freeholders instead of tenants.

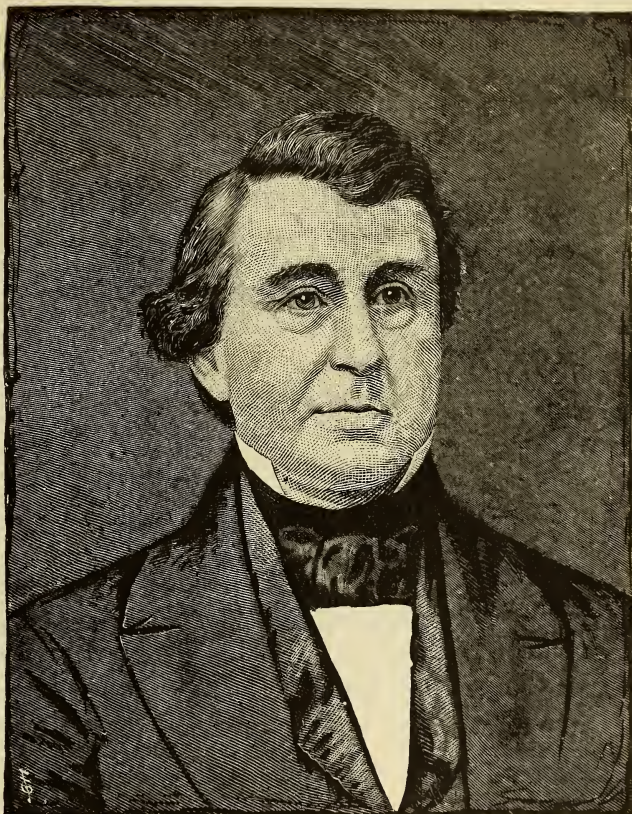
The eldest son of the patroon, Stephen, inherited the manor-house and manor property on the Albany side of the Hudson, but it was by will, not by the right of primogeniture. He married Harriet E. Bayard. The style of living which had hitherto characterized the old feudal manor-house, the relic which has enabled us to span the centuries in this brief, rapid way, was modified, but not materially changed. The edifice itself was repaired, and its two great wings were then added. It was still the seat of a generous hospitality, and social, political, and literary magnates were entertained under its broad roof. One incident touching upon a literary visitor is interesting. When the afterwards well-known author, John L. Stephens, was graduated from college he was sent abroad for his health, and journeyed in the Holy Land. He wrote letters concerning his travels, which were gathered and thought worthy of publication by Harper Brothers. As the book was about to be issued he (having by that time returned to New York) became exceedingly nervous and uneasy—like many another budding author—fearful his friends had made a mistake in thinking too highly of his crude efforts, and apprehending that the work would be torn in pieces and ridiculed by the critics; he had not the courage to face the ordeal, and,

\* Special chapter devoted to this subject hereafter.

slipping away, went quietly to Albany, where, acquainted with the Van Rensselaers, he was shortly invited to the manor-house to dine. While at the dinner table the *Albany Evening Journal* was thrown in, and one of the young ladies of the family commenced its perusal. After a few moments the patroon remarked to his daughter, "You may tell us the news if there is any, after you have finished reading the marriages and society items, which young ladies always first examine." She replied, "Yes, there is something new here—a new book by an unknown author, which must be something very interesting, for there is a whole column about it; mother believes everything the newspapers say; now she can determine on its merits." The young lady was requested to read the critical essay, and did so, no one at the table dreaming that the shy and sensitive author was listening with changing color, in a tumult of surprise and delight, to the high estimate placed upon his own literary efforts by a stranger. The editor of the *Journal*, the late distinguished Thurlow Weed, who wrote from honest appreciation of what he found in the volume, had never seen or known the author, until the young man an hour or two afterwards entered his office to bear testimony to his unspeakable gratitude.

The second son of the patroon was William P. Van Rensselaer, who inherited the portion of the manor on the west side of the Hudson, and built a beautiful mansion near Greenbush. He was a most genial and accomplished gentleman in every sense, and, like his father, of a gentle and amiable disposition, perhaps too generous with his tenants who were rebellious and would not pay their rents. He married the daughter of Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, of New York city, a descendant of the Bayards of colonial memory. Philip Van Rensselaer, the third son of the patroon, who was named for his uncle Philip, the old mayor of Albany, inherited a large estate in New York City—the square which includes the Metropolitan Hotel. He is described by one who knew him well as "among the most excellent and charming men we ever had in our state." He married the beautiful daughter of James Talmadge, a leading man in the great political campaign when Crawford was the democratic candidate in opposition to John Quincy Adams. Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, the fourth son of the patroon, inherited another portion of the large New York city property. His scholarly tastes were early developed, and in his religious character he seems to have been endowed with all the virtues, gifts, and graces of both his father and mother. Henry, fifth son of the patroon, received the wild lands in St. Lawrence county, on the Saint Lawrence river. He married the daughter of Governor John Alsop King, and went from his bridal tour to his remote domain, improved it under his own supervision, and became

very wealthy. In 1858 he was elected to Congress from that district. When the war of the rebellion broke out he started for home to form a regiment, but General Scott meeting him on the way urged his acceptance of an appointment on his staff. He died before the end of the war. Two younger sons, Alexander and Westerlo, each received a valuable portion of the manor property. Alexander married in New York city, where his



• REV. CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER, D.D.

family now reside. Westerlo died in 1844. Three daughters of the patroon received liberal portions also. Of the various other branches of the Van Rensselaer family many chapters might be written. The thread of descent most intimately associated with the manorial estate has occupied our first attention. The foundation of the manor, and its long and flourishing career in the very heart of a republican state, is one of the themes which will never fail to interest the student, both of law and of history. From a

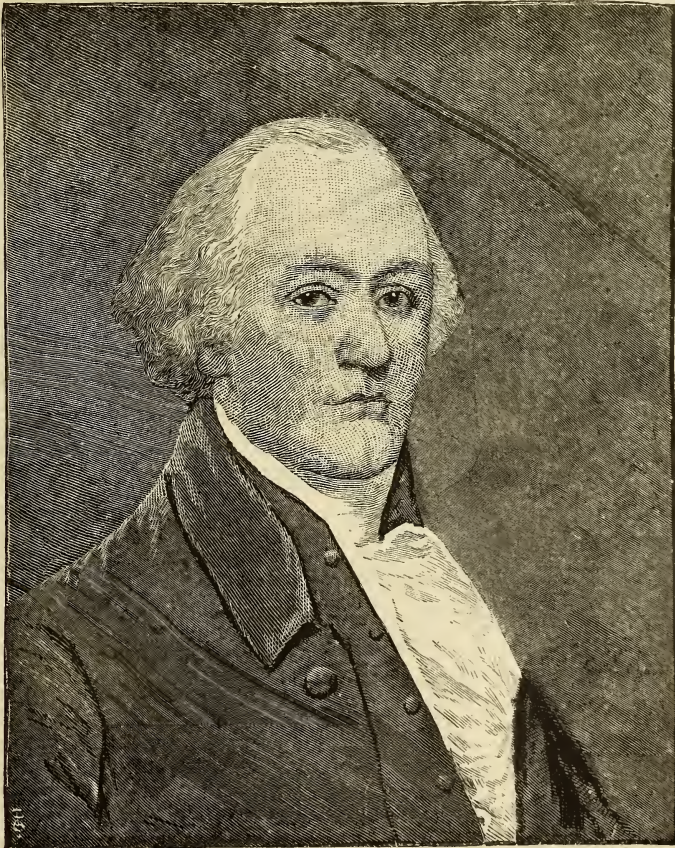
Dutch feudal colony, with its patroon and commanders, its forts and soldiers, its high and low jurisdiction, it became an English manor, with its lords and stewards, its court-leet and courts-baron. Between these institutions, which were both of feudal origin and character, there was a strong family likeness, with a marked diversity of features. The Van Rensselaer manor differed from the other manors of New York in essential particulars, which require more time for elucidation than afforded in our limited space. But the fact should be remembered that, in all the political conflicts which agitated New York from first to last, the feudal dignitaries of Van Rensselaer manor were in sympathy with the spirit of resistance to the encroachments of the crown. When the New York assembly of 1691 framed and published its "Declaration of Rights"—a remarkable act for the period—the member (who was the patroon) from Van Rensselaer manor, assisted in the bold and manly measure. Again, when that refractory little parliament in New York city impeached the integrity of the royal governor, George Clinton, in 1747, the representative from the manor was one of the number who locked the doors of their chamber, and laid the key on the table, to keep his Excellency's message waiting on the outside until they had prepared some resolutions for his discomfiture. "In the approach of the Revolution, and in all the vicissitudes of the times, the influence of the manor was found invariably on the side of popular liberty and the people."

*Martha J Lamb*

## BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

As New England Societies are now a power in the land, it may entertain the readers of the Magazine of American History, to learn something of the original organization of the first one of its kind in America—the New England Society of New York.

In 1805, when the metropolis was a much smaller and a very different city from the New York of to-day, James Watson, the first president of



JAMES WATSON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.

[From a Painting by Trumbull.]

the New England Society, then a gentleman of leisure, culture and hospitality, resided in a handsome old-time mansion, in the shady and gently curved street bordering the Battery Park. He was much respected in his little world, was the intimate friend of General Samuel B. Webb, and of Trumbull, the famous artist, and many other persons of eminence. He died, however, in early middle life, and might have passed from the memory of man—as he left no kin—but for a beautiful portrait painted by his friend Trumbull, which hangs before me as I write these lines. We find him represented in the picture as a man of some forty well rounded years, with a florid complexion, high forehead fringed by soft hair gathered back in a queue, beautiful eyes, a pleasing expression of countenance, and stylishly dressed in the coat of the period, with large old-fashioned ruffles escaping from the vest. At No. 7 State street, in the mansion adjoining that of James Watson, resided Moses Rogers, of Connecticut birth and parentage, a merchant of the great firm of Woolsey & Rogers. His wife was Sarah Woolsey, sister of the wife of President Dwight of Yale College. At 68 Stone street, resided William Walton Woolsey (a brother of Mrs. Rogers), whose wife was a sister of President Dwight, and granddaughter of President Edwards. These gentlemen, together with Samuel M. Hopkins and several others, had been talking about establishing a New England Society, and had finally agreed to meet informally on a certain evening and give the project shape and permanent direction. On the morning of the day appointed, the occupants of the State street houses, looking under the tall trees, saw a schooner luff up and flap her sails while a boat was lowered. A tall, fine-looking clerical gentleman stepped in, and a moment later the yawl grated on the beach, and the passenger, bag in one hand and a very baggy umbrella in the other, landed on the hard sand. Majestically he moved up the slight ascent, taking off his capacious cocked hat under the shade of perhaps the same oak that stretched its arms over the heads of Henry Hudson and his crew nearly two centuries before, and after standing a moment to enjoy the view, turned and crossed the velvety green square, directing his steps to the home of Moses Rogers. He was greeted by the lady of the mansion with "Welcome, Dr. Dwight, you are better than you promised!" He replied, "Yes; I had a quick passage, favored by wind and tide, and thus made the trip from New Haven in two days." His hostess inquired for "her sister and the children," and congratulated him on being in time to attend the expected gathering in the evening, which had for its object, she explained, the formation of a new society, to be called the "New England Society."

President Dwight was much pleased, and advanced many useful sug-

gestions concerning the proposed organization. The subject came up again and again during the day, as friends and relatives dropped in to greet the distinguished visitor. The meeting, when evening came, was held in James Watson's parlor, No. 6 State street; a dozen or more earnest, thoughtful men gathered about the bright, sparkling wood fire. Samuel M. Hopkins, the first secretary of the society, came from the upper part of Pearl street, bringing a tin lantern in his hand. If we had seen him on his way we should have noted that he moved irresolutely, questioning whether he should pass the lower point of the Swamp, and up Fulton street, so as to avoid high tide and wet feet at Cedar and Pine streets, or go through Chatham street by the Tea Water Pump. He chose the latter route, and had a hard time struggling through the mire of the unpaved road, but reached Broadway finally, and, calling for Col. Trumbull, arrived in State street at the hour named. Among others present were General Ebenezer Stevens, Samuel A. Lawrence, President Dwight, Moses Rogers, William Walton Woolsey, Oliver Wolcott, Francis Bayard Winthrop, then residing in Wall street, and D. G. Hubbard. After some preliminary conversation, Nathaniel Prime was called to the chair and William Leffingwell appointed secretary. But little was accomplished on the occasion, except the formation of a committee to draft the constitution, a general discussion as to the principles which the document should embody, and an arrangement for a public meeting at the City Hotel on May 6, to consummate the contemplated organization. In turning over the time-browned leaves of the precious original records, carefully preserved during the three-fourths of a century since they were written (in a clear, beautiful hand), we read as follows:



20349

SAMUEL M. HOPKINS, ONE OF THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.

[From a Painting by Trumbull.]

“ We whose names are herewith subscribed, convinced that it is the

duty of all men to promote the happiness and welfare of each other, witnessing the advantages which have arisen from the voluntary associations of individuals, allied to each other by a similarity of habits and education, and being desirous of diffusing and extending the like benefits ; do hereby associate ourselves under the name of the "New England Society of the City and State of New York."

"The objects of this society are friendship, charity, and mutual assistance; and to promote these purposes, we have formed, and do assent to the following articles," and then follows: *Article 1st*, defining the titles and duties of the officers; *Article 2d*, stating that as soon as seventy persons, natives of New England and residing in the city of New York, shall have subscribed, they shall meet and elect officers; *Article 9th*, affirming that each member shall be a New England man by birth, or the son of a member; *Article 10th*, defining that, by a vote of two-thirds, persons not having these qualifications may be admitted; *Article 11th*, explaining that by a two-thirds vote, given *viva voce* and entered on the minutes, a member may be suspended. No fear of responsibility, it seems. The present masked method of admitting and suspending by black balls was not known to these honorable gentlemen. *Article 12th* states that this society shall have no power to impose secrecy.

A brief extract from the minutes will inform the reader concerning the first public meeting:

"At a general meeting of the New England Society, held at the City Hotel on the 6th of May, 1805, Wm. Henderson was named chairman, and Benj. M. Mumford secretary. The articles of association being read by the secretary, and it appearing to this meeting that the same had been subscribed by more than seventy persons, natives of the New England States, it was

*Resolved*—To proceed to the election of officers according to the said articles; viz., president, two vice-presidents, four councillors, and eight assistants; all upon one ticket; and on counting the ballots the following gentlemen appeared to have been elected.

"President—James Watson; Vice-Presidents—Ebenezer Stevens and Francis Bayard Winthrop; Board of Commissioners, Rufus King, Saml. Osgood, Abijah Hammond, Oliver Wolcott.

"Assistants—Moses Rogers, Wm. Lovett, Wm. Henderson, Wm. Leffingwell, Saml. Mansfield, Elisha Coit, John P. Mumford and Gurdon S. Mumford." On the same day the board of officers met at the house of Gen. Ebenezer Stevens, and chose Jonathan Burrall, Treasurer, and Samuel M. Hopkins and Benj. M. Mumford, Secretaries. Henceforward the meetings were held at different places.



On May 17th at Ross's Hotel, Broad Street, and on Dec. 6th following, it was resolved "that Col. Trumbull be requested to form a certificate to be furnished to the members in testimony of their belonging to the society." The first dinner was given Dec. 21, 1805, and the toasts were, "The City of Leyden," "John Carver," "John Winthrop," and "The Memory of Washington." The first volunteer toast was by Gen. Stevens, "Our President, James Watson, a man who is the delight of his friends and an honor to the Society over which he presides." A song was composed for this occasion by Thomas Green Fessenden. At this and succeeding anniversary dinners, when the "Clergy of New England" was given as a toast, the music was invariably "Old Hundred." Other songs on various occasions were, "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," "Roslyn Castle," and "Anacreon in Heaven." For some years the meetings were held at the Tontine Coffee House, at Barden's Long Room, Broad Street, and at Benjamin Butler's in Wall Street, but about 1812 the society settled at Niblo's Bank Coffee House.

The charming old house where the first meeting was held is still standing. But architectural reformers entered it not very long since and now little remains of its original antiquarian elegance.

*Morley Rogers Hopkins*

## THE POLL TAX IN MARYLAND

It is a fact not generally known, even to persons otherwise well versed in the history of the state, that one of the most frequent and approved taxes levied in Maryland has been the poll or capitation tax. Some writers, in ignorance of its existence, have heartily commended the economic wisdom of the legislators in refraining from levying a tax so generally regarded with aversion. But the sequel will show that in Maryland, at least, it continued to meet with general approbation for nearly a century and a half.

By a poll or capitation tax we mean of course a tax levied upon all persons, generally adults, without regard to property, rank or occupation. In exceptional cases, however, certain classes in the community may be exempted from the payment of this tax. This privilege was extended to the French nobility previous to the Revolution.

In Maryland the levying of the poll tax began early in its history, and continued almost uninterruptedly down to the last provincial assembly before the war of the Revolution. During this period we find the poll tax intimately connected with many of the most important measures introduced in the legislation of the proprietary government. Finances, coinage, religion, slavery, public improvements, commerce, and the domestic and foreign policy of the province all pass in review in a study of the poll tax. It was paid in one of three ways, in money, in products, or in personal services. Tobacco may be mentioned as an example of products received in payment of the tax, and labor on the public highways as an example of personal services. Money payments, on account of the scarcity of gold and silver, were seldom required.

The first poll tax recorded in the statutes of the assembly was levied in 1614, seven years after the settlement of the colony. In Bacon's Laws of Maryland, the statute is entitled "An act for granting one subsidy." The assessment of the tax is an excellent commentary upon the happy relations existing between the lord proprietary and the colonists. The act begins as follows: "The Freemen of this Province (as set forth in the Preamble) out of their desire to return his Lordship some Testimony of their Gratitude for his Lordship's great charge and Sollicitude in maintaining the Government, and protecting the Inhabitants in their Persons, Rights, and Liberties, and to contribute some Support towards it, so far as the

young and poor Estate of the Colony will yet bear, do desire that it may be Enacted," etc., that a subsidy be granted his lordship. By this act fifteen pounds of tobacco per poll was levied on every inhabitant of the province, male and female, excepting children under 12 years of age.

The next poll tax levied was by an order of the governor's council, assessing each inhabitant a half bushel of corn per poll, to be allowed the governor, William Stone, for his personal use. In 1657 was levied the first poll tax for the payment of the public expenses. It was levied by the Puritans in the last of their six years' régime. Although Cromwell had reinstated Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, as proprietor of the province, the Puritan party, having possession of the public records and seals, determined to maintain their authority. They therefore summoned an assembly, which among other acts issued an order for the assessment of thirty-two pounds of tobacco per poll, upon the colonists.

Before the close of this century a poll tax, varying in amount, was levied at least seven times for various purposes. Several of these taxes deserve special consideration, since they illustrate the religious and political sentiments of the colonists.

The office of governor in those early times was not unlike the foreign service in our day. It was honorable but expensive. All who are acquainted with the so-called new-year receptions in our large cities can form some idea of the expensive hospitality of colonial days, when "open house" was maintained during each day of the year. In order to reimburse their governor, Charles Calvert, an act of assembly was passed in 1662, levying twenty-five pounds of tobacco on every taxable residing in the province, to be paid annually to the governor for his own personal use. This tax was afterwards changed to two shillings per hogshead on all tobacco exported from the province.

In Maryland, as in all new settlements, trade was carried on by means of barter, and gradually a single product, tobacco, was adopted as the medium of exchange. It was found, however, that tobacco was too bulky and too variable in value to perform the functions of money, and the colonists were anxious to see more gold and silver coin in circulation. But, as the balance of trade was against them, the colony was in danger of losing even the little gold and silver brought over by new settlers. In 1661, an act was accordingly passed by the assembly to establish a mint in the colony. The act of 1662, by which this money was put into circulation, savors very much of a poll tax. It was enacted "that every householder and freeman in the province should take up ten shillings per poll of the said money, for every taxable under their charge and custody, and

pay for the same in good casked tobacco at two pence per pound." Whether this was an actual poll tax depends upon the relative value of sixty pounds of good casked tobacco and ninety pennyweight (ten shillings) "of as good silver as English sterling money." It looks very much as if the government was trying to introduce fiat money, particularly as an English writer represents the Maryland mint money as "equal in fineness of silver to English sterling, being of the same standard, but of somewhat less weight." This latter clause may explain the necessity of governmental interference in floating the new shillings.

The poll tax of 1691 marked an epoch in the history of Maryland. It represented a scene in the third act of the great religious drama occurring in the first century of the colony. Whether the dénouement was for good or evil, let him decide whose mind is free from religious prejudice. The planting of the crucifix by Father White, in 1634, in the name of his Saviour and his sovereign, was followed in 1649 by the famous "act of toleration." This was succeeded in less than a half century by the well-known act of 1692, entitled "An act for the service of God and the establishment of the Protestant religion in this province." William and Mary were upon the throne of England, and Lyonel Copley was the governor of Maryland. This act laid the foundation for the establishment of the Protestant religion in the province, and contains many interesting particulars in regard to parishes, hundreds, vestrymen and constables. From each of the taxables recorded by the constables of the hundreds the sheriff was to collect forty pounds of tobacco per poll, deducting five per cent. for his salary; "which tobacco so raised, after building a church or chapel within each parish, to be appropriated and applied by the vestrymen to the use and benefit of the minister." By the act of 1702, the Church of England was made the established church of the colony. In the paper on the *Parishes of Maryland*, by Mr. Edw. Ingle, some interesting facts are given in regard to the church poll tax levied for the benefit of the establishment.

When a special poll tax was found necessary, it was the duty of the vestrymen and churchwardens of the parish to make application to the justice of county court, who at once proceeded to levy and assess the tax upon all the taxables of the parish; the special tax was gathered by the sheriff in the usual way. The additional tax could not exceed ten pounds per poll. Taxables were defined by acts of 1715 and 1725 to be all male persons, residents of the province; female slaves, not under sixteen years of age; female mulattoes born of white women, and also free negro women. Clergymen having benefices, paupers and infirm and aged slaves were excluded from the list. The establishment act of 1702, including the poll

tax for parochial charges, was re-enacted from time to time, with a few modifications, and continued down to the last year of the proprietary government.

In 1704 a peculiar law was passed by the assembly authorizing a tax which bears a strong resemblance to a poll tax. The levying of the tax was an unhappy sequel to the Christian spirit pervading the celebrated toleration act of 1649. Among other taxes included in the act was a tax of "twenty shillings per poll on Irish servants, to prevent the importing too great a number of Irish papists into this province." This act was not made perpetual, but was continually re-enacted from time to time for the next three decades; no tax, however, was laid upon Irish Protestants coming into the province. This was prohibited by an act passed in 1732. The severity of the laws against papal adherents, passed by the Parliaments of William III. and Queen Anne, had, says Hallam, "scarce a parallel in European history." In Ireland their grievances were particularly severe; they were deprived of the elective franchise, and the small amount of land not seized was held by burdensome tenures. The Anglo-Irish Catholics, continues Hallam, were "formidable from their numbers and their sufferings; and the victorious party saw no security but in a system of oppression." This oppression drove many landless Irish of good birth to seek refuge in the new world, and particularly in the province whose proprietor held large baronial possessions in county Longford, Ireland. The poor immigrants reached the shores of the new world to find it peopled by Englishmen even more resentful than those who had seized their possessions in Ireland. "To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword," says Hallam, "or expelled them, like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic." The law makers of Maryland adopted the more politic but harsher method so severely denounced by the great historian.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the peace of the colony was much disturbed by bands of discontented debtors and others, who, by the aid of the Indians, inflicted much damage upon the colonists. One of their number, who was convicted of high treason, was charged with the "design of burning Annapolis, destroying the public records, sacking and blowing up the public magazines." To prevent such dangers in the future, an act was passed, entitled "An act for the ordering and regulating the militia of this province, for the better defense and security thereof." It is somewhat remarkable that the executive of the province was granted a privilege, in the contending for which, as his prerogative, King Charles had but recently lost his head. The act gave the power to

the governor and council, during intervals of the assembly, to make an equal assessment; in other words, to levy a poll tax on all the inhabitants of the province, for defraying small charges of the province.

A few years after this, in 1717, a tax was levied upon every negro imported, to raise a fund for the use of the recently established public schools.

The levying of the tax in 1754 furnishes evidence of the fraternal feeling that was beginning to pervade the colonies. Early in the second half of the eighteenth century, the frontiers of many of the colonies were harassed by the combined forces of the Indians and the French. The other colonies were repeatedly called upon for aid, but Maryland had positively refused to render any assistance, or give countenance to a plan of union for mutual protection. Her people did not think the assistance was needed at the time, and thought the confederacy of colonies, recommended by delegates from all the colonies north of the Potomac, "would ultimately subvert that happy form of government to which we are entitled under our charter." When, however, the assembly had positive information that the Virginia troops, under Washington, had been routed by the combined forces of the French and Indians, they immediately appropriated "6,000 pounds currency for his Majesty's service, towards the defence of the colony of Virginia." A sinking fund to cover the debt was created by the levying of an additional poll tax upon negroes and servants, save Germans or other aliens coming from any part of the United Provinces or Flanders, the so-called Palatines or religious refugees. In the following year, 1755, a new grant of 40,000 pounds currency was made for his Majesty's service, George II. Among the taxes levied to fund the debt, was one obviously contrary to all the principles of population so earnestly advocated by Parson Malthus. All bachelors of twenty-five years of age and upward, who had property worth from 100 to 300 pounds sterling, were liable to a tax of five shillings; if their property was worth 300 pounds and over, they were subject to a tax of twenty shillings per poll. The tax levied on the wealthy bachelors was but one-half of that levied on horses imported, and one-third of the assessment laid upon negroes. The indirect tendencies of this poll tax are not stated. The rejoicing of the bachelors of Port Tobacco, in their supposed escape from the tax, was rudely dissipated. An act of 1760 begins: "Easter Monday, 1759, being very rainy, so as the vestry could not meet," the special act was passed for the benefit of Port Tobacco parish, to "make valid the vestry transactions in 1759, so far as relates to taxing of bachelors, etc." In 1763 a similar act was passed, for the benefit of St. Stephen's parish,

Cecil county, the majority of the vestrymen being prevented from attending the vestry meetings, owing to the prevalence of small-pox in the parish. The paternal and centralizing tendency of the government is witnessed in another poll tax, levied in Port Tobacco parish. Dr. Gustavus Brown having donated an organ to the parish, an act of assembly was passed, levying a poll tax of two pounds of tobacco on each taxable of the parish, to defray the expenses of an organist. Evidently the organist did not think he was sufficiently remunerated for his services, as the tax was afterward increased to four pounds per poll.

The first general provision made for the poor of the province was passed in 1768, in accordance with a long act of twenty-five paragraphs, entitled "An act for the relief of the poor within the several counties therein mentioned." The poor of the province were largely increased by the numerous arrivals of convicts, redemptioners, German refugees, French Acadians, and Scottish adherents of the "Young Pretender." To support the alms- and work-houses ordered to be erected in the several counties, a quantity of tobacco, not exceeding fifteen pounds per poll, was levied upon each taxable of the counties, for three successive years, beginning with 1768. The assessments could be paid and discharged in current money.

One of the latest acts of the assembly was in regard to the poll tax for parochial charges. The act of November, 1773, directed the parish poll tax, reduced by an act of 1763 from forty to thirty pounds of tobacco per poll, to be paid in inspectors' notes, or in current money to the value of four shillings. The inspectors' notes were certificates given by the inspectors of the tobacco warehouses, specifying the quantity and amount of tobacco deposited by the holder of the note. They were not unlike the modern grain elevator receipts, except that the inspectors' notes were legal tender in all tobacco transactions. At the same session of the assembly, November, 1773, the poor of Baltimore county, not including Harford county, were provided for by a loan of £4,000 from the commissioners of the loan office. In order to repay the government loan, each taxable of the county was taxed twelve pounds of tobacco or one and one-half shillings in money.

The last poll tax levied in Maryland was in connection with an act passed in the last year of the proprietary government, 1774, Henry Harford being lord proprietor of the province. Though the last act in which the poll tax figured, it was perhaps the most important and permanent in its results. The act related to the public roads in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, and Frederick counties. The assessment was laid not only in money,

but also in labor or services. The labor tax was the most exacting ever levied by the assembly. The act appropriated \$2,000 (Spanish) to Anne Arundel Co., \$10,666 $\frac{2}{3}$  to Baltimore Co., and \$8,000 to Frederick Co., for the purpose of building a road through the three counties. It will be remembered that Anne Arundel Co. then included what is now known as Howard Co. In order to provide for a fund to cancel the debt, a poll tax was laid upon the inhabitants of the three counties; namely, four pounds of tobacco per poll in Anne Arundel, eight pounds per poll in Frederick, and in Baltimore Co. twelve pounds per poll. The taxable inhabitants in the respective hundreds in the two counties of Anne Arundel and Frederick were ordered to repair the other public roads and "to labour and work thereon so many days as shall be necessary, not exceeding 6 days in every one year, and every such taxable inhabitant shall have and bring with him a spade, shovel, pick, mattock, grubbing-hoe, hilling-hoe, crowbar, or sledge-hammer, or instead thereof, if particularly required, an axe." A day's work consisted of eight hours. Any person not willing to engage in the work could send a substitute for himself and "an able and sufficient labouring man in the stead of each female negro, for whom he shall be chargeable." This act was passed only a few months before the meeting of the provincial assembly, June 24, 1774, when the proprietary government virtually ended.

Throughout the entire history of the poll tax in Maryland there is nothing to indicate that the levying and the collecting of the tax were ever opposed. Beginning as a voluntary offering from the colonists to the first proprietor of Maryland, Cecilius Calvert, the poll tax was finally levied to procure means to open up great highways through the province, to serve as arteries for the circulation of products and merchandise from the seaports to the ultramontane towns. The poll tax was neither grievous nor burdensome; it spared the poor and the infirm. It was well suited to the exigencies of the times, except when used as an instrument of religious intolerance. Moreover the poll tax was a just tax. The planter's wealth could be very justly approximated by the number of slaves and servants he maintained. When these were taxed per capita, the planters could not fail to recognize that the tax was equal and proportionate. The tax was not arbitrary nor uncertain. Only the very young and the aged and infirm were exempt. It is said that one of the Lords Baltimore, being unmarried, was himself subject to the tax levied upon bachelors. The simplicity in levying and collecting the tax, moreover, commended it to the law-makers.

But the poll tax in Maryland perished with the proprietary government. The political revolution of 1776 was preceded by a great upheaval in



society. The unequal distribution of real property began to be recognized, as well as the concentration of personal property into fewer numbers. The members of the provincial assembly felt that an institution that had outgrown its utility was not to be perpetuated on account of its antiquity. One of their first measures was to legislate against the poll tax. At the meeting of the provincial convention of Maryland, held Sunday, Nov. 3, 1776, the "Declaration of Rights" was voted upon and adopted. Section 13 declared that the "levying taxes by the poll is grievous and oppressive, and ought to be abolished." So utterly was it abolished that its name is not even mentioned in the statutes of succeeding assemblies. Many political economists of the modern school utterly repudiate the poll tax. They cite the rebellions in England and France, produced by its enforcement, as an evidence of its unpopularity. Their criticisms relate doubtless more to the methods in which it was levied than to the tax itself.

It is true in England the poll tax led to the rebellion of Wat Tyler and its consequent miseries; in Maryland, however, it was long recognized as a very successful and economical method of raising a portion of the public revenue.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

*L. W. Wilhelm.*

## HISTORY OF THE LOCATION OF OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL

In 1852, when Congress had under consideration the petition of the Orange and Alexandria railroad company of Virginia asking that the one hundred and twenty thousand dollars which was furnished by the state of Virginia toward the erection of public buildings on the establishment of the permanent seat of government be paid to the said railroad company, together with the interest thereon (the company having become the assignee of the state of Virginia), all the facts relating to the location of the federal government were thoroughly investigated by the chairman of the Senate committee of claims, Richard Brodhead, of Pennsylvania, and embodied in his report. To rescue these interesting historical facts from the very seldom penetrated labyrinths of the ponderous congressional records, is my intention in this article.

Before the federal government had a permanent seat, the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, through their respective legislatures, had offered to Congress the use of all necessary buildings during the time it would hold its sessions in their respective states. On the 23d of December, 1784, Congress passed a resolution for the erection of the necessary buildings for the permanent use of the Congress and public functionaries near the falls of the Delaware.

An appropriation for this purpose was made, and commissioners were appointed to carry it into effect, but no progress was made. In May, 1787, a resolution was offered to the effect that measures be taken for the erection of the "necessary public buildings for the accommodation of Congress at Georgetown, on the Potomac river," but the motion was lost.

Soon after this the new constitution was adopted, leaving the resolution for the establishing of a seat of the federal government on the banks of the Delaware unexecuted.

New York having appropriated its public buildings to the use of the new government, Congress met in that city.

In May, 1789, Virginia offered to the federal government ten miles square of its territory in any part of that state which Congress might choose as the seat of the federal government. About the same time Maryland made the same offer. These were the first movements, under the new constitution, toward the establishment of the seat of government. Numerous memorials and petitions followed from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland.

On the 5th of September, 1789, a resolution passed the house of representatives "that the government of the United States ought to be at some convenient place on the banks of the Susquehanna, in the state of Pennsylvania." On the introduction of the bill to carry this resolution into effect much feeling was manifested by the southern members, and particularly by the members from Virginia, who contended that the banks of the Potomac was the most suitable place. The debate upon the introduction of this bill was so hot that Mr. Madison declared that if the proceedings of that day had been foreseen by Virginia that state might not have become a party to the constitution. (See *Annals of Congress*, vol. i., page 890.) This bill was passed by the House, but amended in the Senate by striking out all that part respecting the Susquehanna and designating Germantown, Pennsylvania, as the permanent seat of government, provided the state or citizens thereof gave security to pay one hundred thousand dollars for the erection of public buildings. These amendments were agreed to by the House, with an amendment that the laws of Pennsylvania should continue in force in the proposed district. The bill was then returned to the Senate, but the consideration of the house amendment was postponed to the next session. Both houses had, therefore, actually agreed upon Germantown, but the bill failed on account of a slight amendment.

Baltimore was proposed as the location at the next session of Congress, the citizens of that place having raised between twenty and thirty thousand pounds to erect suitable buildings, but the proposition was without effect.

New York and Pennsylvania had gratuitously furnished "elegant and convenient accommodation" for the use of the government during the eleven years that it was located within their respective limits, as it appears from the resolutions passed by Congress on its removal. They had offered to continue to do so. New Jersey had offered accommodations at Trenton. The citizens of Baltimore, through their representative, proposed to furnish money for the erection of the necessary buildings in that "town" for the federal government.

One hundred thousand dollars had been required to be paid by Pennsylvania or its citizens as a condition of the location of the government in that state. This was the condition of affairs when the propositions of Virginia and Maryland were brought forward to advance one hundred and ninety-two thousand dollars, to be applied towards erecting public buildings at the permanent seat of the government of the United States on the banks of the Potomac.

On the 31st of May, 1790, a bill was introduced in the Senate to deter-

mine "the permanent seat of Congress and the government of the United States." On the 28th of June, of the same year, this bill being under consideration, memorials were read from citizens of Baltimore, and from inhabitants of Georgetown for the selection of those places, and a motion being made to insert "on the river Potomac at some place between the mouths of the eastern branch of the Connogocheque, be, and the same is hereby accepted as the permanent seat of the government of the United States;" it passed in the affirmative. On the 22d of January, 1791, as appears in the manuscript records in the office of the commissioner of public buildings, President Washington appointed Thomas Johnson and David Carroll, of Maryland, and David Stuart, of Virginia, commissioners, under the act of 16th of July, 1790, and on the 24th day of the same month he issued his proclamation fixing the "location of one part of the said district of ten miles square" on the Virginia side of the Potomac and the "other part" on the Maryland side. The commissioners met on the 12th of April, 1791, and proceeded to execute the duties of their trust. Their first object was to locate the city, acquire the title to the soil, and fix the sites for the principal public edifices, and, having accomplished these preliminaries, they applied to the president for the necessary funds to carry on their operations. As many of the public lots as could be properly disposed of were directed to be sold and the proceeds to be placed in the treasury, and application was made to the president for orders on the states of Maryland and Virginia for the installments pledged by those states.

Inasmuch as the records show that the one hundred and twenty thousand dollars was "*granted*" by the State of Virginia for the erection of public buildings for the government, the senate committee on claims reported adversely to the claim of the Orange and Alexandria railroad company. The committee, however, recommended that twenty thousand dollars should be offered to New York and one hundred thousand dollars to Pennsylvania, because Congress and the public officers had occupied the public buildings fitted up by and belonging to New York, for a period of about one year and six months, and the public buildings of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia from the 6th of December, 1790, to about the close of the year 1800, a period of about ten years; up to 1853 it does not appear that either state ever received anything more than thanks.

Congress having, on the said 16th of July, 1790, passed an act in compliance with the invitation of Virginia and Maryland, locating the seat of government on the banks of the Potomac river, it became necessary for Virginia to pass another act, providing for the payment of the money. Accordingly, on the 24th of December, 1790, a bill was introduced into

the House of Delegates "for granting to the President of the United States the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars for erecting the buildings on the Potomac river, agreeably to the resolution of the last assembly." When the bill was passed, the title was amended by striking out the word "grant" and inserting "advance," and hence it was argued that Virginia did not intend to grant the money, but to loan it. No such inference is authorized by this circumstance. The word advance had been used in the original act, and it is presumed that the title of the bill was amended to make it conform thereto. Provision was only made for paying the money agreed to be advanced, and which the president was authorized to accept, *and for a particular purpose.*

It has also been urged that the assumption of the state debts by the federal government was brought about by connecting it with the question of the federal district, and that Virginia was greatly displeased with such assumption, and would not, therefore, have been very likely to have given money to erect buildings, etc. The fact was admitted; "secession" and "dissolution" were spoken of at that early day; a "compromise" was resorted to; those who desired the location of the seat of government on the banks of the Potomac were gratified; and those at the north, under the lead of Alexander Hamilton, obtained the funding system, and Pennsylvania lost the permanent seat of the federal government. It is true Virginia was greatly displeased with the act funding the state debts, but Mr. Jefferson says the "pill" was "sweetened" by a "concomitant measure," to wit: the location of the federal government on the banks of the Potomac. The following extract from Mr. Jefferson's "Memoirs and Correspondence," pages 448 and 449, volume 4, clearly proves how the business was managed. Mr. Jefferson says: "The great and trying question (the assumption of the state debts), however, was lost in the house of representatives. So high were the feuds excited by this subject, that, on its rejection, business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned from day to day without doing anything, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The eastern members particularly, who with Smith, from South Carolina, were the principal gamblers in these scenes, threatened secession and dissolution. Hamilton was in despair. As I was going to the president's one day, I met him in the street. He walked me backwards and forwards before the president's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the legislature had been wrought; the disgust of those who were called the creditor states; the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the states. He observed that the members of the administration ought to act in concert;

that though this question was not of my department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern ; that the president was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him and support, with joint efforts, measures approved by him ; and that the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of government, now suspended, might be again set in motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject ; that not having yet informed myself of the system of finance adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence ; that, undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient state, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which, all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union. The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed to, that whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the states was more important, and that, therefore, it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly bitter to the southern states, and that some concomitant measures should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been a proposition to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown, on the Potomac ; and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm, in some degree, the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this, the influence he had established over the eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris, and those of the middle states, effected his side of the agreement, and thus the assumption was passed."

The following extracts from the speeches of members of congress in the debate upon the final passage of the bill locating the seat of the fed-

eral government where it now is, clearly show the views and understanding of those who passed the law. To ascertain what answer the law-makers would give to a question of construction, is always a good way to get the intention of the law :

*(Annals of Congress, volume 2, pages 1718 to 1731.)*

Mr. Lee, of Virginia, remarked : That while the present position continued to be the seat of government, the agriculture of the states to the eastward is invigorated and encouraged ; while that to the southward is languishing and expiring. He then showed the fatal tendency of this preponderating encouragement to those parts of the country already considered as the strongest part of the Union ; and from the natural operation of these principles he inferred that the interest of the southern states must be eventually swallowed up. The decision of the Senate (said he) affords a most favorable opportunity to manifest the magnanimity of soul which shall embrace, upon an extensive liberal system, the best interests of the great whole. This cannot be done while the present unequal situation of the seat of government of the United States continues. Nations have their passions as well as individuals. He drew an alarming picture of the consequences to be apprehended from disunion, ambition and rivalry. He then gave a pleasing sketch of the happy effects to be derived from a national generous and equal attention to the southern and northern interests. Will, gentlemen, said he, blast this prospect by rejecting this bill ? I trust they will not.

“ It is true,” said Mr. Lee, “ that the citizens of this place (New York) have put themselves to great expense to accommodate the government, and are entitled to much praise for their exertions ; but he wished to take up the subject upon national grounds,” etc. He then moved that the papers received from the executive of Virginia be read, which was done. [It is presumed the papers alluded to were the resolutions of Virginia, offering money and land.]

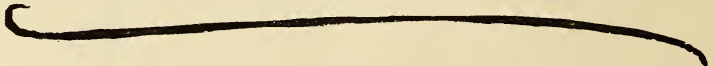
Mr. Burke, of South Carolina, said : It was unjust to the people of New York to remove from that city till the expense they had incurred was repaid to them. It was a breach of honesty and justice. It was injustice to the state—to the whole nation. He entered into a consideration of their sacrifices and services. He spoke in handsome terms of Pennsylvania ; but he was afraid of their influence, and thought if they obtained the temporary seat of government, it could never be removed from Philadelphia.

Mr. Madison remarked : Sir, we should calculate on accepting the bill as it now stands ; we ought not to risk it by making any amendments. We have it now in our power to procure a southern position ; the opportunity

may not again speedily present itself. We know the various and jealous interests that exist on this subject. We should hazard nothing. If the Potomac is struck out, are you sure of getting Baltimore? May no other places be proposed? Instead of Baltimore, is it not probable we may have Susquehanna inserted—perhaps the Delaware? Make any amendment, sir, and the bill will go back to the Senate. Are we sure it will come into our possession again? By amending we give up a certainty for an uncertainty. In my opinion we shall act wisely if we accept the bill as it now stands: and I beg leave to press it on gentlemen not to accept of any alteration, lest it be wholly defeated, and the prospect of obtaining a southern position vanish forever.

Mr. White, of Virginia: “After the present ferment is subsided, this position (on the Potomac) will be considered as a permanent bond of union; and the eastern states will find their most essential interests promoted by the measure.” He adverted to the trade of Massachusetts, which, he said, was greater to Virginia than to the whole Union besides. “The southern states will be cordial in promoting their shipping and advancing their interests, when they observe that the principles of justice influence them on this great national question.” The bill finally passed, as we have seen, locating the seat of the federal government where it now is. Its history from that time is well known. To-day how justly proud can we be of our national capital! Do we ever hear the suggestion, “move the capital further west”? It is but a suggestion of the morbidly imaginative. Any change of the location would be but a *change*, no improvement. Standing one day in the great capitol building, beneath that mighty dome, typical of the solidity and magnificence of our country, it was a long time before I was conscious of the presence of an old friend standing by my side. Till I had clasped his hand, he did not see me, being lost, also, in contemplation. “I have been thinking,” said he, “of all the Fourth of July orations I ever heard or read, and now in my own heart, I can repeat that, which I have often called spread-eagleism, “What a great nation is this of ours!” My thoughts were the same.

*David Brodhead*





## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 507, Vol. X.)*

It will be seen that the next entry of 1st of April, 1781, is followed by a few entries of dates preceding that day, and then others in April again begin. They so appear in the manuscript volume, not having been entered in the regular order of their dates, by some mistake.

*Brookhaven\* April 1 1781.*

*Extract from a letter from Hassard*

Sir

This is to inform you by a late rebel paper that one of the French frigates has arrived into New Port, with upwards of six hundred wounded men, and the report is, that they have had as many killed, and by a boat from Nantucket they inform us that they saw the French fleet a standing into New Port, ten sail.†

*Extract from a letter from Rhode Island 25<sup>th</sup> February.*

The St. Emille a sixty-four gun ship, belonging to the French Squadron, was sent with two frigates upon a particular expedition to Chesapeake bay: having finished the business she was sent upon, she lay ten days in Hampton Road, where she took nine or ten British vessels with 500 soldiers on board: after which she sailed to rejoin her fleet, and on her passage fell in with and took the Romulus, a British 44 pierced for 50 guns and brought her safe into this port last night.

\* In Suffolk County, L. I., a town extending across the island from the Sound on the north, to the Ocean on the south.

† This refers to the battle between the French and English fleets under the Chevalier Destouches, and Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot respectively, on the 16th March, 1781. There were eight three-deck line-of-battle ships and four frigates on the English side, and eight three-deck line-of-battle ships and three frigates on the French side. The forces were nearly equal, the French having more men, the English more guns. The French squadron sailed from Newport on the 8th (followed on the 10th by the English one from Gardiner's Bay), and returned there on the 26th of March, five days before the above letter was received. The battle was indecisive, but the British succeeded in getting into Chesapeake Bay and relieving Arnold, thus rendering nugatory the plan of Washington and Rochambeau for his capture or destruction.

N. B: The above extract of a letter is inserted in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of Saturday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>.\*

15<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

*Joseph Batty* left Rhode Island the 26<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>y</sup>. He was sent by Doct Halliburton,† who told him there was 1000 troops embarked on board the Men of War at that time. He says it was impossible they could know what number were to be embarked, but that they were to sail for the Chesapeake the first Easterly wind. They had not at the time he came away destroyed any works or shipped any cannon: nor had they sent any stores out of the Island: no disposition was made then to quit this place.

He came in by way of New London, but could not get off for the rebel whale boats; he got on board the Admiral (Arbuthnot) on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, and as he was returning was drove ashore on Plumb Island,‡ and having tried in vain to return to the Admiral he determined to come here by land.

The conversation in general was that they wanted to take General Arnold, who they seemed to make personally their object.

17<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

*Mr. Hicks* left Maryland the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, came through Philadelphia, which place he left the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst.

He saw the troops under La Fayette, he thinks about 7 or 800 go down the river, as they said against Arnold, who [he] was informed was their only object. He heard that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Dan River.

The friends to Government are in great spirits, more so than he has seen them. They are very much enraged at the new laws that have passed.§

\* It refers to the first expedition to the Chesapeake under M. de Tilly to "capture" Arnold, which was made of no avail by the latter moving his much lighter vessels so far up the Elizabeth river, that the heavier French ships could not follow them. The only tangible result of the expedition being the capture of the frigate and other vessels mentioned. M. de Tilly sailed with three French men-of-war on Feb. 9th, 1781, from Newport, and returned there on the 24th, having been gone but fifteen days.—*Correspondence between the French Generals and Admirals and Washington in VII. Sparks.*

† Dr. John Haliburton was a physician of Rhode Island who went to Halifax after the war. He was a man of high character and a member of the council of Nova Scotia. His wife was Susanna Brenton, of R. I. Their son, born in R. I., was Sir Brenton Haliburton, chief justice of Nova Scotia. His son, Thomas I. Haliburton, was also a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, the author of the History of Nova Scotia and of "Sam Slick," and his son is the present distinguished barrister, Mr. R. G. Haliburton, of Ottawa.

‡ At the eastern entrance of Long Island Sound.

§ The very severe acts levying enormous taxes to carry on the war are here referred to. How very strong "the friends to Government" in the Southern States were at this time, six years after the beginning of hostilities, is proven by General Greene himself. "After crossing the Dan and collecting a few Virginia militia, finding the enemy had erected their standard at Hillsborough, and the people begun to flock to it from all quarters, either for protection, or to engage in the

17<sup>th</sup> March 1781 Col Robinson

*State and Situation of the American Army at and in the Vicinity of the North River, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> of March.*

	MEN
Stationed at Pine's Bridge,* under the command of Maj Maxwell, in Col Hull's absence who has gone to Boston.....	150
About three miles to the northward of Croum Pond † is an encampment of the Rhode Island line : but the troops are drawn off to West Point, except part of two companies left to guard their baggage.....	60
The New Hampshire line are encamped about four miles above the Continental Village, within half a mile of the main road leading from Peeks Kill to Fish Kill, on the east side of said road. Their numbers at present dont exceed.....	200
The Connecticut line are encamped about six miles above said village, on the West side of said main road, about a mile distant therefrom and about one and a half mile distant from the North River. The encampment is situated in a hollow, between two mountains, a large brook running between their huts, which are built to contain 3000 men, but deducting those detached for the Marquis's Corps and many on furlough their numbers at present does not exceed.....	800
The Massachusetts line, except those detached for the afore said purpose are chiefly at West Point. The issuing commissary says that provisions are issued to that Garrison and its Dependencies for 3000 men : but however that matter may be managed it is pretty certain that the garrison does not consists of more than half that number, to which may be added the New York brigade lately drawn from the northern frontier for the defence of that place, their number 400.....	1900
There is an encampment about four miles to the northward of West Point, near N : Windsor consisting of about.....	500
Total.....	3610

service, I determined to recross at all hazards, and it was very fortunate that I did, *otherwise Lord Cornwallis would have got several thousand recruits. Seven companies enlisted in one day.* Our situation was desperate at the time we recrossed the Dan ; our numbers were much inferior to the enemy, and we were without ammunition, provisions, or stores of any kind, the whole having retired over the Stanton river. However I thought it best to put on a good face and make the most of appearances." And then, after showing how he led Cornwallis to think he was to be attacked, and stating the features of the country, he continues : "Here has been the field for the exercise of genius and an opportunity to practice all the great and little arts of war. Fortunately we have blundered through without meeting any capital misfortune."—*Letter of Greene to Reed of 18th March, 1781. II. Reed's Reed 34.*

\* On the Croton river ; the site is now nearly midway of the present artificial "Croton Lake," on its northerly side, in the manor of Cortlandt, and county of Westchester.

† Properly called *Crom* Pond, a hamlet and small lake in the manor of Cortlandt, Westchester county, N. Y., about three miles north of Pine's Bridge.

The N. York Militia are ordered to be ready at a Minutes Warning with eight days provisions.

The flower of the army is gone with the Marquis for although they are called the Light Infantry, in detaching them no regard was had to Infantry as such. They marched with little or no baggage except some dismounted field Pieces and some ammunition, put up in boxes and called their general baggage. Its said General Wayne joined the Marquis with 400 Pensylvanians and that the whole made a forced march to Virginia.

General Washington is gone to New Port : not a day passes but one or two expresses go to him.

Parsons and many of the principal officers are absent from camp.

One Smith, a clockmaker from N. York, with a number of hands, have been employed for two months past in collecting oars, and other materials in the back towns of Connecticut for building flat bottom boats and other craft in Wapping Creek near Fish kill, to the number of 5 or 600, as Smith says.

If one was only to listen to information given by those who are so prejudiced as to exaggerate on one side and diminish on the other, little dependence could be made from such sources, but as the foregoing is derived from observation, and when that could not be made with propriety, from the undisguised narrations of those who may be considered as forming an intermediate class, it cannot be far from the mark : but such is the jealousy subsisting in their army since Arnold's affair that it is difficult to come at the exact truth unless there was a confidant in their service at Every Capital Post.

N. B : Those mentioned above to be stationed at Pine's Bridge do not stay long in a place, but shift their quarters often in that neighborhood. The above estimate must not be depended on, for many days, as recruits are now coming in.

K. M. : \*——

*March 1781.*

Two Brigades are gone to the Southward from head quarters, which is at present

\* K. M.'s account of the cantonments and numbers of the American regiments in this letter are very accurate. Washington's return of his forces to 1st April, 20 days later, was inclosed in his letter of the 8th of that month to the President of Congress. Writing to Laurens the very next day, 9th April, 1781, he says : " Day does not follow night more certainly, than it brings with it some additional proof of the impracticability of carrying on the war without the aids you solicit. As an honest and candid man, as a man whose all depends on the final and happy termination of the present contest, I assert this, while I give it decisively as my opinion, that, without a foreign loan our present force, which is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together in this campaign, much less will it be increased and in readiness for another. \* \* \* It is equally certain, that our troops are approaching fast to nakedness, and that we have nothing to clothe them with ; that our hospitals are without medicines, and our sick without nutriment except such as well men eat \* \* \* But why need I run into detail when it may be declared in a word, that we are at the end of our tether, and that now or never our deliverance must come."—VIII. Sparks, 7.

at Col : Dyes at Prickness.\* It is expected a detachment is to be sent to West Point. Col : Brown with his Reg<sup>t</sup> of 6 months men went out against the Indians at Schoharie and were all killed or taken. General Washington is now on a journey through York State. He is raising 1500 men for 45 days, one part intended for Minisink and the rest for West Point fort.†

19<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

*Col : Robinson.*

WINOT [*Wynant*] WILLIAMSON returned from Dutchess County where he has been for two months past. He says :—

“ One Brigade (formerly Poor’s) are hutted at Van Tassalls, three or four miles from Continental Village.

Another at Continental Village, and along the road up to Hopper’s (called the “Soldiers fortune.”

1000 at the forts on West Point—a small guard at Pine’s Bridge, a captain and 25 men at Bedford—none but Militia and Refugees at Crum Pond.

The militia of this Province and Connecticut are all under orders with eight days provisions.

Washington went to the Eastward, but an Express was sent after him to bring him back.

The tories in the Country are all in high spirits and say the War must soon be over, as the rebels cannot hold out much longer.

They have a good many flat boats at Fishkill Landing and New Windsor, but none building in any part of the river, nor any preparations for it, that he could learn.

There is a considerable quantity of flour and salt left at Davis’ store in Poughkeepsie, very little at Fishkill : there is a magazine of powder and some cannon there. He tells the same of Allen ‡ that we have heard lately.

March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1781.

*Cap’ Beckwith.*

Lieut’ Spencer, a continental officer, who is frequently at Spencer town in Connecticut, comes across the Sound in a whale boat to Lloyd’s Neck, or that neighborhood, once a fortnight, or every three weeks, in order to procure intelligence. He goes mostly to one Thorne’s near the Church at Oyster Bay, but Sometimes to one Cornell’s, who lives in that part of the Island. Either of these two persons go

\* Col. Dey’s at Preakness, Bergen Co., New Jersey, is here meant.

† This statement appears mixed, and was probably made with the intention of not being clear. The expedition referred to, in which Col. Brown was killed, took place in 1780, the year preceding ; and Washington was not engaged in raising “ 45 days ” men at the time mentioned.

‡ Ethan Allen and his negotiations with the British.

to another man of the name of Thorne (brother to Thorne of Oyster Bay) who lives in a different part of the Island (the informant does not know where) who comes to New York and procures the information required. It is conveyed by this channel to Lieutenant Spencer, who very commonly remains concealed for three or four days upon the Island at Thorne's or Cornell's.\*

\* The above are simply details of the manner by which information from within the British lines came to the American headquarters. General Washington's system for obtaining secret private intelligence was very thorough, extensive, and efficient. The foregoing letter gives a few details of but one of the channels through which that intelligence came. Washington kept the entire direction of this "bureau," as it may be called, in his own hands, not trusting it to any adjutant-general or other officer. He had many sources and methods of information, utterly unknown and unsuspected at the time, and each independent of all others. Thus he was able to know, determine, and weigh the value of each piece of information, and of each informant, for himself. Col. Elias Dayton, of New Jersey, was a trusted officer through whom he obtained intelligence west of the Hudson. That which was received via Long Island, to a great extent, but not entirely, came through Major, subsequently Colonel, Benjamin Tallmadge, a native of Long Island, and second son of the Rev. Benjamin Tallmadge, of Setauket, Suffolk Co. He began a secret correspondence with various parties within the British lines, under Washington's directions, in 1778, and from that time till the end of the war he was engaged in this business, his brief but brilliant military expeditions on Long Island practically growing out of it. For this purpose he was stationed in the eastern part of Westchester County, New York, on the borders of the Sound, and of Connecticut, generally at Salem, Northcastle, or King street in Rye, within easy reach and command of the Sound, and also of the roads to the Highlands of the Hudson and New Windsor. In a few letters referring to his private intelligence, Washington speaks of his informers as "gentlemen"; that to Gov. Livingston, of New Jersey, of 8th April, 1781, telling him of an alleged plan for his assassination and that of three others, one of whom was Washington himself, is an example. VII. Sparks 471. His views and descriptions of the "private intelligence" he wanted are fully set forth in the following letter to Col. Tallmadge, written at the very time we are considering:

To Major Benjamin Tallmadge

New Windsor, 30 April 1781

Dear Sir

Fully impressed with the idea of the utility of early, regular, and accurate communication of the kind in contemplation, I shall make no difficulty in acceding to the proposal contained in your private letter from Newport. But at the same time that I am engaging in behalf of the United States a liberal reward for the services of the C——s (*two spies in New York: who, according to Mr. Sparks, assumed the names of "Samuel Culper" and "Culper Junior"*) of whose fidelity and ability I entertain a high opinion, it is certainly but reasonable, from patriotism and every other principle, that their exertions should be proportionably great, to subserve essentially the interests of the public. All the interior and minute arrangements of the correspondence I request that you will settle with them as expeditiously and advantageously as may be, and especially that you will urge in very forcible terms, the necessity of having the communication as circumstantial, frequent, and expeditious as possible.

The great objects of information you are very well acquainted with; such as arrivals, embarkations, preparations for movements, alterations of positions, situations of posts, fortifications, garrisons, strength or weakness of each, distribution and strength of corps, and in general, everything which can be interesting and important for us to know.

Besides these, you are also sensible there are many things upon a smaller scale, which are necessary to be reported, and that whatever intelligence is communicated ought to be, not in general

April 5<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Copy of a letter (inclosed in one from W. J. Ogden of the above date) dated Elizabeth-town 31<sup>st</sup> March 1781.

Dear Sir

A Gent: arrived here last night from Philadelphia and says there has been an action between Lord Cornwallis and Gen<sup>l</sup> Green, on the 16<sup>th</sup> Ins't at Guilford

terms, but in detail, and with the greatest precision. At present I am anxious to know (for the reports have been very numerous, vague, and uncertain), whether another embarkation is preparing, and if so, to what amount, and where destined, what the present force of the enemy is, particularly on Long Island, in New York and at King's bridge; what corps are at the latter place, how strong, and where posted exactly; and indeed, what the situation, prospects, and designs of the enemy are, so far as they can be penetrated.

I am &c

G<sup>c</sup> Washington

This letter is in the eighth volume of Sparks's writings of Washington. Tallmadge began to obtain private intelligence from the British, in Philadelphia, in December, 1777. In 1778, he himself says, "This year I opened a private correspondence with some persons in New York which lasted through the war. How beneficial it was to the commander-in-chief is evidenced by his continuing the same to the close of the war. I kept one or more boats continually employed in crossing the Sound on this business." Sometimes he ventured over to Long Island himself, but this was on rare occasions. His agents were in all parts of the Island. When peace was announced in 1783, he says, "I found it necessary to take some steps to insure the safety of several persons within the enemy's lines, who had served us faithfully and with intelligence during the war. As some of these were to be considered of the *Tory character*, who would be very obnoxious when the British army should depart, I suggested to Gen. Washington the propriety of my being permitted to go to New York under the cover of a flag. This he very readily granted, and I proceeded to New York, where I was surrounded by British troops, Tories, cowboys, and traitors. By the officers of the army and navy, I was treated with great respect and attention, especially by the commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carleton, at whose table I dined with the commanding officers of the navy and others of high situation. \* \* \* \* While at New York I saw and secured all who had been friendly to us through the war, and especially our emissaries, so that not one instance occurred of any abuse after we took possession of the city where protection was given or engaged."—*Tallmadge's Private Autobiography for his Children*, pp. 29, and 61, 62.

Each prominent leader in the war had also his own private agents and means of obtaining information from the enemy. Those of Gov. Livingston, of New Jersey, were remarkably good, and his intelligence full and correct. So were those of John Jay, and Gov. George Clinton, and General Heath. Some of the prominent persons within the enemy's lines, trusted and lauded by the British commanders and officials then, and usually believed now to have been strong Tories, were in fact whig spies; a few from pure motives, but most for gain, as is always the case in all wars, in all nations, and among all peoples. Jones in his "History of New York During the Revolutionary War," tells us that while he was a prisoner of war in Connecticut, in the winter of 1779, Col. Stephen Moylan, of the Pennsylvania Horse, then quartered there, told a gentleman (meaning himself) in a conversation one evening "that not a return of the number and state of the British army at New York had been made to General Clinton (Sir Henry) for the last two years, but that General Washington received a copy of it in 24, or at most in 48 hours, after its delivery to the commander-in-chief," vol. ii., p. 210. The same author also states that "he heard the British adjutant-general and his deputy aver in public company that a letter of Mr. Smith (Joshua Hett Smith) to Governor George

Court house, and that Green retreated with the loss of 400 killed and wounded and four pieces of cannon, and that night hindered Lord Cornwallis's pursuit.

*From the same April 5<sup>th</sup> 1781.*

I have now from a Continental officer who has seen a letter from an officer with General Green, that the loss sustained was 290 Continentals killed and missing, and that no mention is made of the militia.

I am Ys            T—— \*

*Copy of a letter from Hassard r'cd April 5<sup>th</sup> dated April 4 from Long Island.*

Sir

This is to inform you that there is a rebel Major in Easthampton, by the name of Davis, from Connecticut, who is getting money and goods for Congress, and offers the people's Estates who are away as security. The rebels are in high spirits. Mrs. Smith and Capt. Rose at the Fire place say England must soon give up now that Holland has joined America.

James T. Hassard.

*4<sup>th</sup> April 1781.*

*Uzal Woodruff* left Elizabethtown last Saturday night. He saw a man who came from a place fifty miles to the northward of Gen Green's army, who says, that Lord Cornwallis defeated him in an engagement about a fortnight ago in North Carolina, that the rebels had 700 men killed on the spot. That they had repulsed Lord Cornwallis several times, but he had at last prevailed. That Green next morning collected his troops and meant to hazard a second engagement, but the militia absolutely refused to fight. †

Clinton, containing every information relative to the state of the garrison, the troops, and fleet at New York, was intercepted, the latter end of October, of the year 1781, and brought to their office; that it was in Smith's proper handwriting; that it was delivered to General Clinton; but that so far from any notice being taken of it, the author was still harboured, caressed, and entertained."—Vol. ii., p. 209. This incident occurred the October following the July of the very year in which this volume of Sir Henry Clinton's private intelligence ends—1781; and the "adjutant-general and his deputy" mentioned are the very two officers, Major Oliver DeLancey and Captain Beckwith, to whom this Private Intelligence was reported, and by whom it was recorded as we now have it. Had the succeeding volume of these Headquarters Records only accompanied the one now in Dr. Emmett's possession, we should, perhaps, have learned more about this letter of Smith's to George Clinton. The way Sir Henry treated it goes far to explain why all the full and correct private intelligence now first brought to light and printed, and which was then continuously laid before him, does not seem to have been taken advantage of in any way.

\* Washington, in a letter to Gen. Lincoln, of the 4th April, one day before that in the text, also puts the loss in Continentals at 290, and makes no mention of the militia—precisely the same information. Sparks, in a note, states that the "290" only included Continental soldiers; that the Virginia militia had 15 killed, 67 wounded, and 322 missing; the North Carolina militia, 6 killed, 5 wounded, and 563 missing; and that, in both cases, the "missing" went home, very few being taken. Vol. VII., 466

† Meaning that they went home, as above stated.



The Marquis la Fayette was at Annapolis eight days ago waiting for the French. That he heard the French fleet were beat off, and was waiting to receive further orders, before he moved from that place.

Col: Dayton is ill at Chatham. He has but one company of light Infantry with him.

Woodruff has not seen Mr. J——ne lately. They are not on good terms. W: says he is very intimate with Dayton\* and several other rebel officers.

A Captain Schudder commands at Elizabethtown—he has about 40 men. They do not lie in town at night, since the late alarm.

The country people are in very low spirits on account of Green's defeat.

*April 21<sup>st</sup> 1781. Col. Robinson.*

Wynant Williamson, † who I had sent out for information respecting the Highlands, and directed him to go to a particular friend ‡ who lives very near West Point: he returned this day and says he saw my friend, was with him a whole day (last Thursday) and had the information from him.

Sig. B: Robinson.

West side of the River.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Head Quarters at Elises § House, New Windsor.

New York Regiment, commanded by Col: Van Schaick in the main fort called Fort Clinton.

The Bay forces towards the Furnace, three miles from the Point.

All the forces on the west side is about 500.—The redoubts on the West side eight or ten artillerymen and a sergeants guard in each. No other guards nor patrols on the West Side except the Camp guards.

The gates are shut at gun firing and no person admitted in or out. They are at Work on the road over Butter hill. Their main stores at Fort Clinton. They have reserved stores in each Work in case of an attack. The stores on the beach || is where they draw provisions from. General Knox with a Regiment of Artillery is at Washington's quarters.

General Heath commands at West Point.

\* Col. Elias Dayton.

† The same person whose information of 19th March has been given. He was one of Col. B. Robinson's agents to get intelligence.

‡ Who this "particular friend" of Col. Robinson, living in 1781 so near his old home, opposite West Point, was, is not known.

§ This should be "Ellison's." William Ellison was a gentleman possessing a large landed property at New Windsor, where his house was occupied for a long time by Washington. The troops were also, at times, cantoned upon his estate, part of which still belongs to, and is occupied by his great-grandchildren, some bearing the name of Ellison, others that of Morton.

|| The shore of the North River.

East side of the River.

200 of the continental line commanded by Col. Darby under Bull hill.

The New Hampshire line at Cannoputs hollow in number about 600—500 are just inoculated.

The two redoubts on the East side are commanded by Captain Johnson, with one company of men.

Col Smith with one Regiment of about 100 men, on Hyatt's hill East of Doctor Perrye.

Part of Col Hansens Regimt at Fishkill commanded by Major Twing.\*

N. B. They have about 50 flat bottom boats, chiefly at Stoney Point. One company at Stoney Cove at Verplancks. Two field pieces on one side and three on the other—No works of consequence. Some boats repairing at Wappingers Creek.

23<sup>d</sup> April 1781.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Isaac Ogden. †*

Sir

A person from Newark just now informs me that four whale boats from Brunswick are to make a descent on Long Island on Monday Evening next. His information seems to well founded—He is the same person that brought to the Mayor † the intelligence of the last attempt, when they took off the Brunswick Major—Your obt serv't

I. Ogden.

Major de Lancy.

*Copy of a letter from Hiram.*

24<sup>th</sup> April, 1781.

Sir

The business I had to negotiate with Gen' P—s after my return home, I paid the utmost attention to, and in order to break the ice (as says the vulgar adage) I found myself under the necessity of summoning what little address I was master of, in order to secure myself a retreat, should the matter I had to propose prove disagreeable to P—s. Therefore after giving him a satisfactory account of my commercial negotiation (which I knew would be alluring to him) I introduced the other branch of my business in the following manner. I told him that in justice to the confidence he reposed in me, I conceived myself in duty bound to conceal no material circumstance from him, which may in any respect affect him. Impressed with this sense I begged leave to communicate the substance of a conversation I had with a gentleman at New York, whom I knew to be in the highest confidence

\* It is uncertain from the writing whether this name is "Twing" or "Turney" in the original.

† Of New Jersey, mentioned in note to Bruen's Information of 10th Feb., *ante*.

‡ David Matthews, Mayor of New York.

with the Commander-in-chief. This gentleman I told him hearing of my being in town with a flag and knowing I had many friends in it, who, notwithstanding our differing in political sentiments, were attached to me, he, therefore, made use of some of them to acquaint me that he wished for an interview for the purpose of conferring on a subject, the nature of which was no way inconsistent with strict honor. I accordingly waited on him at the appointed hour, when a conversation of the following import occurred.

“I understand said the Gentleman that you are intimately acquainted with G—Par—s” I answered in the affirmative. “Dont you judge him to be a gentleman possessed of too much understanding and liberality of sentiment, to think that the welfare of his country consists in an unnatural alliance with the Enemies to the Protestant religion, a perfidious nation, with whom no faith can be long kept, as all the nations of Europe have experienced?” I answered that I knew G—l P—s to be a Gentleman of abilities, but could not judge of his feelings toward that nation, otherwise than by observing no great cordiality subsisting between him and the gentry of that nation, in our service. “The terms offered by the parent state” (continued the gentleman) are so liberal and generous, that I wonder at any gentleman of an enlarged and liberal mind, giving his assistance in prolonging the calamities of his Country, and as General P—s is well known to possess these talents as well as great influence in the army and country, Government would wish to make use of him for the laudable and honorable purpose of lending his aid in terminating this unhappy war in an amicable Re-union with the parent State: should he undertake it, Government will amply reward him, both in a lucrative and honorary way and manner, besides, I super-added, making a provision for his son.”

Thus, Sir, have I been necessitated to use all this circumlocution in order to convince him of the delicacy observed in making the above propositions, and that nothing was intended inconsistent with the purest principles of honor.

During this conversation I observed that he listened with uncommon attention, and as it grew very late, he said it was a matter which required deliberation, he therefore postponed it to another opportunity.

Next morning he sent for me and resumed the subject of our last or preceding nights discourse. He said he had weighed the matter and found himself, upon the strictest examination, disposed to a reconciliation and to effect which he would use his influence and lend his aid to promote it, but that he saw the embarrassments in his way in regard to inculcating such principles in the army, though he did not doubt, but in time, he could bring the officers of the Connecticut line over to his opinion. That in order to effect it, he thought he could do it more to the purpose by resigning his Commission, which would save every appearance of those honorary ideas, inseparable from the military profession; that he would draw after him the officers above referred to, who look up to him as a father, and that their joint influence would be exerted among the citizens, which would turn the tables

in favor of Government in our State: but in consideration of those services, he must have a reasonable and meet compensation for his Commission, it being all he had to depend upon.

Thus, Sir, have I given you a faithful account of this business and shall wait on you for your further direction at any hour you may please to appoint, when I may have the honor of relating other circumstances relative to it which would be rather tedious to commit to writing.

I shall be in a situation this summer (I hope) to render essential service, having carried my election against Judge Sanford, who is one of the first families in the place. It is needless to observe that in the general assembly of Connecticut, enter all the material concerns of our political system: that secret advices from Congress, from Washington, and from abroad, are there canvassed, the early knowledge of which may be of consequence in order to avail yourself of it.

I am &c Ys

W. H \*

To Major DeLancy &c. &c.

25<sup>th</sup> April 1781.

Memorandums taken of a conversation with Hiram.

He promises to get from Gen<sup>l</sup> Pa——s the following information.

The exact state of West Point.

What Troops.

What Magazines.

What new Works & how many Guns.

Who commands.

If there is a boom below Fort Clinton.

He is to let me know what P——s wish is, how we can serve him and the

\* The above is another letter of William Heron, of Reading, Connecticut, the "place" alluded to. Stated in the heading, "From Hiram," it is signed with his own initials "W. H." See note to "Letter in cypher from Connecticut, received Feb. 4th, 1781," above mentioned, for a full account of Heron, (p. 416, vol. X. Mag. Am. History).

Throughout this letter and the memorandums following it, the initials, with the dashes, and in part small letters of the name of the general mentioned, are given exactly as they are in the original MS.

As this letter was received in New York on the 24th February, 1781, its author probably brought it himself; for, as he was sent for next day, the 25th, in accordance with the suggestion towards its close, either by the adjutant-general, to whom it was addressed, or by the deputy-adjutant, whichever transacted the business, to converse with on its subject, he must then have been in the city. The next entry is a memorandum of the conversation that then occurred, and also of a second conversation on the same day. The name of the son of Gen. Parsons, mentioned in this letter, was Enoch. The "Judge Sanford" whom Heron defeated for the assembly in the spring of 1781, was Lemuel Sanford, county judge of Fairfield Co., Ct. After the war a few years the judge's son, also named Lemuel, married Mary Heron, a daughter of William Heron, the "Hiram" of this intelligence.—*Todd's Hist. Reading.*

Heron seems to have acted on the hint of Parsons's aid, Oliver Lawrence, about him (of March 11th, *ante*) very quickly.

methods he means to point out himself. He is to tell him, he can no way serve us so well as continuing in the army ; that the higher his command, the more material service he can render—he is to promise him great rewards for any services he may do us. He is to hold up the idea of Monk to him, and that we expect from his services an end to the War. That during the time he continues in their army, he shall have a handsome support and should he be obliged to fly, to remind him of the Example & situation of Arnold.

I am to hear from him on Friday next when he will let me know how far he has operated on Pa—s. I shall tell him further what steps to take.

He is to go to Hartford and attend the Assembly, from whence he will collect minutes and in the Month of June will transmit them to the General.

He makes no doubt of bringing Par—s to do what we wish—  
Marks to go on Friday for letters to Buckleys.\*

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Further conversation with Hiram 25<sup>th</sup> April.

He says very few of the three years men, who were to be engaged last January have joined Washington's army. It is not expected by the most sanguine that an army can be raised.

He knows of no enterprise which the French may have in contemplation. A report [is] forwarded in the country that two frigates were arrived in Newport from France, but he could not trace the author, and no official account had been sent to Head Quarters.

Vermont, he thinks, will revolt.

The disaffection increases daily in Connecticut and New York governments. Their cattle and property are frequently sold to pay the taxes.

*Extract of a letter from Chew. †*  
28<sup>th</sup> April 1781.

Mr Harris the person sent to the East end of Long Island, not being able to procure a horse did not get to Sag Harbour before the 19<sup>th</sup> last. Major Davis, a Continental officer, who is said to have come from Connecticut to buy clothing for the Connecticut line, for which he (having procured it) paid hard money, left that place in great haste on information that some Refugee boats were at the Canoe place— ‡ The Refugees arrived at Sag Harbour time enough to take him and the

\* Buckley lived near Fairfield, Conn., and was a person through whom intelligence was sent for Sir H. Clinton, as appears from a subsequent entry in this "Private Intelligence."

† "Chew" was probably Joseph Chew, of New London, Ct., who, according to Sabine, "was a commissary in the royal service," and who, in 1777, four years before, had been taken prisoner at Sag Harbor.

‡ "The Canoe Place" was the narrow isthmus, forming the portage or crossing between Peconic Bay, an arm of the Sound on the north side, and Shinnecock Bay, an arm of the Atlantic Ocean, on the south side of Long Island, over which boats were hauled from one side to the other when on the marauding expeditions of the day.

goods, to the amount of £2000, but by pursuing a whale boat instead of going into the harbour they missed the object. One Isaacs\* of East Hampton was privy to this transaction.

*The following extract of the same letter was sent to the Admiral—†*

On the 19<sup>th</sup> Inst a fleet of 21 sail, one of them a 64 gun ship, two or three frigates, the others transports and Armed Vessels, left New Port.—At Block Island a man who saw them at that Island told him they were steering South East. The same day a body of troops set out from thence, as was said, to join Washington, to the amount of about 2000 men; this he heard from a man who saw them on the Road between Rhode Island and New London.

One French line of Battle Ship had her masts out, another was repairing and the Romulus was getting ready to be hove down. N. B. A paragraph in the same letter mentioning privateers, whale boats, &c, follows this, but not here copied. †

*Intelligence ————— Supposed of this date—28<sup>th</sup> April.*

There is a plan on foot to form an attack or surprise on the troops and garrison of Lloyd's Neck, and unless some violent exertions by the vessels and boats there, 'tis very probable it will be effected §—

The French troops are on their march for the North River, and it is said are to take post with some Continental troops at White Plains—

\* In June, 1779, Aaron Isaacs, of Suffolk Co., N. Y., then a detained refugee at Hartford, Ct., petitioned the Connecticut authorities for leave to go to East Hampton for a horse and some flax, —Rev. Inc. Suffolk Co., p. 79. He was probably the man here mentioned.

† Arbuthnot.

‡ This "Extract" refers to the sailing of the French fleet for Virginia, and the first movement of Rochambeau's army on their way to join Washington at Whiteplains, N. Y. The "Romulus" was the British frigate captured by de Tilly, during the first brief French expedition to the Chesapeake from Rhode Island, above mentioned.

§ This plan proposed on April 6th, 1781, by Major Tallmadge, and assented to by Washington on the 8th, was, that two French frigates, supported by a body of troops in boats under Tallmadge, should make the attack in the absence of the British fleet. It failed, because no French ships could then be obtained for the purpose. Tallmadge in his letter tells Washington that "there appears to have been a regular system adopted to open a more effectual communication with the disaffected in Connecticut. Chains of intelligence which are daily growing more and more dangerous, and the more injurious traffic are but two fatal consequences of this system. My informer has requested me to propose to your Excellency a plan to break up the whole body of these marauders." Washington's reply, agreeing to the plan, contains this illustration of his own method of obtaining secret intelligence through Tallmadge: "In the mean time I wish you to be as particular as possible, in obtaining from your friend an accurate account of the enemy's strength on York, Long, and Staten Islands, specifying the several corps and their distributions. This, I think, from the enemy's weak state may be procured with more facility and accuracy than at any former period. I wish to know also the strength of the last detachment from New York, and of what troops it was composed."—Precisely the same kind of information as to Clinton's army, that we find by this "Private Intelligence" Clinton obtained as to his army.—VIII. Sparks, 3 and 4.

Violent measures are pursuing by Connecticut, and have nearly prepared the minds of the people to receive any proposals for peace—their taxes are insupportable.

General Waterbury\* puts the violent laws in force on the lines. He has whipped a number and sent to the mines others, who were charged with breaking the laws.

*April 29<sup>th</sup> 1781. 5 o'clock A. M.*

*Col Robinson, I: S:* who was despatched the 24<sup>th</sup> inst to obtain intelligence from Rhode Island, is just returned.

Reports—that “he crossed the Sound from the Oyster Ponds † to the Rope Ferry ‡ the 26<sup>th</sup> at night.”

That “he then met his friends from Rhode Island, who had come off on purpose to get an opportunity to send the following intelligence to us”—viz;

That the whole of the French navy and some transports, with 2500 troops on board were to sail (at farthest on this day the 29<sup>th</sup>) as it was imagined for the Chesapeake, supposing our fleet so disabled as not to be able soon to follow them. The French troops had marched to Providence for a few days then returned and immediately embarked—

That “this day se’ night 20 transports sailed from Rhode Island, with provisions, supposed for the West Indies, but does not know what convoy they had.

That “the Rebels are using every method in their power to forward recruits to Washington’s army and are pretty successful—

The French frigate *Hermione* is arrived at Rhode Island. The *Deane* frigate at Boston.

*30<sup>th</sup> April—*

*Jn. Trubody* left East Hampton last Thursday says he heard seventeen ships, two of them Frigates, had Sailed from Rhode Island, on Thursday se’ night supposed for Old France and that the French troops had marched to Providence, in order to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington’s army. He did not hear of anything having sailed from Rhode Island since that time.

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*Extract of a letter from Capt Marquard to Capt Beckwith, May 6<sup>th</sup> 1781.*

I am just informed that a body of troops are now on their march from Rhode Island towards the North River: They are hourly expected in the Highlands above Peekskill where the ground for their encampment has been already marked out.

\* Gen. David Waterbury, Jr., of Stamford, Ct.

† The Northeasternmost end of Long Island.

‡ The “Rope Ferry” was across Niantic Bay, in Connecticut, a little west of New London.

The Rebel detachments at Croton River have been reinforced—Colonel Green commands them.\*

Major De Lancey &c &c.

*Copy of a letter to Major Brown dated 10<sup>th</sup> May.*

Dear Sir

Enclosed you have the last Chatham paper, in return please to send your latest. If you have not sent my p—l before this reaches you, be pleased to send it by the bearer Mr E: J: who will take particular charge of it &c—A gentleman this moment arrived from Philadelphia, says, there has been a battle fought lately between Gen<sup>l</sup> Philips and Steuben, which lasted two hours; the latter retreated with the loss of about 80 killed and console themselves by saying they made a good retreat and took up a bridge of importance and saved themselves: It was nigh Petersburg in Virginia. The Marquis was expected to join Steuben in a day or two after the battle.†

&c signed (Trusty †—

*Extracts of letters from a gentleman in Philadelphia to Captain Beckwith, received the 12<sup>th</sup> of May—*

April 21<sup>th</sup>

The Trumbull Frigate is preparing to go out on a cruize; Paul Jones in the Ariel has his sails bent in order to return with dispatches to France. These dispatches if you can but catch them, I think will discover our nakedness.§

April 23<sup>d</sup>

A small fleet of foraging vessels convoyed by three armed schooners and com

\* Col. Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, who was killed at the surprise of Pine's Bridge by Col. James de Lancey's corps, on May 14th, 1781, just eight days after the receipt of this letter of Capt. Marquard.

† Jefferson on 9th May (one day only before the above letter to Major Brown) wrote Washington from Richmond, thus: "They (the enemy) marched up to Petersburg, where they were received by Major-General Baron Steuben, with a body of militia, somewhat under one thousand, who, though the enemy were two thousand three hundred strong, disputed the ground very handsomely two hours, during which the enemy gained one mile only and that by inches. Our troops were then ordered to retire over a bridge, which they did in perfectly good order. \* \* \* \* An inferiority of numbers obliged our force to withdraw about twelve miles upwards, till more militia should be assembled. The enemy burnt all the tobacco in the warehouses at Petersburg and its neighborhood. They afterwards proceeded to Osborne's (City Point) where they did the same, and also destroyed the residue of the public armed vessels, and several of private property, and then came to Manchester, which is on the hill opposite this place."—III. Rev. Corr. 307.

‡ The opening paragraphs of this letter of "Trusty" are somewhat enigmatical; the second is evidently a demand for the writer's pay.

§ Paul Jones arrived at Philadelphia in the Ariel with a cargo of military stores, clothing, etc. from L'Orient, on the 18th Feby., 1781, and remained there till the time mentioned in the next entry of May 4th.



manded by Paul Jones's Lieutenant are now gone down the river in order to collect all they can get near the shore in the Delaware. Our spirits are up again ; nineteen sail of vessels have arrived in this Port within the last Three or four days, with merchandise from the West Indies. Many of them from the Havanah, which brought in real specie, upwards of one hundred & sixty thousand dollars, in exchange for flour : this flour most certainly did in a very great degree enable the Spaniards to fit out their expedition against Pensacola : which had actually sailed before those vessels left the Havanah.—

*May 4<sup>th</sup>.*

The French Frigate *Hermione* is returned to this Port for provisions, and is now loading. The *Trumbull* and *Ariel* are still here and the *Fair American* Privateer, which are all the ships of War now in port —

The Revolution, a private ship of twenty Guns sailed on a cruize, a few days ago —

From thirty to forty Merchant vessels (mostly armed) are in Port, and loading with Tobacco for France. The late arrivals from the Havanah and France, has raised the drooping spirits of the traders of this place exceedingly. How has it happened, that such a number got in, with so little loss ? Is it possible that they will return with as little ? They will sail again very shortly.\*

*Copy of Letter to Capt Beckwith,  
dated Shrewsbury, † May 13<sup>th</sup> 1781*

Dear Sir

Nothing material has turned up since I wrote you last from Philadelphia except the fall of the paper money. Old Continental dollars are now at about 8 or 900 for one : the new State money about six for one and in bad credit even at that : no person can make any considerable purchase of any kind of property Either in town or country with paper at all : The Assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey are summoned to meet on the Solemn occasion ‡.—Distractions amongst the people

\* The inaction of Admiral Arbuthnot in not intercepting the vessels referred to, is mentioned in many accounts of this period of the war very unfavorably to his reputation.

† In Monmouth Co., New Jersey, west of Long Branch.

‡ Six days prior to the date of the above letter, the following striking incident, illustrative of the then monetary condition in Philadelphia, occurred : " May 7th. The Congress is finally bankrupt ! Last Saturday a large body of the inhabitants, with paper dollars in their hats by way of cockades, paraded the streets of Philadelphia, carrying colors flying, with a DOG TARRED, and instead of the usual appendage and ornament of feathers, his back was covered with the Congress paper dollars. This example of disaffection, immediately under the eyes of the rulers of the revolted provinces in solemn session at the State House assembled, was directly followed by the jailer (*the jail was on Walnut and Sixth streets directly in the rear of the State House where the congress sat*), who refused accepting the bills in purchase of a glass of rum, and afterwards by the traders of the city, who shut up their shops, declining to sell any more goods but for gold or silver. It was

are daily increasing—our Governor Reed is getting into the utmost disgrace amongst all ranks of people.\*

+ On Thursday Evening last a ship belonging to Philadelphia arrived at that place in thirty two days from L'Orient ; the Captain of which reports " that a very large fleet had actually Sailed from Brest about the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, destined for the East Indies, the West Indies, and North America : and that those destined for America consisted of Ten Sail of the line and ten thousand troops, to Rendezvous at Rhode Island. How much of this account is true I cannot say, but certain it is, this is the account he brings.

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N.B. Copies of the above from the place marked with + were sent to the Admiral, † &c. &c.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Beckwith, dated 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1781.*

Dear Sir

Captain Hatfield † informs me that he has received information from Jersey, that above one hundred of the detachment of the Jersey troops, sent with Fayette to the Southward, had deserted to us somewhere near Petersburg, & nearly in one body : this was mentioned by an Officer of the Jersey troops quartered near Chatham. He likewise tells me that the twelve month men are under orders to march towards the frontiers, the Indians being very troublesome in that Quarter.

Yrs G. B.

Major DeLancey &c. &c.

16<sup>th</sup> May 1781

Mr Rivingston's humble respects & informs Major De Lancey that Mr Stedman of Philadelphia has just communicated as follows, derived from a channel he can assuredly rely on —

Mr Jos : Reed Chief of the Executive Council of Pensylvania has with his family been obliged by the mob of Philadelphia to fly for protection on Board Le Hermione, bound for Rhode Island. The Roebuck man of War is doing duty for that frigate off the Delaware.

declared also by the popular voice, that if the opposition to Great Britain was not in future carried on by solid money instead of paper bills, all further resistance to the mother country were vain, and must be given up." This account was published in Rivington's Gazetteer of 12th May, 1781.

\* Growing out of his action in relation to the paper money. See ch. xiii., vol. ii. of Reed's Life of Reed, especially the documents there given ; also " Penn. Journal" of 16th May, 1781, and Capt. Sullivan's statement of 17th May *post*, in this " Private Intelligence."

† Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot.

‡ Two of the Jersey family of this name, John Smith Hatfield and Cornelius Hatfield, were engaged in furnishing information, etc., at this time, and this " Captain Hatfield " was probably one of them.

(To be continued.)

FOUR UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON'S  
FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE

*Editor of Magazine of American History :*

I have recently come into possession of a number of the domestic letters of General Washington, as also those of members of his family. As they illustrate favorably the private character of Washington, as well as the manners of the day in which they were penned, they may prove of interest to the readers of your Magazine.

Respectfully yours,

WM. ALEX. SMITH.

412 MADISON AVENUE, 29TH NOV., 1883.

*President Washington to his Sister Mrs. Betty Lewis.*

Mount Vernon Oct 7, 1772.

My Dear Sister

As M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and myself expect to set out tomorrow for Philadelp<sup>a</sup> I have taken advantage of the good opportunity afforded by M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Lewis of sending Harriet to Fredericksburg.—It is done at this time (notwithstanding your proposed visit to Albermarle) 1<sup>st</sup> because it would be improper to leave her here after we are all gone ; 2<sup>nd</sup>—because there would be no person to accompany her down afterwards ;—and 3<sup>rd</sup> because it might be inconvenient for her to travel alone.—

She comes—as M<sup>rs</sup> Washington informs me—very well provided with everything proper for a girl in her situation :—this much I know that she costs me enough.—I do not however want you (or anyone else) to do more by her than merely to admit her into your family whilst this House is uninhabited by a female white woman, and thereby rendered an unfit place for her to remain at. I shall continue to do for her what I have already done for seven years past, and that is to furnish her with such reasonable and proper necessaries as she may stand in need of, notwithstanding I have had both her brothers upon my hands and I have been obliged to pay several hundred pounds out of my own pocket for their board, schooling, and cloathing, &c, for more than the period aforementioned : their father's estate being unable to discharge the executions as fast as they are issued against it.

Harriet has sense enough but no disposition to industry, nor to be careful of her cloathes. Your example and admonition may with proper restraints overcome the two last and to that end I wish you would examine her cloathes, and direct her in the use and application of them—for without this they will be (I am told) dabbed about, in every hole and corner, and her best things always in use. Fanny was too easy, too much of her own indolent turn, and had too little authority to cause either by precept or example any change in this for the better, and M<sup>r</sup> Washing-

ton's absence has been injurious to her in many respects—but she is young and with good advice, may yet make a fine woman. If notwithstanding the suggestion that she is well provided with everything (except a cloak which may not to be had in Alexandria and may be got at Fredericksburg, a deficiency is found and you wish to supply it, there will be no occasion for your laying in advance more than ten days as I could at any time remit a bank note in a letter in four days after I was made acquainted with the amount. I do not mean by this to launch into expensiveness—she has no pretensions to it, nor would the state of my finances enable me to indulge her in that if she had.

M<sup>rs</sup> Washington joins me in best wishes for the perfect restoration of your health and every other blessing and

I am &c

George Washington

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*Mrs. Betty Lewis to President Washington.*

January 29, 1793

My Dear Brother

Your letters of Janu<sup>r</sup> the 6<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of this month came duly to hand, the enclosed letter to my son Robert met with a speedy conveyance the same day, the other with the money for Harriet, which I shall see that no part of it shall be laid out but in those things that is really necessary, it is unfortunate for her my living in town, for many things that could be wore to the last string in a country place, will not do here, where we see so much company, and I must say less would be more agreeable to me.

I must in justice to Harriet say she Payes the strictest regard to the advice I give her, and really she is very ingenius in making her clothes, and altering them to the best advantage. Your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> should have received an earlier acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> but my having business in town to sell what little wheat I had, my letter was not sent as I directed ; I wish Howell to give me some information what it sells for in Philadelphia and if it will rise or fall in price—Harriet desires me to thank you for your kindness to her, and joins me in returning your complim<sup>t</sup>, by wishing you many happy New Years.

I am with sincere love to you and my sister

Your affe<sup>t</sup> sister

Betty Lewis

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*Mrs. Betty Lewis to President Washington.*

April 6<sup>th</sup> 1793

My dear Brother

Your letter with the advertisement came safe to hand but was too late for the last week's Paper, but will be inserted in this, and to be continued the time you directed, the Printer's charge is  $\frac{7}{6}$ . I intended to write by cousin Washington but her stay was so short that I had not time I desired her to inform you that Harriet was in want of several things, such as shoes, gloves, and a Hat. Perhaps it may be more agreeable to you to get them in Alexandria, if not I believe they may be purchased as cheap here as any place. I keep an exact memorandum of every article that is got and will send it to you. The money sent from Philadelphia purchased her a dress for the Birthnight. It mus<sup>t</sup> have appeared Particular had I refused to let her go, and her having nothing fit for that purpose obliged me to lay out that money for that dress. Harriet desires her love with mine to you and Cousin Washington.

I am dear Brother your Affectionate Sister

Betty Lewis

P. S. If you can send me a Ticket in the Washington Lottery I will send you the money by the first safe hand.

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*President Washington to his Nephew, Major George Lewis.*

Philadelphia 7<sup>th</sup> April 1796.

Dear Sir.

Tuesday's Post brought me a letter from a Mr. Andrew Parks of Frede<sup>s</sup> covering one from your mother, both on the subject of overtures of marriage made by the former to your cousin Harriet Washington, which it seems depend upon my consent for consummation.

My sister speaks of Mr. Parks as a sober discreet man and one who is attentive to business, Mr. Parks, says of himself that his fortune at present does not much exceed three thousand pounds but with industry and economy he has every expectation of rapidly improving his condition being concerned with his brother-in-law Mr. Th. Elderry of Baltimore in mercantile business.

As I am an entire stranger to Mr. Parks To his family connexion, or his connexions in trade, his mode of living—his habits—and to his prospects in trade, I should be glad if you would ascertain them with as much precision as you can, and write me with as little delay as you can well avoid.

Harriet having little or no fortune of her own, has no right to expect a great

one in a husband, but it is desirable she should marry a gentleman, one who is well connected and can support her decently, in the life she has always moved, otherwise she would not find matrimony with a large family perhaps about her and scanty means, so eligible a situation as she may have conceived.

I am your sincere friend and

Affectionate Uncle

George Washington

## MINOR TOPICS

### NEW YORK'S MAMMOTH CELEBRATION

The one hundredth anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British army was celebrated on Monday, November 26, in a manner highly creditable to the great metropolis. The day opened with cold gusts of winds and dark storm clouds. At nine o'clock in the morning, while the civic and military organizations were on their way to take position in the parade, which was one of remarkable magnitude and variety, the rain began to fall in torrents, and continued to drench the multitude until night came. But the elements utterly failed to produce any perceptible coolness in the ardor of enthusiasm with which the pageant was greeted. From Fifty-seventh street to the Battery, a distance of nearly five miles, a million or more of spectators were packed along the route from pavement to house-tops, in one solid mass—the squares were also black with people, the side streets blockaded, trees filled with men and boys, every lamp-post holding one or more occupants, and venturesome humanity perched even upon the telegraph poles, all alike soaking in the storm with the most unflinching fortitude, for six, seven and eight hours without intermission. The land procession, led by General John Cochrane, embodied some forty thousand men, and the imposing spectacle was upward of five hours in passing any given point. As a military display it was one not to be surpassed under any conditions. The veterans with their tattered battle flags were a grand and touching feature of the column. The old volunteer fire department, led by John Decker, its last chief, attracted all eyes, and elicited one continual shout of enthusiastic welcome through the whole line of march. They dragged their old battered "machines," alongside the modern triumphs of art, probably for the last time in New York's history. The President of the United States, the governors of states, the chamber of commerce, and the various historical and other societies occupied carriages, which were necessarily closed to exclude the unwelcome rain; but the good-natured crowd bore the infliction heroically when a half mile of these closed vehicles, like a long funeral procession, paused every now and then owing to the inevitable delays on the route. The great marine parade in the harbor was also a remarkably interesting display, although the line of steam-craft moved irregularly at times because of the dense fog. The scenes and incidents of the day, on both land and water, were of such interest and significance, that they should be gathered and preserved for future generations in permanent form.

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### BANQUET OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The banquet of the merchants and their guests at Delmonico's on the one hundredth anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British was a notable affair.

Two hundred and twenty-three gentlemen gathered about the tables. The President of the United States was present, also the governors of seven of the original thirteen states of the Union and of one of the territories, with numerous other gentlemen of distinction. The raised table, at which the invited guests were seated, supported in its center an ingenious device illustrating the departure of the British, and the raising of the American flag on the Battery. Upon one end of the table stood an emblematic piece of confectionery, representing industry, in the form of a manufactory, while at the other, commerce was represented in the same sweet way as an elevator. Back of the raised table were the two great portraits of Washington by Weimar and of George Clinton by Trumbull, from the governor's room in the City Hall. George W. Lane, president of the chamber, presided, with President Arthur on his immediate right. The after-dinner exercises were flavored with humor, and applauded with enthusiasm. In response to the toast "The Day we Celebrate," Joseph H. Choate made one of the most graceful speeches of the occasion, in which he said :

"The truth is, the boasted triumph of New York in getting rid of the British once and forever has proved, after all, to be but a dismal failure. We drove them out in one century only to see them return the next to devour our substance and to carry off all the honors. We have just seen the noble Chief Justice of England, the boasted favorite of all America, making a triumphal tour across the continent, and carrying all before him at the rate of fifty miles an hour. Night after night, at our very great cost, we have been paying the richest tribute to the reigning monarch of the British stage, and nowhere in the world are English men and women of character and culture received with a more hearty welcome, a more earnest hospitality than in this very city of New York. The truth is that this event that we celebrate to-day, which sealed the independence of America and seemed for the moment to give a staggering blow to the prestige and the power of England, has proved to be no less a blessing to her own people than to ours. The latest and best of the English historians has said that however important the independence of America might be in the history of England, it was of overwhelming importance in the history of the world, and that though it might have crippled for a while the supremacy of the English nation, it founded the supremacy of the English race ; and after tracing the growth of America from three millions of people scattered along the Atlantic coast in 1783, to fifty millions of people filling the whole continent to-day, he declares that in wealth and material energy, as well as in numbers, it far surpasses the mother country from which it springs ; that it has become the main branch of the English people, and that the history of that people, henceforth, is to run not along the channel of the Thames and the Mersey, but of the Hudson and the Mississippi. And in the same spirit we welcome the fact that those merely political and material barriers that separated the two nations a century ago have now utterly vanished, for year by year we are being drawn closer and closer together, and this day may be celebrated with equal fitness by all who speak the English tongue.



## NOTES

SIGNERS OF THE THREE GREAT DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH OUR NATIONAL BIRTH—List of those who Signed the PETITION to the King of 1774, and the DECLARATION.

*Mass.*—Sam'l Adams, John Adams, Rob't Treat Paine.

*Rhode Island*—Stephen Hopkins.

*Conn.*—Roger Sherman.

*New York*—Philip Livingston, William Floyd.

*New Jersey*—John Hart.

*Penn.*—George Ross, John Morton.

*Delaware*—Geo. Read, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean.

*Maryland*—Sam'l Chase, William Paca.

*Virginia*—Richard Henry Lee, Benj. Harrison.

*North Car.*—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes.

*South Car.*—Thos. Lynch, Edward Rutledge.

List of those who Signed the PETITION and the CONSTITUTION.

*Conn.*—Roger Sherman.

*New Jersey*—William Livingston.

*Penn.*—Thomas Mifflin.

*Delaware*—George Read.

*Virginia*—George Washington.

*South Car.*—J. Rutledge.

List of those who Signed the DECLARATION and the CONSTITUTION.

*Conn.*—Roger Sherman.

*Penn.*— { Benj. Franklin, Rob't Morris, George Clymer, James Wilson.

*Delaware*—George Read.

List of those who Signed the PETITION,

the DECLARATION, and the CONSTITUTION.

*Delaware*—George Read.

*Conn.*—Roger Sherman.

## CONTRIBUTOR

LAST CANTONMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY—The troops of the cantonment near New Windsor, having removed to the post of West Point, all farmers, and others who have veal, mutton, poultry, and other small meats to dispose of, also vegetables of all kinds, are hereby invited to bring the same to this post, where they will find a ready market, and ample protection in their persons and property.

WEST POINT, June 24, 1783.

JOHN CAMPBELL, *Asst. Q. M.*

TO BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION, on Tuesday the second day of September next, THE HUTS lately occupied by the first and third Massachusetts Brigades, the Building called the TEMPLE, and other scattered HUTS in the vicinity. The sales will begin at the Temple at two o'clock in the afternoon.

At the same time and place will be sold all the Wood and Timber cut by the troops, and now lying on the lands in and adjoining the late cantonment of the army.

On Wednesday, the third day of September next, will be sold at Public Auction at Newburgh, a number of WAGONS, a quantity of old Public Stores, consisting principally of Horses, Harness, Yokes and Bows, Artificers' Tools, and Farming Utensils. The sale to begin at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Only Cash, Bank Notes, Mr. Morris's Notes, Mr. Hillegas's Notes or Debts contracted in the Quarter-Master's department since the first day of January, 1782, will be admitted in payment.

QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE  
NEWBURGH, *August 26, 1783.*

W. K.

THE WASHINGTON STATUE—At the unveiling of Washington's statue on the steps of the Sub-Treasury building on Evacuation Day, George W. Lane, the presiding officer, said, addressing President Arthur: "As President of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, the pleasant duty devolves upon me to tender, through you, to the Government of the United States the custody of this statue of Washington, erected by citizens of New York, pursuant to act of Congress, to commemorate his taking the oath of office, on this spot, as the first President."

The President replied: "It is fitting that other lips than mine should give voice to the sentiments of pride and patriotism which this occasion cannot fail to inspire in every heart. To myself has been assigned but a slight and formal part in the day's exercises, and I shall not exceed its becoming limits.

"I have come to this historic spot where the first President of the Republic took oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, simply to accept in behalf of the Government this tribute to his memory. Long may the noble statue you have here set up stand where you have placed it, a monument alike to your generosity and public spirit, and to the wisdom and virtue and genius of the immortal Washington."

George William Curtis delivered the oration of the day, standing on the same stone on which Washington had taken his first oath of office. He said: "Among the most imposing events in history must always be accounted the simple ceremony which was transacted here. The human mind craves lofty figures for a memorable scene, and loves to decorate with fitting circumstance the fulfillment of great affairs. For this event all such conditions were satisfied. The scene was set with every ample preparation of historic significance and patriotic association, with the most eminent actors, with most auspicious anticipation. For the occasion itself America offered no place more becoming, for no spot is more conspicuously, more honorably, or more closely identified than this with the history of American liberty. The scene around us is marvelously changed, indeed, from its aspect in the colonial, the provincial, the revolutionary city. How transformed this street from the resort of fashion, the seat of the State Government, the modest residence of merchants, diplomatists, and statesmen, which was the Wall Street of a century ago! Then the social and political heart of a small and struggling community, it is now the financial nerve-center of a continent. But if the vast competitions and contentions of capital and enterprise which involve the prosperity of States and nations have overlaid the plain scene of political strife with a field of cloth of gold, yet still the hallowed soil is here. The swarming street is but a picture painted over. Beneath the ever-shifting characters of speculation and of eager trade incessantly traced upon this pave-

ment of the modern city lies the undimmed and indelible patriotic record of old New York. The spot upon which we stand was the site of the second City Hall, which for more than a hundred years was the seat and center of the active political life of the State and city. Here, in 1735, the trial of John Zenger, one of the most famous and significant causes in the colonial annals, established the freedom of the American press, and declared the cardinal principle of its liberty, that the publication of the truth is not a libel. From the Assembly of New York, sitting in this place in 1764, proceeded the protest against the Stamp Act, and here the Committees of Correspondence were appointed which combined and organized colonial action. In this ancient hall assembled the Stamp Act Congress, the first congress of the united colonies, whose clear and uncompromising voice announced the American purpose and foretold American independence. It was a New York merchant, President of the Chamber of Commerce, who wrote the address of the Congress to the House of Commons. They were New York merchants who, as the congress adjourned, attested their high design by forming a league and covenant of non-importation. It was to a New York merchant, as mayor of the city, that the British governor of the province and the commander of the royal forces surrendered the hated stamps, and to this spot they were brought in solemn procession, amid the shouts of rejoicing citizens. From the balcony of the hall that stood here the Declaration of Independence was first read to the citizens of New York, and, although the enemy's fleet had entered the harbor, the people, as they

listened, tore down the royal arms from the walls of the hall and burned them in the streets, as their fiery patriotism was about to consume the royal power in the province. Here sat the Continental Congress in its closing days. Here John Jay prepared the instructions of John Adams, the first American minister to Great Britain, and here the Congress received Sir John Temple, the first British consul-general to the United States. Here Jefferson was selected by Congress as minister to France, and here Secretary Jay, with the same equable mind and clear comprehension and unbending integrity that afterward illustrated the first exercise of the judicial power of the Union, directed the foreign affairs of the confederation. Here, also, when the confederation disappeared, the first Congress of the Union assembled. The very air about this hallowed spot is the air of American patriotism. Just there, over the way, where once a modest mansion stood, *The Federalist* was chiefly written. By the most impressive associations, by the most dignified and important historic events, was this place dedicated to the illustrious transaction which we commemorate to-day."

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GENIUS AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS—The Nineteenth Century Club listened to a forcible essay from George W. Cable on the evening of the 6th of December, in which the sensible doctrine was emphasized that in all literary work success must depend upon severe and continual application rather than upon that vague something called inspiration. Mr. Cable does not assume that talent and genius are not essential to achievements

in the production of great masterpieces of literature; but he warns us not to allow effort to wait for inspiration. We must let inspiration answer the calls of effort. The condition of hard work is most favorable to visitations of inspiration, even to genius; and genius and its achievements are inseparably associated with the condition of hard work. Instead of waiting for inspiration, great writers work for it. The elaboration and perfection in detail of what inspiration suggests, requires also the practical application of the gospel of untiring industry. Mr. Cable further said: "Literature is the architecture of thought. Therefore, it seems to me, the producer of literature, more than any other person who makes it his calling or pastime to evolve artistic work, must, if he would be a whole, round artist, be a whole, round man. The painter, the sculptor, the musician, even the architect, may live to himself, and may be the better artist for so doing; but the writer must be a citizen. He must be a man among men, or suffer a discount on his quality. He may live in the past and burn and shine in that setting like stars in the sky; but he must be of the day, and while he lives none the less in the past, and for the future, live in, and for, and with the present—the men, and the things and the affairs that are here at hand."

DID WASHINGTON LAUGH?—It has been observed that Washington seldom smiled, and never laughed. This, however, is not correct. One instance is mentioned by a gentleman, well known for his veracity, with a degree of *sang-froid*. At the time the troops were encamped at Cambridge, information was received at headquarters that the English

were about leaving Boston to give them battle. All was bustle and confusion. The soldiers were strolling over the town, and the officers were but ill prepared for the approaching rencontre. Some of the generals were calling for their horses, and others for their arms; and among the rest was General Greene, at the bottom of the stairs, bawling to the barber for his wig. "Bring my wig, you rascal; bring my wig." General Lee diverted himself and the rest of the company at the expense of Greene. "Your wig is behind the looking-glass, sir." At which Greene, raising his eyes, perceived, by the mirror, that the wig was where it should be—on his head. *Washington, in a fit of laughter, threw himself on the sofa, and the whole group presented rather a ludicrous spectacle. New York Mirror, January 11, 1834.*

SEABURY EPITAPHS—The following inscriptions were copied from tombstones in the yard of the old Caroline Church at Setauket, Long Island, August, 1883.

ANN wife of Rev CHARLES  
SEABURY Rector of Caroline  
Church, died March 22 1816  
aged 39

Rev. CHARLES SEABURY for thirty  
years Rector of this Church.  
He was son of the first American  
Bishop and was born in  
West Chester New York May 29th  
1770 and died in this village  
Dec 29th 1844

CHARLES SALTONSTALL SEABURY  
born in New London, Conn.  
Dec 10 1802. died in  
Stony Brook, Long Island. Sept.  
29. 1859

WILLIAM Son of Charles S. & Ruth  
H. Seabury born Nov 4. 1834  
died April 13 1844

W. K.

## REPLIES

THE ARMY AT NEWBURGH, 1782-83 [x. 355]—The article on "The Last Cantonment of the Main Continental Army of the Revolution," contributed by Major Gardner to the *MAGAZINE* for November, 1883, punctures certain historical fallacies which have long been an eye-sore to readers familiar with the period—nothing being more satisfactory than the exposure of that huge misconception known as Washington's refusal of a crown.

In his process of demolition, however, the writer advances the unexpected criticism that it is inaccurate and misleading to speak of Washington's army as encamped at *Newburgh* in the winter of 1782-83, when evidently, as represented, it was encamped near *New Windsor*, two miles below. The basis of this criticism is largely the De Witt survey of the ground accompanying the article in question.

That the cantonment was nearer New Windsor than Newburgh is not to be, and, doubtless, never has been disputed, but it will scarcely be alleged that this fact determines the use of the former name to the exclusion of the latter. The survey fails to designate the camp by any name, while it noticeably includes Newburgh and New Windsor alike as towns in the "vicinity," leaving it for the common observer to decide whether a site that is two miles from one place and three miles from another may not be regarded as being near both.

The cantonment has always been associated, and correctly associated, with both places, the records describing it variously as the "New Windsor cantonment," the cantonment "behind" New

Windsor, cantonment "on Hudson River," camp "at" and "near" Newburgh, and cantonment "in the vicinity of Newburgh." Washington's orders are sufficiently explicit in the case, as where, under date of November 9, 1782, it is announced that "the cantonment in the vicinity of *Newburgh* will be under the orders of Maj.-Gen. Gates;" and again, "As the duty upon the lines and at Verplank's and Stony Point and Dobbs Ferry will be done in routine by troops from the cantonment at *Newburgh*," etc. The charge of "misleading" should more properly be brought against the commander-in-chief, so far as in his public letters, written from head-quarters at Newburgh, he repeatedly refers to "*this* cantonment," and to the army at "*this* place," without designating the locality, hence authorizing the inference that Newburgh was intended.

References might accumulate. Thus a pass signed by Colonel Barber, February 1, 1783, is given at the "Cantonment at Newburgh." General Otho H. Williams writes from "Camp, Newburgh, 28th Nov., 1782." Colonel Cobb, later in life, speaks of "the meeting of officers in the Temple at Newburgh." Pickering alludes to the army "at Newburgh." General Hand directs a note from the "Orderly Office, Newburgh." Instructions, countersigns, passes, assignments, provisions, clothes, medicines and stores were issued from Newburgh. The army was there—"at," "near," or "in the vicinity" of the place.

If the application of the name Newburgh to the army is improper, it is equally improper to apply it to the well-

known anonymous letters, commonly described as the "Newburgh Addresses," and by which term they are referred to by Major Gardner. Those letters it has been established upon the testimony of the general himself, were written at General Gates' quarters at New Windsor, circulated in the neighboring camp, and repudiated at the army "Temple." Shall they be distinguished hereafter as the New Windsor addresses?

Representative historians, including Bancroft, Sparks, and others, adopt the name Newburgh for this cantonment, which may be accepted as, both topographically and historically, a correct designation.

H. P. JOHNSTON

LAFAYETTE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE WASHINGTON HEAD-QUARTERS [x. 379-521]—I question the accuracy of Judge-Advocate Gardner's statement that "Lafayette never was at Washington's head-quarters at Newburgh." It is well-known that he was quartered at New Windsor, with Washington, in 1781, and no doubt made himself familiar with the farmers' houses in the neighborhood. It is recorded of him, in his voyage up the river in the fall of 1824, that in passing New Windsor, he recognized the house that he occupied in the winter of 1781, and, calling Major Cooper, who was with him, to talk over the incidents of that winter, said: "Do you recollect when Major —, who used to slide down that hill with the girls, came near being drowned by falling through the ice? He was an eccentric, but an excellent man."

I have often thought that the description in Col. Fish's story applied to the old Ellison House at New Windsor, so long the head-quarters of Washington,

and not to the stone house at Newburgh. The William Ellison house was also of stone, built in 1735. The interior of both houses were probably alike. Lafayette would have a pleasant recollection of the quaint old structure that gave him shelter before his march to the southward, where victory and fame awaited him.

NEW WINDSOR

LAFAYETTE AT NEWBURGH IN 1824 (x. 379-521)—Accompanied by a representative from the Corporation of New York, the Society of the Cincinnati, and other distinguished personages, Gen. Lafayette left New York at two o'clock on the morning of September 15, 1824, on board the steamboat James Kent, that had been provided for his trip to Albany, and the towns on the Hudson River. When off Tarrytown the boat was enveloped in a fog so dense that the pilot could not see five rods ahead. The result was that the boat ran aground on the Oyster Bank, where she was detained for several hours, entirely disarranging the programme provided for the trip. West Point was reached at half-past twelve o'clock, where the General partook of an entertainment, one of the volunteer toasts being proposed by Dr. Capron. At six o'clock the General rose from the table and re-embarked on the Kent, which proceeded to Newburgh. On her arrival there the twilight had so far advanced as to render objects indistinct, even at a very short distance. The General was escorted to the Orange Hotel, where he was received by the authorities, and after replying to their address, he entered an open carriage and was driven through the principal streets of the village, which were thronged with

people, who were delighted with a glimpse of his face, even caught by the aid of a flickering lamp. On his return to the Orange Hotel several hundred persons were presented to him. At nine o'clock he laid down to rest, and was called at eleven to partake of an elegant supper. At midnight the General and his suite went on board the Kent, and retired to rest. The boat got under way, and before daylight anchored off Poughkeepsie. Lafayette reached New York on his return from Albany September 20th, without stopping at Newburgh.

It will be seen from the above statement that Lafayette did not visit the Hasbrouck House during the few hours he was at Newburgh in the evening and night of September 16, 1824.

PETERSFIELD

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO NEWBURGH IN 1824 (x. 379-521)—Levasseur, in his interesting work, *Lafayette en Amérique en 1824-5*, states that the General arrived at Newburgh at seven o'clock in the evening, and was escorted through the streets by torchlight. No mention is made of the head-quarters of Washington.

F. F. L.

COLONEL FRANCIS BARBER [x. 374]—In my article in the November number on the last cantonment of the Continental Army of the Revolution, I accepted, without verification, in a collateral account of the decease of this gallant officer, the statement found on page 64 of the "General Orders of Washington at Newburgh," as compiled and published by Major Edward C. Boynton, on May 1, 1883, with the approval of the Trustees of Washington's Head-quarters.

Since then, in looking over the register of the New Jersey State Society of the Cincinnati, edited by Mr. Francis Barber Ogden, its secretary, I find that Colonel Barber was killed on February 11, 1783, instead of on April 19, 1783, as stated by Major Boynton.

ASA BIRD GARDNER

Nov. 22, 1883

[The above communication from Major Gardner arrived a little too late for insertion in the December MAGAZINE. Since then other Replies touching upon the same subject have been received, one of which we print below, since it furnishes interesting data aside from the main point under consideration.—EDITOR.]

COLONEL FRANCIS BARBER [vi. 60-301; vii. 66-374; x. 374-520]—This distinguished officer of the New Jersey line met his melancholy fate, not upon the day of the celebration of the peace, April 19, 1783, but on the 11th of February previous. It may be stated further that varied, and brilliant as his military career is known to have been, he was not present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton in 1776-7, but was with his regiment in camp at Ticonderoga. Perhaps his best service during the Revolution was rendered as commanding officer of one of the three Light Infantry battalions in Lafayette's Virginia campaign, 1781. There are letters of his extant written from Malvern Hill, in that State. Before the war he was "rector" or principal of the Academy at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, never having been the pastor of the Presbyterian Church with which the school was connected. At the time of his death he was

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Second Regiment, New Jersey Continental line, commanding the New Jersey brigade in camp near Newburgh. Particulars of the accident which befell him appear in two contemporary letters, not generally known, from which extracts are here given. The first—an original in the collection of the New York Historical Society—is from Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Walker to Baron Steuben :

NEWBURG, 12 Feby, 1783.

“I have a most distressing piece of intelligence to communicate to you, my dear Baron—the death of our amiable and worthy friend Colonel Barber—who was killed yesterday about two o’clock by the falling of a tree. He was engaged to accompany Mrs. Barber in the afternoon to visit Mrs. Washington and was going from Camp to his Quarters (about a mile in the rear) for that purpose. As he passed thro’ the woods some soldiers were felling a Tree and did not perceive him till the instant of the tree’s falling when they called to him—& whether owing to the sudden fright or what I know not, instead of putting spurs to his Horse and pushing on he attempted to turn back but had not time—the tree crushed both him & Horse. His death was instant for he uttered not a groan nor shewed the least sign of life when the soldier who ran to him immediately took him out—Thus has an unhappy accident deprived the army of one of its most excellent officers and society of one of its best members—His family (a wife and three children) are inexpressibly afflicted

and the whole army are exceedingly affected—there is no man who was so generally beloved. You, my dear Baron, will I know drop more than one tear to his memory—by us his loss is particularly felt. On the reduction of his Regiment he was to have become one of our family [Washington’s].

\* \* \* \* \*

“B. Walker”

The second letter, written also on the 12th, was published in the *New Jersey Gazette* toward the end of February, 1783, in part, as follows :

“Yesterday our glory ascended to the regions above ! Col. Barber was killed by the most extraordinary accident : He left our huts about 1 o’clock to ride to his quarters, and in going through the woods, in our rear, the top of a large tree, which some soldiers were felling, struck him on the head, and killed him in a minute. The tree was very tall, and the root of it some distance from the path, so that the soldiers did not see him till he was directly opposite ; they cried out, he stopped sudden, and began to turn round his horse but before he got round he received the fatal stroke. . . . I saw him in three minutes after he was struck down but he was entirely breathless.”

Colonel Barber was buried on the 13th from Mr. Wm. Denniston’s house, where he quartered. His grave, according to Mr. Ruttenber’s note, is in Goodwill Cemetery, Montgomery, N. Y.

H. P. JOHNSTON

DECEMBER 7, 1883



## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The seventy-ninth anniversary of this society was fitly celebrated as one of the closing events of the centennial of the evacuation of New York, at the Academy of Music, on the evening of the 27th of November. At eight o'clock the President, Augustus Schell, and the prominent officers and members of the society, accompanied by a large number of distinguished guests, marched down the center aisle and took their places upon the stage. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Vermilye. After a few introductory remarks by the president, the orator of the evening, Honorable John Jay, was introduced, and the large and scholarly audience listened with earnest attention to his able and interesting address on the Peace Negotiations a century ago, which resulted in our present National life. He said in closing: "The simple narrative of historic facts discloses the completeness of the success of the American Commissioners in suddenly reversing the position of subserviency in which they were placed by the instructions—declining to treat as colonies or plantations, assuming a position of sovereign dignity and independence, and compelling its recognition—quietly separating their councils from the unfriendly and disingenuous policy of France, appealing directly and successfully to the better judgment and truest interests of England, and thus overthrowing the hostile schemes so carefully elaborated at Madrid, at Paris, at Philadelphia, to make the United States a feeble Power, easily controlled by the European States, and suddenly startling the world by arti-

cles which would secure its imperial greatness at once and forever. To us who, looking back over the century, have traced the outline of the peace negotiations, and marked the dangers that were discovered and avoided, those negotiations, as read by the light of the records of all the players in that game of nations, will more than ever occupy a chief place among the picturesque and heroic incidents of the Revolution which for seven years have been rehearsed before us."

Dr. George H. Moore, in a most graceful speech, offered a resolution of thanks to Mr. Jay, which was seconded by Honorable William M. Evarts in the happiest vein of eloquence. The resolution was unanimously adopted. Assistant-Bishop Henry C. Potter pronounced a benediction, and the large audience dispersed.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting took place on Nov. 20, 1883, President Arnold in the chair. The librarian reported 892 bound volumes and 2,829 unbound volumes and pamphlets added to the library during the year. These, together with former accessions, make 8,008 bound volumes, and 24,431 unbound books and pamphlets in the library. Gifts have been received of 252 maps, 7 framed portraits, valuable manuscripts, letters, and old newspapers, photographs, old bank bills, etc. From the letters that belonged to the late Gov. Ninian Edwards, a volume is now being published by the society. The treasurer reported the society out of debt, and \$2,017.65 in the treasury. Nine of the public spirited members of

the society had contributed \$14,500, and with this the old debt—contracted before the fire of 1871—had been wiped out.

The trustees of the Gilpin Fund reported that there was on hand \$60,92.620. A portion of this will become available within two years.

Memorial tributes were read in memory of the late Mrs. Wm. H. Brown of Chicago, and Mr. Henry Farnum of New Haven, Conn., members of this society.

Not having a quorum present, the election of officers was postponed until the third Tuesday in January, 1884.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its meeting on the evening of the 3d of December the president, Gen. Henry R. Jackson, took the chair, and in a few words, alluding to the purpose of the meeting, introduced to the unusually large audience Major Sidney Herbert as the author of the movement which had recovered the honored memorial of a brave officer's memory from the dust and decay of neglect and had brought it before the State, reviving the history of a soldier not forgotten, but whose deeds in years gone by were not fitly engraved in the pages of Georgia annals.

Major Herbert's address was one of great interest, and was listened to with the closest attention. Beginning with a reference to Georgia's soldiery and the achievements of her brave sons, he traced the history of Col. Appling's life from his birth as a soldier down to the time of his death at Fort Montgomery in 1817, and

paid an eloquent tribute to his memory as a soldier and as a man. He then presented, in trust to the society, the sword of honor voted by the General Assembly to Lieut.-Col. Daniel Appling in 1814, as a tribute to a brave and gallant soldier.

After the presentation of the sword, which is handsomely encased and mounted upon silk, surrounded with a rich frame, and the resolutions of the General Assembly and Executive orders relative to its care, also handsomely framed, Gen. Jackson, in behalf of the society, in a few words, received the trust committed to its care.

At the conclusion of these exercises the society met in regular session for the transaction of business.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting in November, the following officers were elected: President, Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D.; Vice-President, Professor Simeon E. Baldwin; Treasurer, Robert Peck; Secretary, Thomas R. Trowbridge, Jr.; and a board of directors of twenty gentlemen.

The society has a membership of about two hundred. During November three evenings were devoted to the reading of the journal of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., supercargo of the sailing ship *Neptune*, while on a voyage around the world in 1796-7-8-9. Large audiences listened to the readings. Other interesting papers will be read during the winter.

## BOOK NOTICES

RESEARCHES INTO THE LOST HISTORIES OF AMERICA, or the zodiac shown to be an Old Testament map in which the Atlantic Isle is delineated; so that light can be thrown upon the obscure histories of the earthworks and ruined cities of America. Illustrated with 77 engravings. By W. S. BLACKET. 8vo, pp. 336. Trübner & Co., London; J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. 1884.

"In books on ancient history America has no chapter," writes the learned author of this volume. "Its annals, in the books and universities of all European nations, are supposed to date from what is called the discovery of America by Columbus, yet it is exceedingly unreasonable to suppose that the vast region of America could be destitute of histories earlier than Columbus. On the score of probability, it must be concluded that so great a country as North and South America must have been a component part of the known world, at all periods of the residence of man upon the earth."

The character of the work is both interesting and suggestive, as well as severely abstruse; it treats of the oldest maps extant, in which America appears to be delineated; of the evidence that the ancients must, at some time or other, have been acquainted with America; of the Greek traditions, and America as Oceanus, peopled by Gods, Giants, Nereids, Furies, Gorgons, Faunes, and Demons—their fanciful costumes illustrated; of the ethnology of Mexico and the surrounding countries; of the vast earthworks, scattered over the northern part of North America; of the mysterious ruins and hidden histories of Central America; of sculptured edifices, Cyclopean buildings, and other remains in Western Europe, attesting the presence of American races; of South America as the land of demons; of the influence of ancient Peru upon China, Assyria, and Egypt; of anthropology; and of many other subjects which elicit attention from the learned and studious of all climes. Mr. Blacket modestly claims to have done no more than furnish a clue for further research and investigation, and appropriately dedicates the book to the "international Americanists who have lately held their fifth Biennial Congress at Copenhagen."

MEMOIR OF THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO, Poland's Hero and Patriot. By ANTHONY WALTON WHITE EVANS. For private distribution only. Crown 8vo, pp. 58. New York, 1883.

This sumptuous volume is in every way worthy of its theme. It is written from the warm per-

sonal standpoint, the grandfather of the author, General Anthony Walton White, having been on intimate friendly relations with Kosciuszko, not only during the Revolution but in after years. It embraces the romantic and military history of a brave and brilliant officer, whose name is dear to every intelligent American, and whose praises have been sung and deeds in war immortalized in song and story for a full century. Elegantly printed on the richest of paper, with marginal decorations in red adorning each page, and containing numerous fine steel portraits and other interesting illustrations, the work is a treasure to all lovers of biographical literature.

EARLY INDIAN HISTORY ON THE SUSQUEHANNA. Containing John Smith's map of Virginia. By ABRAHAM L. GUSS, A.M., Washington, D. C. Pamphlet 8vo, pp. 32. Lane S. Hart, printer. Harrisburg, 1883.

This valuable production embraces an account of Captain John Smith's exploration of the head of Chesapeake Bay in 1608, and of the early publications referring to the country and the Indians. It also treats of the Susquehanna towns, and the appearance of the Susquehannocks, a mighty and fierce tribe, reported to have been cannibals. The author reviews the controverted theory of the gigantic size and numerical strength of these muscular sons of the forest; and introduces new and interesting data concerning them. Of their language, he says, the fact that they did speak a dialect of the same language as the five nations is clearly established, and explains and justifies some early and exceedingly interesting observations. Professor Guss writes in a clear, forcible, comprehensive style, and whoever has any taste for antiquarian subjects will derive no little pleasure and profit from the careful perusal of his work.

ABORIGINAL AMERICAN AUTHORS AND THEIR PRODUCTIONS: Especially those in the Native Languages. A Chapter in the History of Literature. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D., etc. 12mo, pp. 63. Philadelphia. 1883.

A paper laid before the *Congrès International des Americanists* in Copenhagen, at its recent session in August, 1883, has since been amplified, the whole text re-written, with notes added, and is now published in a very attractive little volume. Dr. Brinton does not offer it as an exhaustive bibliographical essay, but defines his purpose in its production as merely to point out to an intelligent and sympathetic audience a number of relics of aboriginal American litera-

ture, and to bespeak aid and influence from the learned Congress in the preservation and publication of these rare documents. He calls attention to the literary faculty of the savage mind, particularly for story-telling, in graphic terms. "In no Oriental city," he says, "does the teller of strange tales find a more willing audience than in the Indian wigwam. The folklore of every tribe which has been properly investigated has turned out to be most ample. Tales of talking animals, of mythical warriors, of giants, dwarfs, subtle women, potent magicians, impossible adventures, abound to an extent that defies collection. Nor are these narratives repeated in a slipshod, negligent style. The hearers permit no such carelessness. They are sticklers for nicety of expression—for clear and well-turned periods, for vivid and accurate description, for flowing and sonorous sentences. As a rule their languages lend themselves readily to these demands. It is a singular error, due wholly to ignorance of the subject, to maintain that the American tongues are cramped in their vocabularies, or that their syntax does not permit them to define the more delicate relationship of ideas. \* \* \* Their literary faculty is further demonstrated in the copiousness of their vocabularies, their rare facility of expression, and their natural aptitude for the acquisition of other languages. \* \* \* Their linguistic faculty is shown also in the ease with which they acquire foreign languages—'some, even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages.' But the most tangible evidence of both their linguistic and literary ability is the work some of these natives have accomplished in European tongues." Narrative literature, didactic literature, oratorical literature, poetical literature, and dramatic literature among the early Indians are each ably discussed. The work is an overflowing mine of information, and claims the earnest attention of scholars in all lands.

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JUDITH: A CHRONICLE OF OLD VIRGINIA. BY MARION HARLAND. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 400. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. New York. 1883.

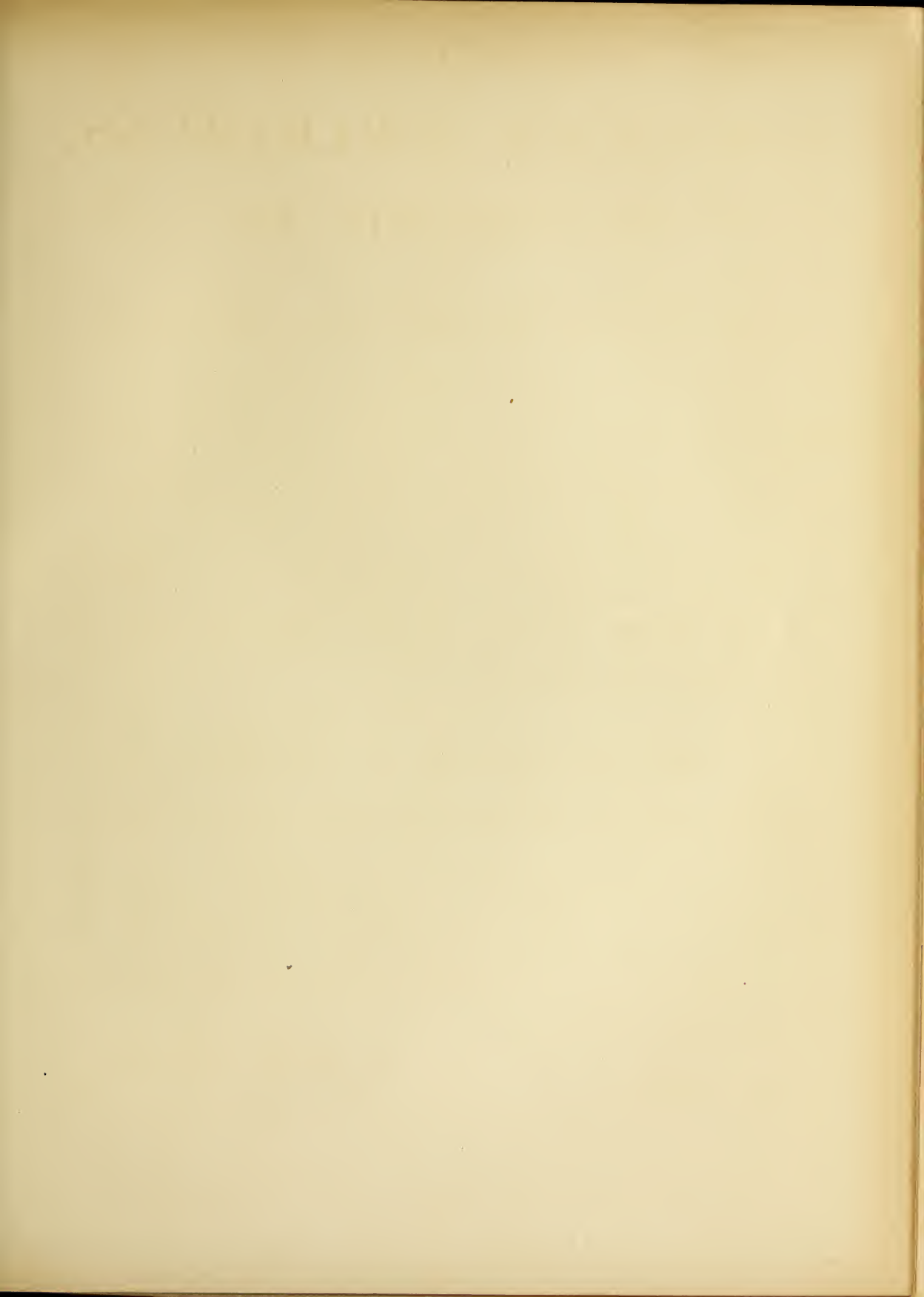
The story under the above title is full of incident and movement, and yet replete with quiet home life. The author has long been known to the reading public, and in her own domestic circle is one of the loveliest and most charming of women. She writes of American life from genuine love of it, having spent many years abroad,

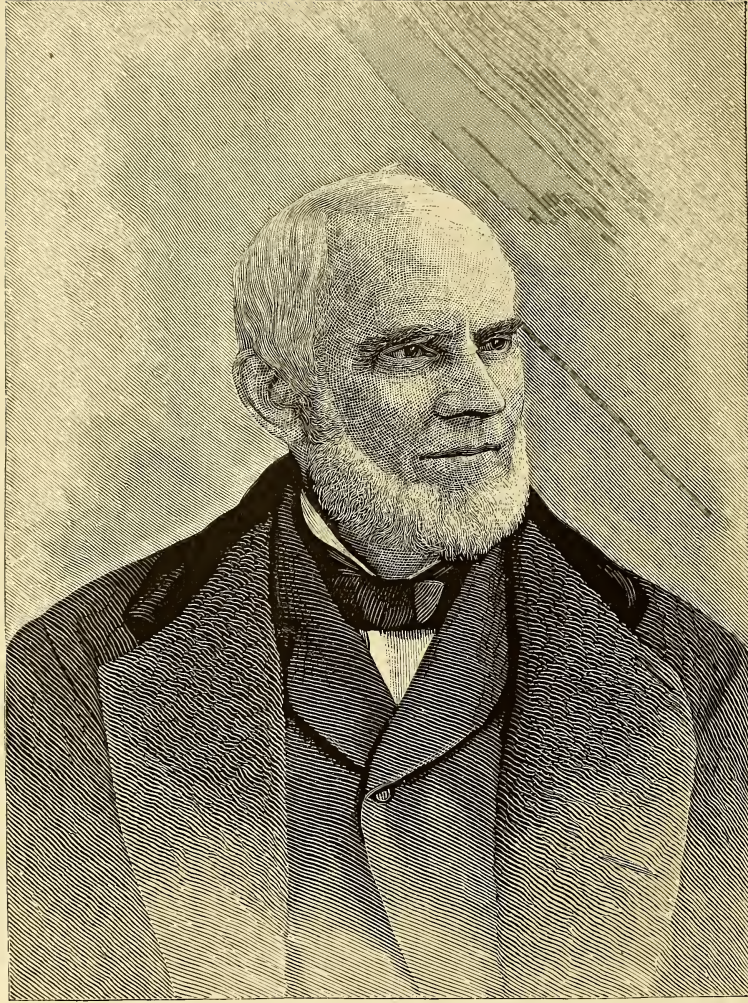
and thus been able to draw comparisons, which have made her much more earnest in her devotion to her native land. In the work before us the genial conditions of Southern society in the old plantation days, with the old plantation negroes and patriarchal masters and surroundings, are admirably portrayed. The home of Marion Harland was in Virginia in her girlhood, hence her graphic descriptions have the flavor of reality.

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GUENN: A WAVE ON THE BRETON COAST. BY BLANCHE WILLIS HOWARD. 12mo, pp. 439. James R. Osgood & Co. Boston. 1884.

There is no doubt but that the author of this bright volume has achieved success of a high order in the world of fiction. It is a French story, and has for its heroine a French peasant girl, brought up in the little fishing town of Plouvenec, on the Breton coast, whose career is traced with wonderful insight, and whose diversions constitute the central interest of a fascinating story. The novel takes its name from her, and is mostly concerned with her fortunes and the fortunes of those who are closely related to her. The other party is Everett Hamor, a New Englander, who, well bred, well educated, had an incurable fondness for art, and had come down to Brittany to paint pictures of the French peasantry along the coast. There is no plot, so to speak, nothing but photographic sketches of every-day life among the fisher folk, but the incidents which thicken as the story advances, and the microscopic sketches of the human passions in provincial life, are so related that the interest is not only aroused at the beginning, but quickens more and more as one is admitted to the inner consciousness of Guenn and her lover, if one whose cool selfishness for love can be styled such. The author reveals the springs of character in her heroine by masterly touches. Guenn is a singularly happy creation. Although the book deals with out-of-the-way people, the delineations of character are excellent. It is legitimate fiction through and through; but it belongs to that class of fiction which we may not fear to have our children read. The sweetness and beauty of the heroine are so transparent amid all her surroundings, and she so entirely fulfills the law of the creation of the imagination—that it shall be true to human nature and yet the idealization of that nature—that the author is to be congratulated on having struck a high note in American literature.





*Geo. W. Lawrence*

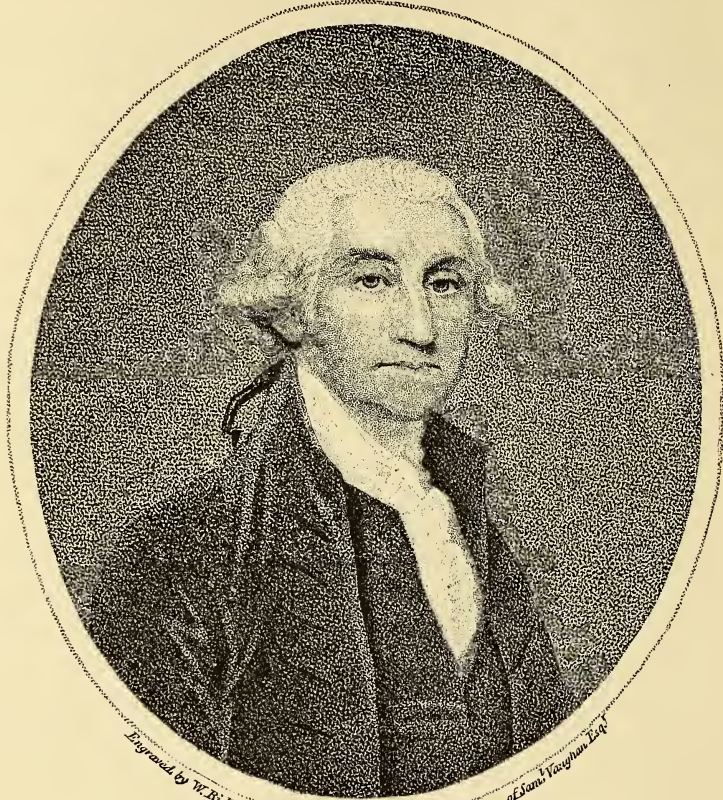
[Late President of the New York Chamber of Commerce.]



*Wm. W. Lawrence*

Lawrence, Wm. W. (1840-1900)

When Washington became President the length of his service was practically a matter for his own determination. His preëminence was beyond dispute, and the estimation in which his wisdom and patriotism were held was such that his reëlection, as often as he might choose to accept



WASHINGTON.

[From a rare portrait, published in 1800, in the *European Magazine*, London.]

1789-1797.

the office, was certain. When he voluntarily laid down the burden of service that he had borne for eight years without salary, which he refused to accept, it seems to have been understood, not only that two terms should be in practice the limit of presidential service, but that acceptable service during a first term should entitle the President to reëlection, quite as a matter of course. It is true that John Adams, the second President, was not reëlected ; but his failure only emphasized the principle. He was not



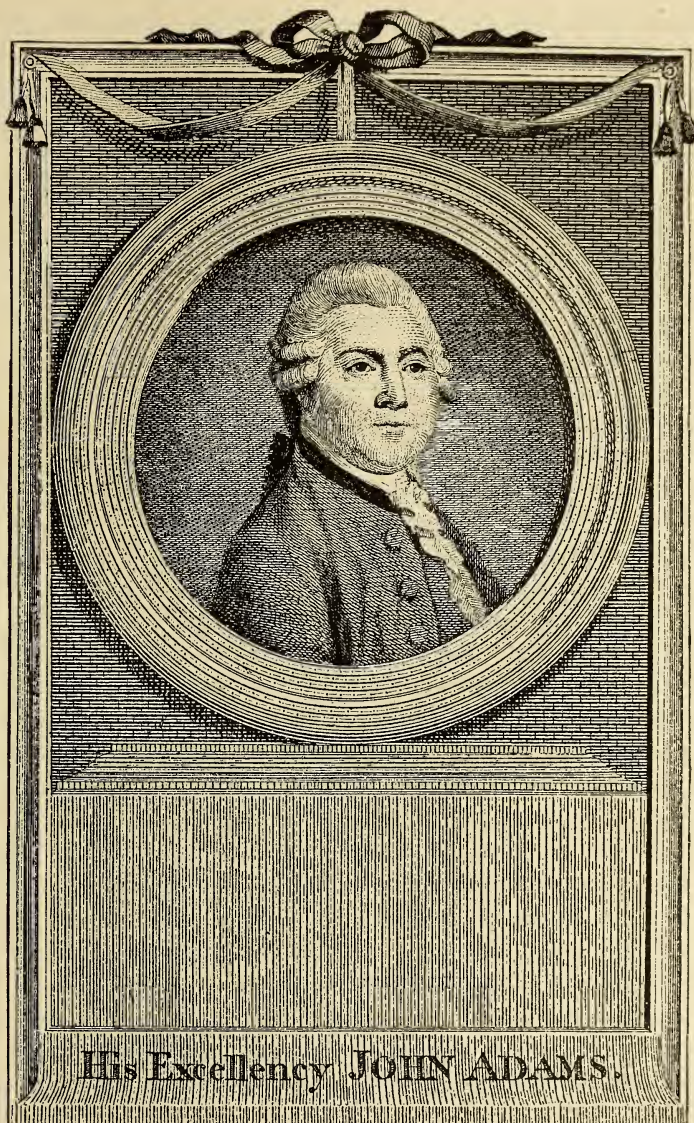
reëlected because his service was not acceptable. His political opinions were pretty closely in harmony with those of Washington, but circumstances led to their practical application in ways which alarmed and angered the people, and their alarm as well as their anger found expression in his defeat by the representative of precisely opposite views.

It is not easy for us now to imagine the doubts and fears that beset the people in the early years of the organized Republic. The Union was an experiment the result of which was feared very seriously and very sincerely by many patriotic men. It had been devised with difficulty and adopted with caution, and but for the universal confidence felt in Washington's wisdom and patriotism, it is doubtful whether it could have been instituted at all. During his administration, confidence in him lulled popular apprehension and gave time for the establishment of the Government. But when Adams succeeded him, it was still uncertain what the character and effects of the new Federal Government were to be. There were fears, on the one hand, that the league would prove to be a rope of sand, and a conviction that the only hope of giving stability and permanence to the Government lay in magnifying its powers by the liberal interpretation of the grants made to it in the Constitution. On the other side existed a patriotic jealousy of the Federal power, an earnest fear of its lapse into imperialism, a dread of centralization and of the loss of local self-government in the dominance of the central power, wielded by a tyrannous majority. It was the elder Adams's misfortune to represent the Federalist doctrine in circumstances which made its practical application peculiarly offensive. The Alien and Sedition laws, which may be fairly regarded as the keynotes of Adams's policy, were intended to defend the general Government against danger and to enforce due respect for it in speech as well as in act, at a time when perils and difficulties beset the country on every hand. There can be no doubt that those laws were passed by Congress and approved by the President in the sincerest conviction of their necessity; but the people received them with great alarm. They were held to be not only despotic in themselves, but of despotic tendency and significance. Those who were jealous of the Federal power saw in these laws and in the attitude of the Government generally, the threatening beginnings of that lapse into imperialism which they most dreaded and were most anxious to avert by giving a distinctly democratic character to our institutions, and by keeping the general Government strictly within the narrowest bounds possible under the Constitution. Many of those who had before favored strength and breadth of function on the part of the Federal power, became alarmed at these practical applications of the

principles, and went over to the other side. Even Hamilton, whose views were less democratic than those of any other statesman of the time, was alarmed by the Sedition law and earnestly sought to prevent its passage. "Let us not establish a tyranny," he wrote; "energy is a very different thing from violence." But in spite of his protest the offensive measure was passed. The violence which he deprecated was resorted to in the name of energy, and the "tyranny" which he feared became the nightmare of the people, who, in face of their conviction that a second term should be usually a matter of course, refused to reëlect President Adams. Their refusal was a rebuke in the nature of a vote of censure, and there was no other departure from the two-term rule until twenty years later, when the younger Adams was denied a second election. Jackson followed next, serving two terms, and with him the two-term tradition ceased. Of the fourteen Presidents who have held the office since Jackson's time, only two have been chosen for second terms, and their reëlections were due to their special preëminence in popular regard at the time, rather than to any public conviction that a second term should be usually the reward of good service during a first. It is worthy of note, too, as significant of an actual change in public sentiment in this respect, that, while the failures of the elder and younger Adams to secure second elections were due to changes in the political complexion of the country, no such explanation can be given in the cases of their successors. Van Buren, indeed, was the unsuccessful candidate of his party a second time, his renomination being due, perhaps, to a lingering respect for the old tradition; but after his defeat the custom even of nominating a President for reëlection fell into disuse. Since that time—with the exceptions of Lincoln and Grant—no President has been nominated by his party to be his own successor.

But to return to the first ten Presidents, with whom only we are at present concerned. The tone of the country, if we may so say, its opinions, aspirations, and purposes are reflected in their characters and political attitudes, as distinctly as its history is traced in the record of their official acts.

At the outset, the country was content to make Washington President, not so much for what he represented as for what he was. His career had not been of a kind to bring his convictions upon questions of politics and statesmanship into prominence, except in that general way which arouses no antagonism. The people knew him to be a patriot above everything, and their confidence in his soundness of judgment and his calm discretion, was unbounded. There were no distinct party lines, and Washington belonged to no party. The country was at the beginning of an experiment



[From a portrait executed in London in 1783.]

1797-1801.

which was attended by many difficulties and viewed by many persons with doubt and fear. There could be no question then, and there is none now, that George Washington was the man best fitted to direct the early course of the young Republic, and he was chosen for this eminent fitness—to which

his mind, his character, and the circumstances of his previous life contributed—and not because he represented any particular political creed or policy.

When Washington declined to be elected for a third time, a somewhat similar impulse prompted the people to look for his successor among the men who had rendered services only less eminent than his, during the Revolution. But while Washington stood alone in his preëminence, the class next below him in the popular regard included several men of the largest capacity and most exalted patriotism. The choice was certain in any case to fall upon one of that revolutionary group, but by that time the two opposing views of the Constitution and of the policy to be pursued in the exercise of the functions of government had been arrayed against each other with some degree of definiteness. There were two parties—the Federalist and the Republican—and the line of demarcation between them was beginning to be pretty distinct. The contest was between Adams and Jefferson. It was the sharper and closer because, as the years of the Republic grew, the feeling of the people was becoming steadily stronger in favor of distinctly republican institutions, and Adams had alarmed that sentiment by certain expressions in his “Discourses on Davila.” The discourses were written while Adams was Vice-president, and those features of them which were most obnoxious, were inspired by no lack of earnestness in the author’s desire for free popular government, but by a not unnatural alarm at the excesses of the Red republicans of France. Seeing in those excesses the extremes of dangerous absurdity to which doctrine democracy might be pushed when suffered to deal unrestrainedly with the affairs of men, Adams was convinced that some effective restraint should be provided in the constitution of the Republic. He thought a certain element of aristocracy and even of monarchism necessary as a counterpoise to the democratic tendencies of republican institutions. His expression of these opinions in the “Discourses on Davila” helped not a little to bring about that division of the people into distinct political parties of which we have spoken, and to enable Jefferson—who had been at one time a member of Washington’s administration but had withdrawn because his Democratic convictions put him out of harmony with the President and cabinet—to dispute the presidential succession with him.

There are many points of interest in connection with this first party contest. Hamilton, rather than Adams, was the recognized leader of the Federalists. Jay, too, was a leader whom many Federalists, including Hamilton, favored, but even in that early day the question of “availability” was a potent factor, and Adams was the most available man among the Federalists.

When the election was held, Adams won by the narrow majority of two electoral votes; and it is a curious fact that both of those votes which gave the Massachusetts candidate a majority over his Virginian opponent were from the South, one of them being from Jefferson's own State, and the other from North Carolina. Electors were free agents in those days, and not, as now, instructed delegates charged with the performance of a perfunctory duty.

Another fact of interest in connection with this election concerns the Vice-presidency. Some of the Federalist leaders hoped for a success which would have put their party in power without making Adams President. Pinckney was their candidate for Vice-president, and as the voting then was only for President, the person receiving the second highest vote becoming Vice-president, it was believed that Pinckney might be made President by reason of his popularity at the South. It was thought—and truly—that he would receive a larger vote than Adams in that quarter of the country, and that an even division of the northern Federalist vote between the two, would make Pinckney President and Adams Vice-president, although the party's purpose was the reverse of this. In other words, the Federalist candidate for President was opposed, not only by the Republican candidate, but also by his colleague the Federalist candidate for Vice-president. It was a curious state of things certainly, and its result was equally curious. The New England electors took the alarm, and withheld from Pinckney the votes which they would otherwise have given him. As a consequence, he fell short of election even to the second place, and Jefferson became Vice-president. If the old method of choosing the President were still in use, what might not an election become with the aid of modern political ingenuity and modern appliances!

Adams was 62 years of age when he became President. At the end of his term he was 66, but his vigor was unimpaired, and his remarkable capacity for work was as great as ever. He lived to the age of 91, he and Jefferson dying on the same day, the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. One was the author of that instrument, the other its champion in the long debate which secured its adoption; both signed it, and both lived to preside over the Republic to which it gave birth.

Early in Adams's administration the course of public affairs tended strongly to increase the popularity of the President and his party. The arrogant pretensions of France aroused the people to fury, and the vigor with which the President combated those pretensions and called the people to arms in defense of the country, excited the utmost enthusiasm. On

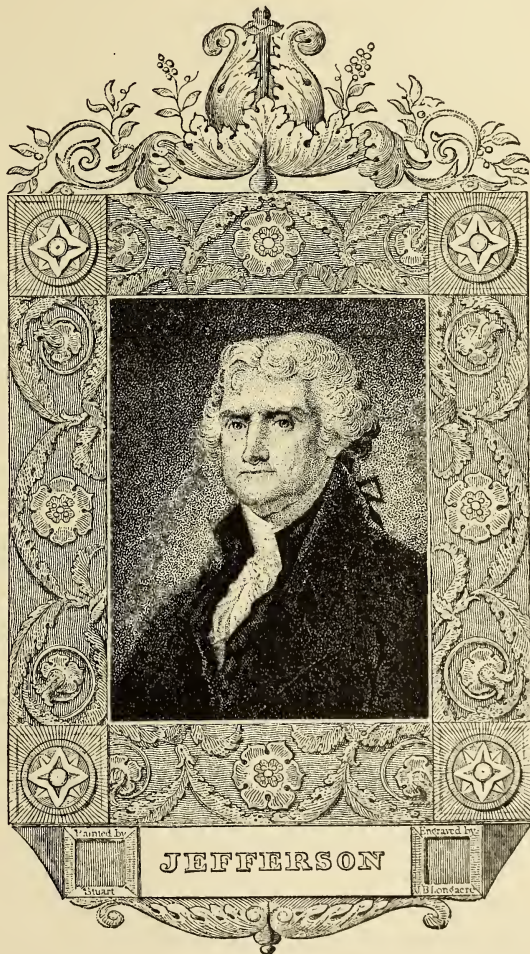
the other hand, the favor and sympathy which the Republicans, and especially Jefferson, had formerly manifested toward France, brought upon them suspicions of something approaching disloyalty. The country was in a "war fever," and the party which favored the strengthening of the general Government, had the benefit of the excitement. Thus far the tendency of events had been to impress our institutions with that character which the Federalists wished to give them, and if unchecked, that tendency must have molded them into a much less democratic form than that in which they have come down to us. Perhaps it is well for us and for the cause of popular government, that neither of the two opposing principles was permitted to have free course, and that they prevailed successively in the precise order in which they did. The prevalence of Federalism during the first twelve years gave stability to our institutions and reality to the authority and influence of the general Government ; while the succession at that time of the representatives of opposite opinions put a wholesome check upon a tendency which might have been dangerous if it had come down to us with the undisputed sanction of all the revolutionary group of presidents.

However that may be, the fact of the change remains. Before the time arrived for a new election, the danger of war had passed away, and Adams lost the support which the war spirit would have given him. In the meantime the people had taken alarm at some of the measures adopted during the excitement, and there grew up a popular conviction of the necessity of putting a check upon the course of the Government.

The system of electoral voting now resulted still more strangely than it had done in the preceding election. The Republicans had set out to make Jefferson President and Aaron Burr Vice-president ; but in casting their electoral ballots they managed so badly as to give each of their two candidates precisely the same number of votes. Adams and Pinckney — the Federalist candidates—were defeated, but Jefferson and Burr were not elected. The matter was carried into the House of Representatives and a prolonged contest ensued. Thirty-six ballotings took place before it was determined that the higher office should be filled by Jefferson and the lower by Burr.

With Jefferson's inauguration a radical change of tone appeared, which was not without permanent effects upon the character of our institutions, and especially upon official etiquette in the matter of forms and ceremonies. Not only were Washington and Adams supporters of the Federalist idea of a strong central government ; they both favored the maintenance of a good deal of state and ceremony in official life. Washington had been bred in

a society essentially aristocratic, and his long career in arms had still further cultivated his sense of the dignity of authority. He was not without stateliness in private life, and in office he sternly insisted upon the observance of forms and courtly ceremonies, and laid great stress upon the trappings of state in his equipage and surroundings. Adams was bred in a much more democratic society, and personally was less aristocratic in feeling; but he was convinced of the need of forms and ceremonies, and even of high-sounding official titles and a rigid official etiquette, as necessary means of preserving popular respect for the Government and stimulating



1801-1809.

men to earnest public service by appeals to their self-love and ambition for distinction. The first two presidents, therefore, lent their influence to the establishment of courtly etiquette and very undemocratic relations between rulers and the people.

Jefferson's views were the reverse of this. He was a pronounced democrat in feeling as well as in conviction. He had written in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," and he believed it. In the very year in which the Declaration was signed, he had declined a distinguished diplomatic appointment in order that he might labor at home for the removal of feudal and aristocratic features from the laws and the social system of his native State.

Entering the legislature of Virginia in 1776, he at once proposed the passage of a law for the purpose of cutting off entails. Appointed upon a commission to revise the laws, he prepared bills not only for the cutting off of entails, but also for the abolition of primogeniture, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the abolition of a church establishment. It was necessary to fight for these measures at every step, so contrary were they to the hereditary prejudices and prevalent convictions of the Virginians, whose whole social system rested upon feudal foundations. Even this, his early and earnest championship of democratic ideas, was not the beginning of his advocacy of the equal rights of men. Ten years before that time, when he was only twenty-six years old and was in his first term as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he attacked slavery in the way then believed to be most efficacious, by introducing a bill to permit slave-holders to free their servants at will—a thing then forbidden by law.

Democrat by nature and conviction, and profound disbeliever in the shams of state and ceremony, Jefferson began his career as President by setting at naught all the courtly traditions and introducing a distinctly republican simplicity in official life. The result was the rapid growth of republicanism in popular favor throughout the country. The dread of democracy passed away. The conviction, which had lingered in the minds of many, that some aristocratic elements were necessary to the stability of government, and that it would be dangerous to permit the Republic to become too republican in character, was rapidly weakened. The permanent effects of Jefferson's practical application of his principles to the conduct of affairs were not confined to matters of form, by any means. His administration stamped the country with that republican character which it had never really possessed before, but which is now ingrained in the very fiber of our national life. Under Washington and Adams, the Gov-



ernment had acquired solidity and a permanent hold upon life; under Jefferson the country began its education in those principles of popular government and the political equality of men, which have been applied fearlessly and fully only in our own later time. A just view of the service done by his resolute application of his democratic ideas to official conduct should prompt us to forgive him those excesses of simplicity which we sometimes criticise. It was scarcely necessary, even upon strictly democratic principles, for a President of the United State to receive a British Minister in dressing gown and slippers; but such small manifestations of extreme views may be forgiven to the statesman who did so much to impress a republican character upon the Republic, and to eradicate those inherited prejudices which forbade the logical application of our republican principles to the practical conduct of affairs. Perhaps the liberalizing influence of Jefferson's administration was not less a benefit to the country than his purchase of the Louisiana territory, which gave us the Mississippi river, doubled our area, and saved us from the possibility of having a rival power established beyond our western frontier.

The growth of the Republican party in popularity during Jefferson's administration was rapid and continuous, and Madison, having received a caucus nomination as the candidate of the party, was chosen to be his successor almost as a matter of course. In spite of the protest of a hostile faction in his own party, he received 122 of the 175 electoral votes.

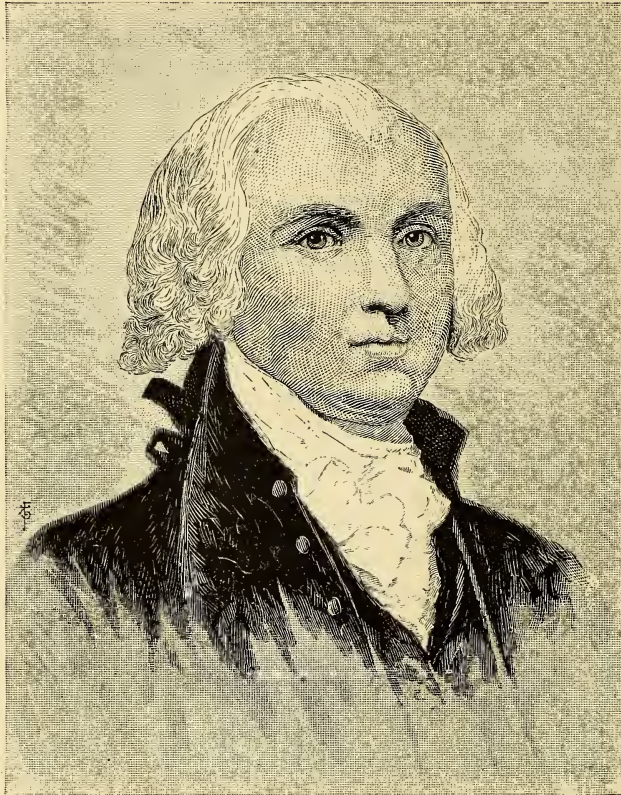
It is significant of the tentative character of early republicanism in America, and of the need which even the strongest men felt for the education of experience, that Madison was the second President elected by the Republican party; for Madison had begun with opinions more Federalist in character than those of the Federalists themselves.

He had advocated centralization of an extreme kind. He had argued that the general Government should have power to negative State legislation at will—a doctrine so extreme in its nature as to amount in practice to consolidation and the complete abrogation of local self-government.

He was one of the authors of *The Federalist*, and was in accord with Hamilton and Jay in political opinions. He was, in brief, a sincere Federalist of an extreme type. But further thought upon the matters involved in these questions wrought a radical change in his views. He became convinced that the provisions of the Constitution, strictly construed, should be the exact measure of the Federal power. The friend of Washington and Hamilton, he was compelled by his conscience to oppose the measures devised by the latter and presented by the former to Congress. He became, upon conviction, a pronounced Republican, as he had been before a pro-

nounced Federalist. He was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1798-9, which became a sort of gospel of States' Rights in later times.

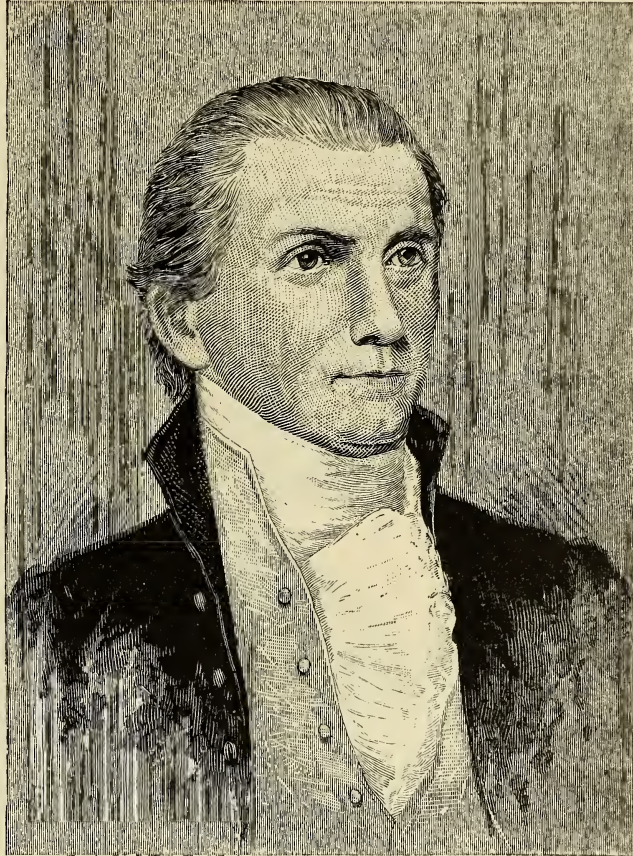
It was Madison's fortune to see the party opposed to him destroy itself by the character of its opposition to the measures of his administration.



JAMES MADISON.  
1809-1817.

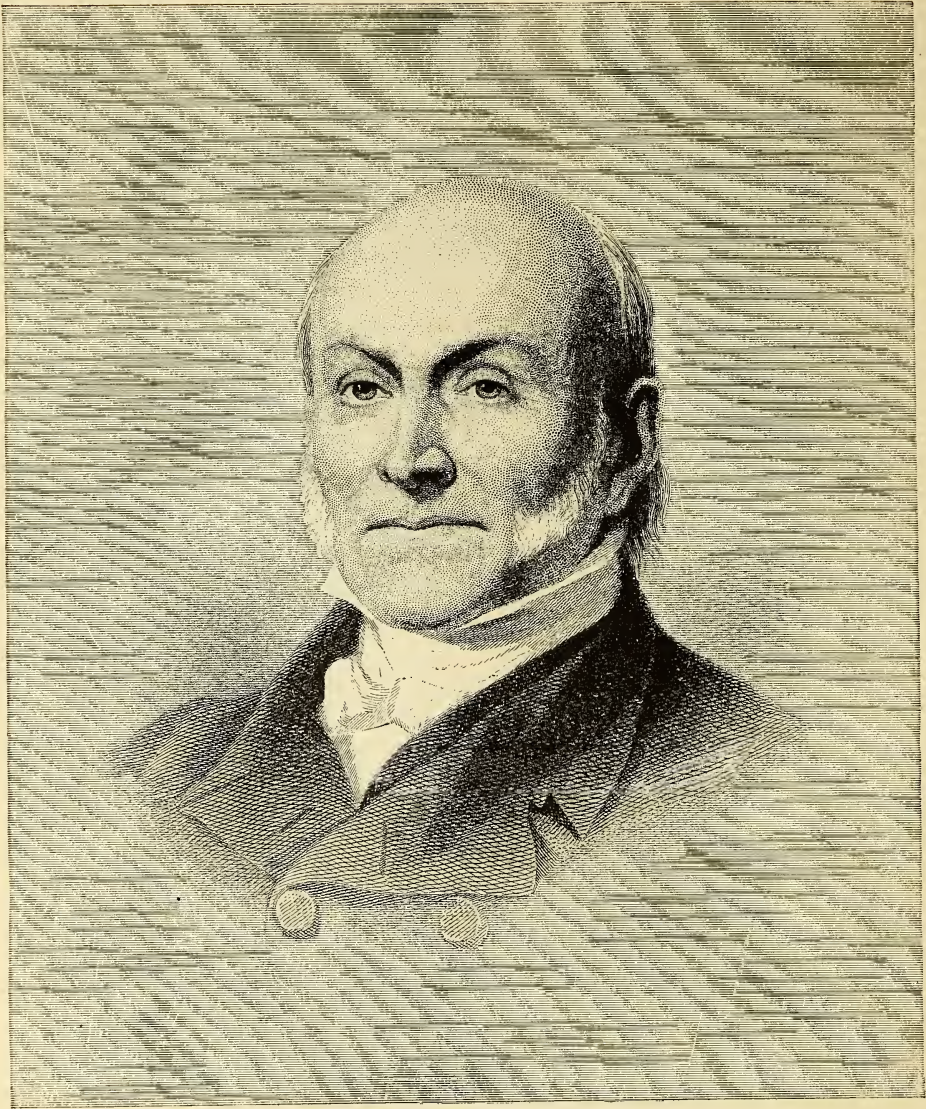
When his second term drew near its end the Federalist party had almost ceased to be. Its hostility to the administration had found expression during the war with Great Britain, in ways which, justly or unjustly, brought suspicion upon its patriotism, and a great number of its former adherents abandoned it as no longer worthy of their support. In the election of his successor, Monroe, the candidate of the Democratic Republicans, received 183 electoral votes, with only 34 against him, and, at the end of his first

term, was reëlected by an electoral majority of 231 to 1. This was in the "era of good feeling," and there is reason to believe that confidence was then felt in the continuance of that state of political unanimity among the people—a delusion which was soon dispelled.



JAMES MONROE.  
1817-1825.

Monroe had been one of the first to see the inefficiency of the old confederation and the necessity for a "more perfect union." As early as 1785 he sought to secure the extension of the powers of Congress, especially with respect to the regulation of inter-state commerce. But he opposed the adoption of the Constitution and was one of the minority who voted against it in the Virginia Convention. As a pupil of Jefferson in the study of law, he had probably molded his political opinions upon those of the



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]  
1825-1829.

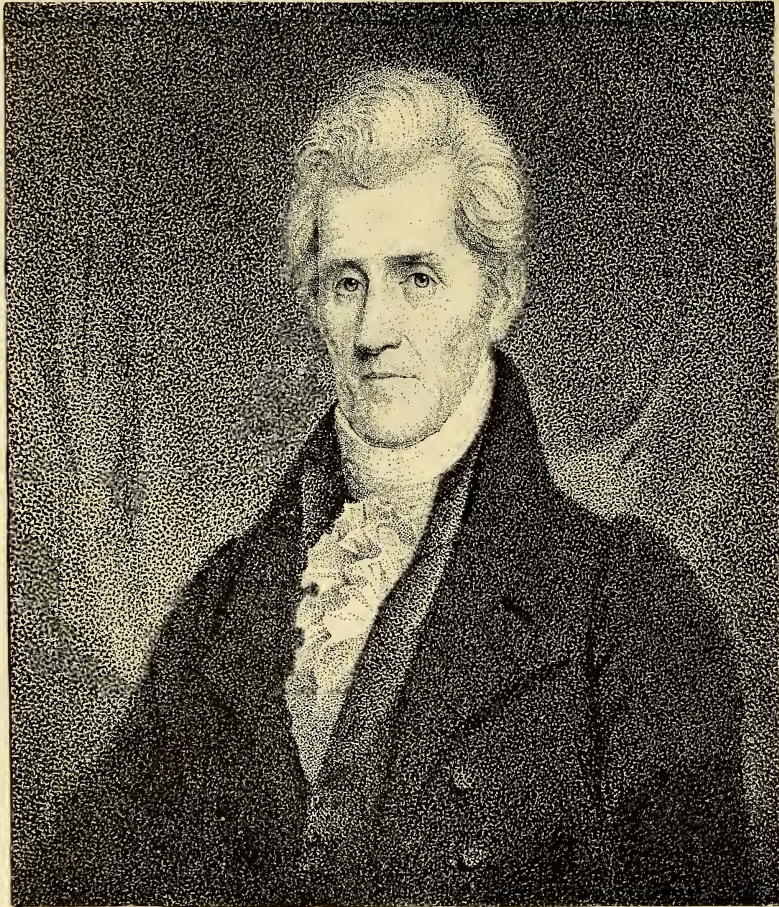
great Democrat. It was as a Republican that he was chosen President, and he was conscious of no change in his politics; and yet some of the measures of his administration were of a kind which, a little later, would

have placed him upon the opposite side in politics. No forecast of the future was possible at that time, however, and Monroe could no more know what part the Bank question was to play in the years to come than he could foresee the troubles that were to grow out of the Missouri compromise, which was resorted to during his administration as a final and effective adjustment of the slavery controversy.

The choice of John Quincy Adams to be Mr. Monroe's successor affords still another illustration of the uncertainty of men's allegiance to party and even the uncertainty of their opinions in the early years of the government. Mr. Adams began his public service as a diplomatist, and continued in that career until the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, when he was recalled. He was sent to the Senate as a Federalist, and remained in the opposition during Jefferson's first term. He then changed his views and supported the Republican administration, thereby losing his seat in the Senate and incurring much odium. In his new party relations he was a relentless foe to his former political associates, even accusing them of having conspired to break up the Union, and of a treasonable readiness to aid England in a new attempt to subjugate the country by arms. His accusations against the Federalists contributed largely to create that popular distrust of their patriotism under which the party ultimately sank. He was called to Monroe's Cabinet, and was one of four candidates for the succession, in the most complicated contest that at any time occurred under the old system. He was a Republican, and so were all of his competitors in a sense, the new party lines being still indistinct. He had been the specially bitter enemy of the Federalists, to whom he had done more hurt than any other of the four. And yet it was the support of the old Federalists of New England that gave him votes enough to make him one of the three candidates who could be voted for in the House of Representatives, and thus in the end made him President. Another curious fact in connection with the contest is, that when it became apparent that either he or Jackson must win, Jefferson earnestly supported Adams. Jackson was the type and representative of that Demos whose prophet Jefferson had been from his youth up; but the founder and apostle of Democracy seems to have been frightened at the specter he had raised in the person of the western warrior.

By vote of the House of Representatives, Adams became President. Elected as a Republican—or Democrat, as the members of that party began about that time to be called—it was the irony of fate that the inchoate opposition to that party crystallized around the measures of his administration and made their advocacy the basis of a new party hostile

to the Democrats. His policy of internal improvements at the charge of the nation, and the maintenance of a protective tariff, soon became the cardinal doctrines of the Whigs, and his chief secretary and adviser was afterwards the leader of that party. On the other hand, all the elements of opposition to Adams and his policy gathered to the support of Jackson,



ANDREW JACKSON.

1829-1837.

and in his second contest for the Presidency, Adams was the candidate of the party in opposition to the Democrats, and was thus again defeated by a party with which he had been in active co-operation. The defeat was a disastrous one—Jackson receiving 178 and Adams 83 electoral votes.

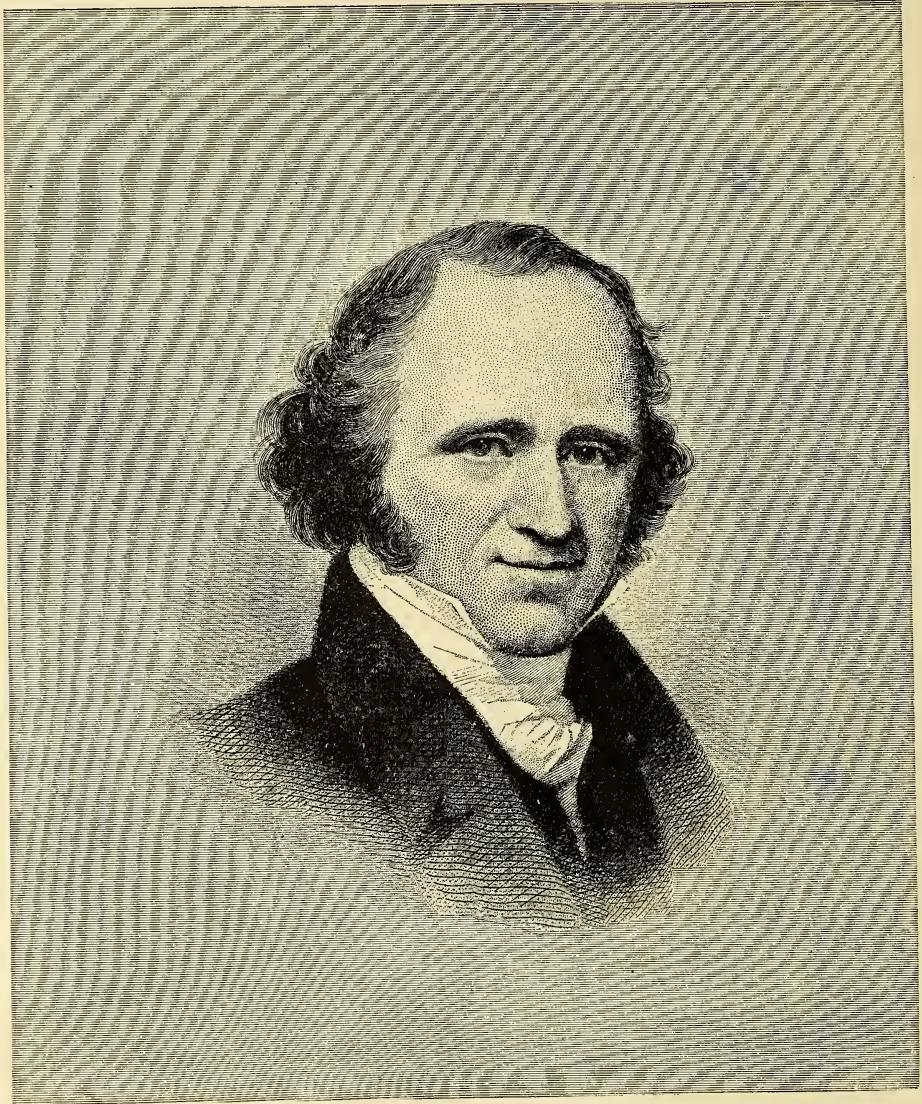
In his long after-career in Congress, Adams was independent of party ties, devoting his energies chiefly to matters of principle, in advocacy of which neither of the great parties then in existence was ready to follow him. The odium which some of his party changes brought upon him, like that incurred by his independent championship of the right of petition, has passed utterly away, and the calmer judgment of a later day recognizes and respects the sincerity with which he followed his convictions at cost of his reputation for consistency. If circumstances, at the time of his quitting the Federalists, gave to that act the appearance of self-seeking, the suspicion that it was such in fact no longer survives.

In the election of Jackson, Democracy in concrete form asserted itself. He was a representative of the common people, as the common people then were.

All the Presidents who preceded him were men of education ; with the single exception of Washington, all were college men. They were bred in refinement, and were what are called gentlemen. Jackson was born in poverty, grew up in the backwoods, had a meager education, and had lived in the midst of an uncultivated society. Even his military service had been performed on the frontiers, and had brought him into association chiefly with men unused to the refinements of life. His career had been romantic, indeed, in some of its features, but the romance was of the rude kind which appeals more strongly to the uncultivated than to the educated classes. His political preferment was largely due to the admiration felt for his military prowess ; but there can be no doubt that his fitness to represent the common people, as one of themselves, contributed to the result. His election was, in part at least, an act of self-assertion on the part of the undistinguished democratic masses. He had the virtues which were held in highest repute among the common people. He shared many of their prejudices, and fulfilled in every way their ideal of manhood. They gloried in him as an example of their virtues, and the representative of their class in its best development.

His irruption, if we may so call it, into the society and official life of the capital, gave a shock to the still stately proprieties. His elevation to the chief magistracy was a source of alarm to many. That his administration should be turbulent was a necessary result of his imperious temper, his arrogant disposition, and his want of respect for traditions and conventionalities ; and it was turbulent from first to last, politically and socially. But it was marked by sturdy vigor and a robust patriotism which may well be put into the balance against its errors. These qualities were recognized by the country in the election of 1832, when Jackson was chosen for a second term, receiving the electoral votes of 16 of the 23 states.

With Jackson, as has been said already, the two-term tradition came to an end. Van Buren, who came into office in 1837, was doomed to encounter trouble throughout his administration. The financial panic of 1837,



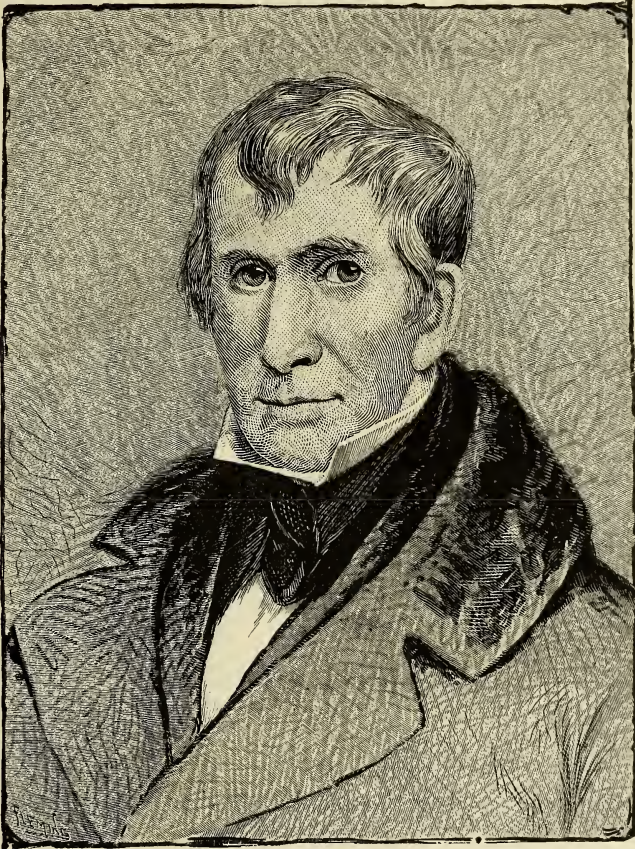
MARTIN VAN BUREN.

[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]

1837-1841.



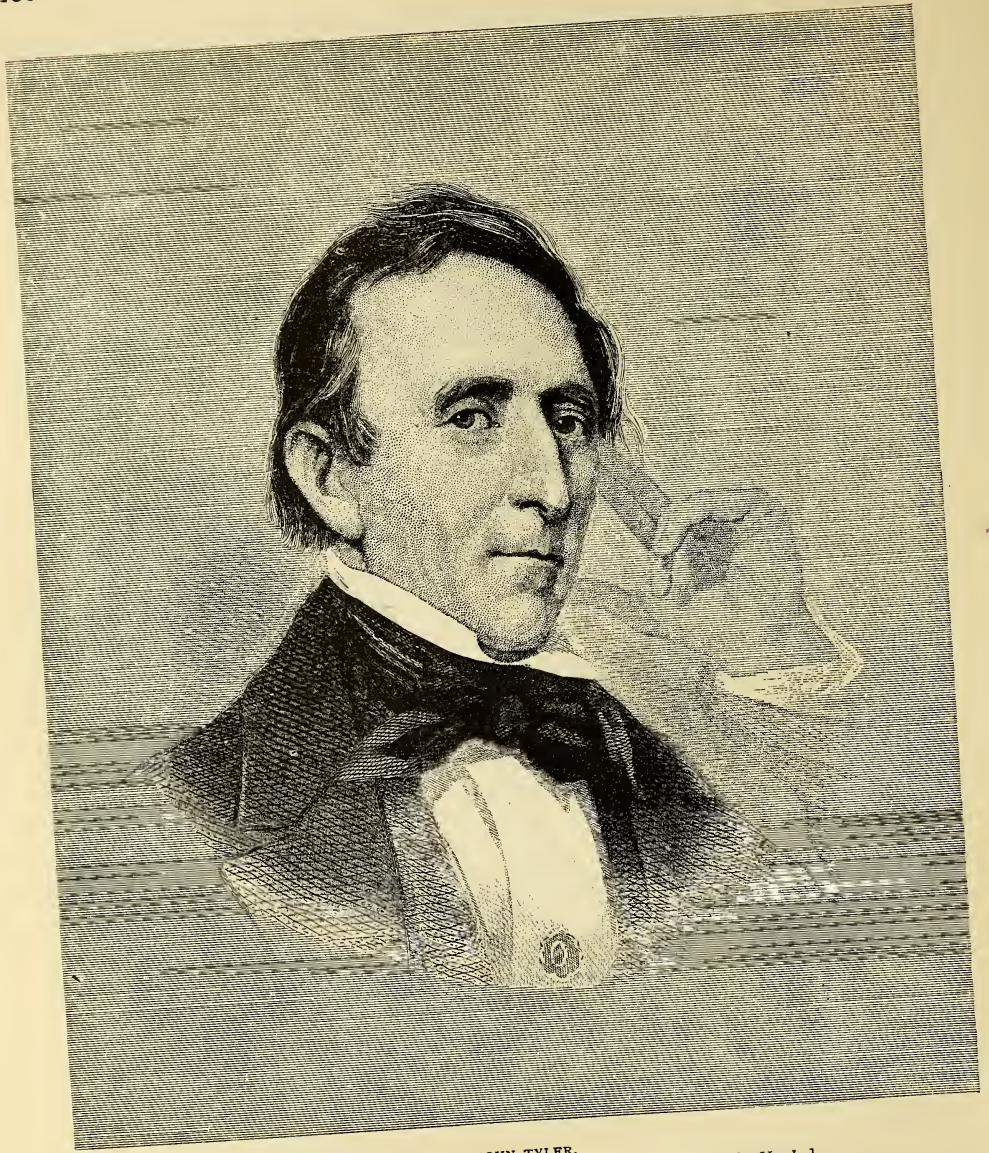
resulting in the utter prostration of business, was resented by the people as the direct consequence of Jackson's policy, and Mr. Van Buren, as his successor and political heir, was held vicariously responsible. His administration was beset with difficulties such as no former President had encountered; and, able as he was, he could not save his party or secure a



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.  
1841.

reëlection. He had become President, because the Democratic policy was in favor with the country; but his term had scarcely begun before the party lost the popular favor, not through any act of his own—for he had as yet had no time to do anything—and he was never able to recover the position.

The campaign of 1840 was an affair of political songs and catch-words.



JOHN TYLER.  
[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith of the painting by Healy.]  
1841-1845.

There was little serious discussion in it, little of intrigue and adroit combination—agencies which were active in most of the earlier contests. The really potent forces in the election of Harrison were the same as those

which secured the presidency for Jackson. Harrison, like Jackson, had an attractive reputation for military achievements, and, like Jackson, he was a man of the people. The Democratic impulse was not confined to the Democratic party. It was equally strong among the Whigs, now that the policy of the Democrats was under censure. It seized upon the homeliness of Harrison's life, the humbleness of his surroundings, and the plainness of his manners, and gloried in them. Demos found in the Whig candidate another representative of itself, whose achievements were honorable to the people, and it made him President, as it had made Jackson President before.

Harrison had no administration. The office-holders worried him to death in a month, and the Vice-president, Tyler, succeeded him.

It is curiously illustrative of what has been said about the absence of thought from the campaign of 1840, that in choosing their Vice-president, whose election to that office made him President, the Whigs selected a man who was not an adherent of their party at all. He had favored certain measures advocated by them, and it seems to have been taken for granted, without much inquiry, that John Tyler was a Whig. As a matter of fact, he appears to have belonged to neither party, though he earnestly desired Clay's election to the Presidency, and is said to have wept when the Whigs passed their great leader by to nominate Harrison.

His administration was one long quarrel, into which it is not our province or purpose to enter. He deprived the Whigs of the fruits of their victory, by vetoing their favorite measures, but did not succeed in winning sufficient favor among the Democrats to secure their support for reelection.

Of the first ten Presidents, Tyler was the youngest at the time of taking office, his age being 51; Harrison was the oldest, being 68. John Adams lived to the greatest age, dying at 91. Washington's life was shortest, covering only 67 years. Five of the ten—viz., the elder and younger Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Van Buren—lived to be 80 years of age or more, and all but Washington and Harrison passed their seventieth years. Adams and Jefferson died on the same day. Van Buren and Tyler died in the same year.

*George Cary Eggleston*

## THE HOUSES OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS

The remains found in Mexico and Central America furnish the antiquarian with abundant materials by which to judge of the architectural skill of the ancient inhabitants of those regions; but unfortunately the works of the mound-builders afford but few and dim traces of their skill in this respect. Up to the present time, not a single dwelling coeval with, and bearing evident relation to, these works, has been discovered. Though hundreds of groups of mounds, marking the sites of their ancient villages, are to be seen scattered over the country, yet in none of all the number is there a single house remaining, nor, until very recently, was it known that the remains, or even the trace, of one could with certainty be identified.

Although the magnitude and extent of many of these works prove beyond question that the builders must have been sedentary, subsisting to a large extent upon the products of the soil, and dwelling in houses of a more permanent character than the tents of nomads or temporary wigwams of the roving tribes, yet all have crumbled to dust. The inference is, therefore, irresistible that their houses were built of perishable materials—a fact entirely consonant with their environments, as they lived in a land clothed with heavy forests and supplied with abundant moisture.

Although no examples of their houses remain, we are not left wholly in the dark in reference to them. In various localities, especially in Middle and West Tennessee, in Southern Illinois and Southeastern Missouri, the sites of thousands of them are yet distinctly marked by little circular saucer-shaped depressions, each surrounded by a slightly raised earthen ring. By digging in the center from one to three feet deep, we almost invariably find the ashes and hearth that mark the place where the fire was built, and often unearth from the same place fragments of vessels used in cooking and the bones of animals upon whose flesh the people fed.

By carefully throwing off the deposit made since they were abandoned, we can frequently follow the layer of hard-beaten earth—sometimes clay or mixed with clay—which formed the floor of the dwelling.

These facts and various other indications render it evident beyond any reasonable doubt that they are dwelling sites. That they do not mark the places of temporary camps is apparent from the circular excavations, the usual low ring of earth around the margin, the evidences of continued occupation, and the invariable presence of mounds in their midst. In ad-

dition to these evidences of permanent residence, the group is often surrounded by a wall of earth, which in all probability marks the line of a former palisade, and there is invariably a burying ground, either in low mounds or consisting of simple or stone graves, near at hand.

We are, therefore, warranted in concluding that these little circular depressions, varying in diameter from fifteen to fifty feet, mark the sites and indicate the form of one class of the dwellings of the mound-builders.

As the fire-place is invariably in the center, and nothing found to indicate the use of a flue or chimney, we conclude there was an opening in the top of the dwelling or wigwam for the escape of the smoke, and that the form of the house was conical or dome-shaped, probably the former.

The ring of earth has doubtless been formed by the decay of the bark covering, and by the earth thrown around and against the base to keep out water and to shield from the wind and cold in the winter.

So far as observed, no particular order appears to have been maintained in regard to the relative positions of these dwellings, except that sufficient space was allowed between them to afford passways.

Professor Putnam, who found many of these dwelling sites during his explorations in Tennessee, remarks as follows in regard to them: "Scattered irregularly within the inclosure are nearly one hundred more or less defined, circular ridges of earth, which are from a few inches to a little over three feet in height, and of diameters varying from ten to fifty feet. An examination of these low mounds, or rather earth rings, as there could generally be traced a central depression, soon convinced me that I had before me the remains of the dwellings of the people who had erected the large mound, made the earthen embankment, buried their dead in the stone graves, and lived in this fortified town, as I now feel I have a right to designate it." An examination of the similar remains in Southern Illinois and southeastern Missouri will soon suffice to lead any one to a similar conclusion.

In these remains we have evidences of customs and modes of life so strongly resembling those of some of the Indian tribes that no one can fail to notice them. The circular form, the size, the central fire, the want of regularity in placing them, and the perishable materials of which they were made are all indications pointing to the one conclusion.

But our testimony in regard to the dwellings of the mound-builders is not yet exhausted, meager as it has generally been supposed.

During the progress of explorations by assistants of the Bureau of Ethnology last year, in Southeast Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi, especially in Arkansas, in numerous instances, probably hundreds, beds of

hard-burned clay, containing impressions of grass and cane, were observed. These were generally found one or two feet below the surface of the low, flat mounds, from one to five feet high and from fifteen to fifty feet in diameter, though by no means confined to mounds of this character, as they were also observed near the surface of the large flat-topped and conical mounds.

So common were these burnt clay beds in the low flat mounds, and so evidently the remains of former houses, that the explorers generally speak of them in their reports as "house sites."

As a general rule, in opening them, the strata occur in this order: *first*, a top layer of soil from one to two feet thick; then a layer of burnt clay from four inches to a foot thick (though usually varying from four to eight inches thick), and broken into lumps—never in a uniform unbroken layer; immediately below this a layer of ashes and charcoal, in which are usually found fragments of pottery and occasionally whole vessels, stone chips, broken bones of animals and other refuse; immediately below this a thin layer of hardened muck or dark clay, though this does not always seem to be distinct; at this depth, in the mounds in the eastern part of Arkansas, are usually found one and sometimes two skeletons.

I take almost at random from Dr. Palmer's report (not yet published) a statement in reference to these beds. Speaking of the slight elevations, which here are not rings as further north, but low flat mounds, he says:

"As a general and almost universal rule, after removing a foot or two of top soil a layer of burnt clay in a broken or fragmentary condition would be found, sometimes with impressions of grass or twigs, and easily crumbled, but often hard and stamped apparently with an implement made of split reeds of comparatively large size. This layer was often a foot thick and frequently burned to a brick red or even to clinkers. Below this would be found more or less ashes, and often six inches of charred grass immediately over the skeletons. These were found lying in all directions, some with the face up, others with it down and others on the side. With these were found vessels of clay, some with one, others with more."

At another place, in a broad platform-like elevation not more than three feet high, he found and traced by the burnt clay the outlines of three rectangular houses. The edges of the upright walls were very apparent in this case, as also the clay which must have fallen from them, and which raised the outer marginal lines considerably higher than the inner area. "The fire," Dr. Palmer remarks, "must have been very fierce, and the clay around the edges was evidently at some height above the floor, as I judge from the irregular way in which it is scattered around the margins."

Excavations in the areas showed that they were covered with a layer

of burnt clay, uneven and broken ; immediately below this a layer of ashes six inches thick, and below this black loam. On these areas were growing some large trees, one a poplar three feet in diameter.

Below one of these floors was found a skeleton, some pottery and a pipe. A large oak formerly stood at this point, but has been blown down. Close by these dwelling sites is a large mound ten feet high, in the form of a truncated pyramid.

Scores of cases, similar in character and differing but slightly in details, might be given from the reports of the explorers, but I will call attention only to two more.

Mr. Thing, digging into the summit of a medium sized mound in South-east Missouri, where there was a slight circular depression, found at the depth of two feet a similar layer of burnt clay—but I will let him tell his own story : “On the top of the mound, in a small circular depression, I dug down a couple of feet, when I came to a sort of platform of burnt clay. It seemed to be made up of irregularly shaped pieces, one side being smooth and the other rough. And what was peculiar, the *smooth side was down.*” It is easy to account for this on the supposition that it had been the plastering of an upright wall, which, when the wooden support gave way before the flames, had fallen over in a broad sheet, thus carrying the smooth inner side downward. In confirmation of this view, we may state that down the slope on one side were also found loose fragments of the burnt clay which had evidently broken loose from the mass and rolled down the side.

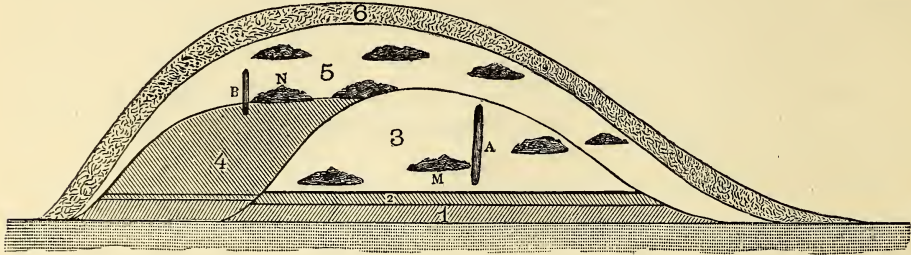
Our next and last illustration is from the report of Colonel Norris—the locality, Butler county, Missouri ; the group consisted of an inclosing wall and ditch, two large outer excavations, and four mounds inside. The largest mound of the four measured about one hundred and fifty feet in length, one hundred and twenty in width, and twenty feet high at the highest point. A longitudinal section is shown in the figure.

We will now let Colonel Norris describe it from his notes taken on the ground :

“A thorough examination was made of this mound by plowing and cutting away nearly one half of it and running trenches through the remaining portion. The construction was found to be somewhat peculiar, as will be seen by reference to the figure, which shows a vertical section through the length.

“The bottom layer, 1, is a circular platform about one hundred feet in diameter and two feet high, formed of yellow sand, similar to the original surface beneath and around it. The next layer, marked 2, is only six

inches thick and consists of dark blue adhesive clay or muck from the swamp, which by long use has become very hard. It was strewn over with burnt clay, charcoal, ashes, fragments of split bones, stone chips, fragments of pottery and mussel shells.



SOME REMAINS OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS.

“The next layer, 3, is eight feet thick at the central point of what appears to have been the original mound of which it was the top stratum. But it is not uniform, and although showing no distinct layers was not all formed at one time, as in it were found at least three distinct fire-beds of burnt earth and heavy accumulations of ashes, charcoal and charred animal bones. In this layer, somewhat south of the center, at *m*, were found the charred fragments of long poles and small logs all lying horizontally, and also a post (*a*), probably of locust wood, six inches thick and five feet long, still erect, but the upper end shortened by fire and the lower end haggled off by some rude implement.

“Layer number 4 is an addition to the original plan, but here the original platform is continued with the same sandy material and same height; then the layer number 4 was built of blue muck similar to that of number 2 in the original mound. Having obtained the desired form, layer number 5, which is six feet thick and of blue clay mixed with sand, was thrown over the whole. But this was evidently formed after an interval of usage of the original double mound, as northwest of the center and in the lower part of this layer (at *n*) were found charred timbers lying horizontally, and one post (*b*) standing erect, resembling the timber post found in number 3.”

Although the remainder of the description is interesting, this will suffice for our present purpose. There can be no doubt that these poles and this burnt clay were the remains of houses, the fire having been smothered by dirt thrown over it before the timber portion was entirely consumed.

The reader will probably remember the description given by Professor Swallow of “a room formed of poles, lathed with split cane, plastered with



clay, both inside and out, forming a solid mass," which he found in a mound in Southeastern Missouri. This plastering was, as he says, left rough on the outside but smooth on the inside, and some of it was burned as red and hard as brick, while other parts were only sun-dried. Some of the rafters and cane laths were found decayed, some burnt to coal, and others all rotted but the bark. The inner plastering was found flat on the floor of the room as it had *fallen in*, and *under* it were the bones and pots.\*

The discoveries made by Professor Swallow, Col. Norris, Mr. Thing and Dr. Palmer all harmonize, and show beyond a reasonable doubt that the layers of burned clay so frequently found in southern mounds are the plastering of houses which have been destroyed by fire. The numerous instances of this kind which have now been brought to light, and the presence of skeletons under the ashes and clay, render it probable that the houses were abandoned at the death of a member of the family, burned over them after they had been buried or covered with earth (for the bones are very rarely charred), and that immediately a mound was thrown over the ruins. It also appears that in some cases the mound so made was afterward used as a dwelling site by the same or other people.

As bearing upon this subject I call attention to a few descriptions of Indian houses given by some of the early writers.

La Harpe, speaking of the tribes in some parts of Arkansas, says: "The Indians build their huts dome-fashion out of clay and reeds." Schoolcraft says the Pawnees formerly built similar houses. In Ibberville's "Journal" it is stated that the cabins of the Bayogoulas were round, about thirty feet in diameter, and plastered with clay to the height of a man. Adair says the winter cabins or "hot-houses" of the Cherokees and several other tribes were circular and covered six or seven inches thick with tough clay mixed with grass.

Father Gravier, speaking of the Tounicas, says: "Their cabins are round and vaulted. They are lathed with cane and plastered with mud from bottom to top within and without, with a good covering of straw."

Henri de Tonti—the real hero of the French discoveries on the Mississippi—says the cabins of the Teusas were square, with the roof dome-shaped, that the walls were plastered with clay to the height of twelve feet, and were two feet thick.

\* I may as well add here that I have examined in person one of these clay-beds found near the surface of a large mound, and that specimens of those found by three Bureau assistants named are now in the National Museum, also specimens of the charred grass or straw of which Dr. Palmer speaks.

Numerous other references to the same effect might be given, but these are sufficient to show that the remains found in the mounds of the Southwest are precisely what would result from the destruction by fire of the houses in use by the Indians when first encountered by the Europeans.

Combining the testimony furnished by the mounds with the historical evidence—which the close agreement between the two certainly justifies—we learn that the houses of the mound-builders were built of wooden materials, or wood and clay combined, and were of at least two forms, circular and rectangular; that the fire was usually placed in the center, and the smoke allowed to escape through an opening at the top; that in the southern sections they were usually plastered with clay and thatched with straw or grass, and that the plastering was often ornamented by stamping it with a stamp made of split cane, and in some cases painted red. Professor Swallow noticed this color on the plastering of the burned room he discovered. I have also detected a coat of paint on some of the pieces which have been received at the National Museum.

The facts brought to light in regard to the ancient works in the southern part of the United States, by the investigations of the Bureau of Ethnology, prove beyond question that a large portion of these tumuli were erected for the purpose of being used as dwelling sites, or the location of temples, council houses, or other public buildings, and confirm the statements made in reference to them by the narratives of DeSoto's expedition.

*Cyrus Thomas*

## TRIBUTE TO GEORGE W. LANE

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. George W. Lane died at his home in New York, Sunday morning, December 30, 1883. The radical hold which he gained over the men and institutions of his city create for him a deserved place in a magazine of history. If he did not directly determine events, he determined men, and so worked at the root of events and at the heart of his times.

A chronicle of his life would be interesting; a register of the interests which he promoted would be instructive. It is significant to be told that he was President of the Chamber of Commerce, member of the Aqueduct Commission (made such by act of Legislature); that he was connected with an almost indefinite number of monetary, charitable and religious institutions. But a great deal more to the point is the character itself of the man, out of which all these divers and diverse lines of activity with such effect and such naturalness flowed.

For the ordinary run of character analysis answers the purpose. As a rule, the meaning of a man is lodged mainly in some special proclivity or aptitude. The average man is a fragment—some specific peculiarity set loose and incarnated. The peculiarity of Mr. Lane was that he was not peculiar. His eccentricity lay in his concentricity—in the balancing of dissimilar aptitudes and the equipoise of complementary elements. Synthesis is a difficult matter; but if I were to venture upon it, and were to attempt to specify the four quadrants whose combination in Mr. Lane forms the most perfect circle of human character that I have ever known, I should say—Will, Love, Sense, and Fidelity; neither of them in its separateness, but all of them in their conjunction and interdependence. We have used the illustration of the quadrant and circle: but every circle implies a center around which the quadrants are drawn. That in Mr. Lane, around which everything that was constituent of him centered, was his fellowship with his Heavenly Father. Mr. Lane was a Christian. That was the core-fact of the man. The religious element was not in him an affix, an addendum. It was an ingrained matter, co-extensive with him. Touch Mr. Lane at any point, and you found him a Christian just at that point. I have specified four prominent elements in his character. His Christianity made itself felt as a working factor in each of those four elements, penetrating his will and softening it; permeating his affections and chastening them;

busying itself with his intelligence and clarifying it ; entering into his fidelity and hallowing it. The drop of water is not part hydrogen and part oxygen, but all of it is both. So in the character we are considering, it is not that a part of it is secular and a part religious ; all of it was both. No blade so fine can be introduced into his character as to divide between its secular and its Christian threads. Therefore he never looked out of place. Whether handling the city's money, presiding at the dinner of the Chamber of Commerce, or sitting at the Lord's table and distributing the bread and wine, he was felt to be in his element. And all of this thorough and constant working in him of the religious element admits of precise explanation.

Mr. Lane was converted. His conversion was as definite a fact in his life as his birth. At the age of about thirty his robust will yielded itself to God in one final act of absolute surrender. He was not converted by installments. He was henceforth God's man. Standing in this personal relation to God, duty always meant with him something divine, something which left him no option in the matter. Any position which he felt himself called to fill was with him a divine calling. God was at his elbow. Whatever he did in that position, therefore, he did as for God, and was therefore always in his place. He was a beautiful incarnation of the old doctrine of the perseverance of the saints. It was his meat to do the will of God. A gentleman who for forty-five years had stood in intimate business relations with him, whose business transactions with him amounted to millions of dollars, said : " In looking over this whole period of almost half a century there is not a speck upon Mr. Lane's dealings with me that I would wish to erase." He had convictions then, and the courage of his convictions. Because others thought as he did made him no stronger, and because others did not think as he did made him no weaker. Being the only one to hold a particular view never made him lonely. He was made of the stuff that the martyrs were made of.

Mr. Lane was a safe counselor. The severe truthfulness of the man made it easy for him to find the truth, and in a short and simple way to state it. His mind moved directly to the root of a matter. His Christianity emptied him of self, so that his thoughts were left to work in the clear. Prejudice was shut out of conference. It held of him what the Lord said of himself : " My judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will ; " and his conclusions and findings were regularly justified by the issue. Integrity clarified intelligence. His judgment was continually sought in contested cases. He was recognized to have what David calls " truth in the inward parts." This singleness of eye was in him a genius for deciding

cases on their merits. To a life-long and intimate friend he said : " I would decide a case against you as soon as against anybody else."

Mr. Lane illustrates the fact that a man can live a long and active business life in New York, and keep his heart pure and tender, and his conscience undefiled. He handled gold without his mind becoming yellowed by it, or his affections metallized. He was like the sunshine which brightens the soil without becoming soiled by it. The ship is not wrecked by getting into the water, but by the water's getting into the ship. He illustrates the fact that simple manhood, unrecommended by high lineage, material inheritance, or scholarly endowment, will win its way and create for itself a place, a place that it is not in the scope of birth to arrogate, culture to reach, nor money to buy. Sweet integrity is easily imperial. The profoundest tribute yet offered to Mr. Lane's memory—far in advance of all eulogies spoken or speakable—was the audience gathered in the Madison Square Church on the day of his funeral,—a solid phalanx of strong heads and snowy hairs, a silent confession to the kingliness of goodness.

His life from day to day was of more value than any oral preachment can be as an exposition of the Gospel. He illustrates the Gospel because he was himself the product of the Gospel. And the Gospel is worth what it will produce. A tree is known by its fruits. Grandeur is not the child of delusion. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. When Atheism, Agnosticism, or Infidelity, either one of them, will produce a Geo. W. Lane, then I will pause and review my creed.

His last service was one of hospitality. That was his life—to add to men. Always busy but always had time. For him to diffuse light was as natural as for a candle : to diffuse freshness as natural as for a fountain. He was master of us because he was so thoroughly our servant. And now there remains to us this great comfort, that though he has done so much for us that his departure is an unspeakable bereavement, yet the more he has done for us the better we can do without him. In all these years he has been making, in the lives of those that stood near him, quiet deposits of power. That power survives, the inalienable possession of every circle in which he has moved, a part of the permanent fund of every institution in which he has worked. He has been all these years sounding key-notes. The hand which sounded the notes has fallen, but the tones he struck ring yet, and the music goes on in the key that he set, and the meter that he marked.

*C. H. Parkhurst*

# THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT \*

## WITH PEDIGREE

### I

#### PREFATORY

For the following sketch I have been favored with the use of all the family papers preserved by several generations of the Griswolds of Blackhall ; together with some interesting original papers of the Rev. George Griswold of Giant's Neck, now owned by Deacon George Griswold of Niantic ; and with some notes for family history by James Griswold, Esq. of Lyme.

I have also had several valuable documents copied for me from the Probate Records of New London and the State Archives at Hartford, the latter through the courtesy of Charles J. Hoadley, Esq., State Librarian. An examination of the collections on the Griswold family made by the late Rev. F. W. Chapman of Rocky Hill, Conn., which were put into my hands by his son Mr. Henry A. Chapman of Hartford, has led to one important discovery, and a few private letters from the father have given me some valuable hints.

Some of the statements respecting Edward Griswold and his descendants were furnished by Judge S. O. Griswold of Cleveland, Ohio, and Hon. William H. Buell of Clinton, Conn., both of whom descend from him. At home I have had a continual adviser and assistant in my wife, who, being of Griswold descent, had, with wonted enthusiasm and perseverance, collected many facts of the family history, and corresponded in our own country and abroad with reference to it, long before it began to be a subject of interest to me for her sake. The printed sources of information, so far as known, have been, of course, freely drawn upon.

It must be understood, however, that I have not undertaken to write a complete genealogy of the Griswolds ; my paper has reference, especially, to the male line, and to those of the name most closely associated with Lyme, and was originally intended for the use of a limited family circle—not for the public eye.

The imprints in the notes are in all cases those of the particular *volumes* referred to.

The earliest English settlements on the Connecticut River were nearly contemporaneous, of the same parentage, being all offshoots from the Bay Plantation, and bound together by many ties of intercourse and dependence. It was about the year 1635 that Wethersfield, Windsor, Hartford, and Saybrook were first settled. The latter had its origin in a fortification built by Lion Gardiner, a military engineer from England (who had in that capacity served the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries), and commanded by John Winthrop the younger, under a commission from the Warwick Patentees. This barely secured the site for English occupation against Dutch encroachments. The new cluster of settlements thus formed on the beautiful banks of the Connecticut, winding amid rich meadows ready to the hand of the husbandman, and primitive forests which were stocked with all sorts of game valuable for skins, and opening an attractive

pathway for trade, both inland and abroad, naturally drew the attention of those in the mother-country whom the usurpations and oppressions of the later Stuarts had forced to make new homes for themselves in these western wilds.

Two brothers of the name of Griswold, Edward and Matthew, came to America "about the year 1639," and settled at Windsor, Conn. The date of their emigration being fundamental, and all that relates to it, and to years immediately following, being of interest, I quote from affidavits of these two brothers, sworn to May 15, 1684, as follows:

"The testimony of Edward Griswold, aged about 77 years, is, that about the yeare 1639 Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Whiteing (deceased) was undertaker for a shipp in England, in which shipp I came to New England . . . and at that time many passengers came ouer, severall of which settled at Windsor, and a gennerall expectation there was at that time, as appeared by discourse, of many more passengers to come, and some of note . . . by which meanes land at Windsor, near the towne and redy for improuement, was at a high price. . . . But afterward people that were expected out of England not coming in such numbers as was looked for, and some returning to England,\* and others remoueing to the seaside, the lands at Windsor fell very much in price." . . .

"The testimony of Mathew Griswold, aged about 64 years, is, that John Bissell, sometimes of Windsor now deceased, did offer to sell mee al that part of Mr Ludlowe's accomodations, both of houseing and lands, which hee bought of Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Whiteing (as hee told mee) which lay on the west side Connecticut Riuer in the township of Windsor . . . and I beeing not accomodated to my mind where I then liued at Saybrook, and haueing kindred of my owne and my wiues at Windsor, was willing to dwell at Windsor . . . also I went and aduised with my father-in-law Mr. Wolcot, who told mee I had bid high enoffe. . . . Further I testifie that, when I came ouer to New England about the year 1639, land was at an high price, and that the price thereof fell very much in some yeares after . . ."†

It will be observed that these documents give us, also, approximately, the important dates of birth of the two brothers—the elder, aged about seventy-seven in 1684, must have been born about 1607; and the younger, about sixty-four years old in 1684, was, of course, born about 1620.

The eminent antiquary Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, says he "can hardly doubt" that a brother of Edward and Matthew was "Francis Grissell" [or "Mr. Grissell"], to whom reference is made in the Calendar of State Papers (Minutes of a Committee for Providence Plantation), as having applied in England, from July 1635 to Feb. 1636, for remission of the cost of transportation of himself and wife to New Eng-

\* Plainly, in consequence of the rising power of the Parliament, before the civil war had operated to drive Englishmen away from their mother country.

† Conn. State Archives, Private Controversies, ii docc. 203, 204. *MS.*

land,\* whence he infers "that Francis Grissell (Griswold) had been at, and had returned to Great Britain from, Providence Island, before July 1635." † Whether it be true or not that this person was a brother of our Edward and Matthew Griswold, which I leave for others to determine, certain it is that Edward had a son named Francis, who will be spoken of further on; and Mr. Chapman entertained the opinion, though it does not appear on what ground, that the grandfather of Edward and Matthew was a Francis Griswold, said to have been of Lyme Regis, Co. Dorset, who had a son George, the father of our two brothers of Windsor. ‡

From a valuable document in the New London Probate Office (relating to a lawsuit in which the only son of our first Matthew Griswold was involved), we obtain proof that, beside Edward and Matthew, there was another brother, Thomas by name, who remained in the old English homestead; and the same paper gives documentary evidence as to what part of England the emigrants came from. It deserves to be quoted here, exactly and in full:

"Georg Griswold, aged about 67 years, testifyeth as followeth—that in his youthfull years he lived with his father in England, in a town called Keillinsworth § in Warrackshire; he did severall times since hear his father Edward Griswold say that the house they then lived in, and lands belonging thereto, was his brother Mathew Griswold's; and have lately seen a letter under the hand of Thomas Griswold of Keillinsworth above<sup>sd</sup>, directed to his brother Mathew Griswold aforesaid, wherein the said Thomas Griswold intimated that he did then live in the above said house belonging to his said brother Mathew Griswold aforesaid.

"May 9<sup>th</sup> 1700. George Griswold appeared before me in Hartford, and made oath to y<sup>e</sup> above testimony."

"JOSEPH CURTISS, Assistant."

With regard to the ancestry of the three brothers whom we thus distinctly trace, we have no certain information reaching beyond their father. A deposition lately found among the papers of Rev. F. W. Chapman, "a full and true copy" of an original now lost, enables me to begin the Griswold pedigree one generation further back than it has been hitherto traced. This valuable document is in these words:

"The testimony of Captain George Griswold, aged about 72 years, and the testimony of Mr. John Griswold, aged about 69 years, they both being sons of George Griswold, The

\* Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. 1574-1660. London, 1860. pp. 211, 215, 221.

† Private letter of Dec. 30, 1881.

‡ Private letter of March 12, 1874. The same letter expresses the belief, without giving any good reason for it, however (as appears from another letter of June 4, 1874), that Michael Griswold of Wethersfield was also a brother of Edward and Matthew; but a document, which will be quoted presently, seems to imply that the father of Edward and Matthew had only one other son.

§ In Queen Elizabeth's time Kenilworth was called Killingworth.



Deponents being both of Windsor in the county of Hartford and colony of Connecticut in New England, is as follows :

"Viz., that our Grandfather's name was Edward Griswold, and it was formerly and has ever since been always accepted and reputed that our said Grandfather's father's name was George Griswold, and the said George Griswold our Great Grandfather had three sons, the eldest named Edward, the second named Matthew, and the third or youngest son named Thomas, and the said Edward the eldest son, and the said Matthew the second son, came into New England from Killingsworth in Warwickshire in England; and in all our discourses amongst the families of said Griswolds in New England, together with other elderly observing gentlemen, they are and have ever been so accepted and reputed to be, without contradiction or gainsaying, according to the best of our remembrance.

"And the Deponents further add and say that the above named Edward Griswold's eldest son has always been called and reputed to be Francis Griswold, without any contradiction or gainsaying as aforesaid that we know of.

"Windsor in Hartford county in Connecticut, New England, personally appeared on the 19th day of January Anno Dom. 1737-8, Captain George Griswold and John Griswold the above named Deponents, and made solemn Oath, in due form of law, to the truth of the above written testimony, before me

HENRY ALLYN

Justice Peace."\*

But who was this George Griswold, the father of Edward, Matthew and Thomas, we know not. It has been assumed that our Griswolds belonged to the heraldic family of Greswolds of Solihull, near Kenilworth, Co. Warwick, one of whom, Humphrey Greswold, deceased in 1746, unmarried, was the first of this family who possessed Malvern Hall; † and the arms of that family: *Arg. a fesse Gu. betw. 2 greyhounds current Sa.*, have been used as of right belonging to Griswolds of America.

\* This copy was given to Mr. Chapman by Mr. J. S. Griswold of Benson, Vt., whose brother Mr. W. D. Griswold, now of St. Louis, Mo., writes to me respecting the original paper as follows: "As regards the original paper, I remember to have seen it on occasion of a visit I made to my native home in 1841. My Father, then alive, showed it to me, and I read it over and over with great interest, and I then took a copy of it, which I think I have sent to some inquirer, without retaining a copy of the copy. The affidavit was evidently taken in aid of some pending legal proceeding, or in anticipation of some legal use. *It was inherited by my Father with the old papers and muni-ments of his Father*, and that is all that can be said of its history." In another letter Mr. Griswold says: "I read it over repeatedly, and critically observed the paper, old and faded, and the writing of style verifying its age." These two Griswold brothers are descendants of Edward Griswold, through his son Francis.

† The late Col. Chester, to whom the question of the English origin of the Griswolds was referred some years since, wrote from London: "I thought I had already explained about the Griswolds of Malvern Hall. The first one who had Malvern Hall was Humphrey G. (son of Rev. Marshall G., descended from the family at Solihull, Co. Warwick), who died unmarried in 1746. It then went to his brother John, who died without issue in 1760, when that branch of the family, in the male line, became extinct. Malvern then went to their sister Mary, wife of David Lewis Esq., then to their son Henry Greswold Lewis, who died in 1829 without issue. Malvern then went to his very distant kinsman Edmund Meysey Wigley, who assumed the name of Greswold. He died unmarried in 1833, and Malvern then went to his paternal uncle Henry Wigley, who also assumed the surname of Greswold, but who never had a drop of Greswold blood in his veins."

A statement has gained some credence, that our Griswold brothers came from Lyme Regis, Co. Dorset, probably for no better reason than because this would afford a plausible explanation of the name of Lyme in Connecticut. But careful search in the records of Lyme Regis, by the Rector in 1874, failed to show that any person of the name ever lived there; while the affidavits of Edward and Matthew Griswold fully establish the fact that their old home was at Kenilworth, Co. Warwick. Now, the Visitation of Warwickshire made in 1619, published by the Harleian Society, gives us twelve generations of the Greswold family, of which the first-named representative was John Greswold "of Kenelworth," who married the daughter of William Hugford of Hulderley Hall in *Solihull*; and the Greswolds continued to be seated at Kenilworth down to the time of the last male descendants mentioned in 1619.\* Moreover, John Greswold, of the fifth generation in this Visitation, is named *Griswold* in the Visitations of Nottingham for 1569-1614 published by the Harleian Society, where the marriage of his daughter Allice to Thomas Dabridgcourt is recorded—showing that the two forms of the name were at an early period interchangeable†; and, what is still more, in the Visitation of Warwickshire for 1619 occurs the name of a George Griswold, in the latest generation there recorded, who may possibly have been the father of our two emigrants. But diligent investigations by Colonel Chester (to whom, however, the fact of the immediate parentage of the emigrants was unknown), by the Rector of Kenilworth in 1874, and among American records, have not enabled us as yet to trace back the line of descent of our Edward and Matthew beyond their father. The parish-register of Kenilworth prior to 1630 was destroyed under Cromwell, and the name of Greswold does not occur in it after 1651. So that, while there is ground for believing that the emigrant brothers belonged to the heraldic family of Greswolds, or Griswolds, there seems to be little probability of its being proved. Colonel Chester concluded that they may have come of a younger branch of that family, but says: "The only possible remaining chance there is for discovering any thing further would be an examination of the wills in the local registry of Lichfield."

\* The Publications of the Harl. Soc., vol. xii. The Visitation of the County of Warwick in the year 1619. . . . Ed. by John Fetherston. . . . London, 1877, pp. 60-62.

† The Publications of the Harl. Soc., vol. iv.—The Visitations of the County of Nottingham in the years 1569 and 1614. . . . London, 1871, p. 38.

The parish-records of Solihull, as appears from recent obliging letters of the present Rector, show the following varieties in the form of the name at the dates mentioned:

1539—Griswoolde, 1540—Gryswoolde, 1541—Gresolde, 1547—Grissolde, 1555—Greyswolde, 1561—Grisolde, 1562—Gryswoolde and Gryssold, 1570—Griswolde, 1571—Gressolde, 1575—Greswolde, 1579—Greswoolde, 1590—Greswold, 1593—Gryswold, 1624—Greswold, and Griswold, 1627—Griswoold, 1636—Griswold. For some of these, however, the parish-clerk alone may be responsible.

As has been noticed, our Griswold family possessed lands in fee in England, both before and after the emigration of Edward and Matthew; and we shall see that not only was Matthew (who, having come to the New World in his youth, and married a daughter of the first Henry Wolcott, might be supposed to have been trained by the necessities of colonization, or aided by his father-in-law) prominent in the public affairs of Connecticut from the first; but his elder brother, also, who was thirty-two years old at his emigration, took at once a position of commanding influence. They would seem to have been "born to rule." Besides, if it be a principle of heredity that the characteristics, physical, intellectual, moral and social, of a strongly marked ancestor are repeated in his descendants, so that from the offspring may be inferred what was the progenitor, then, apart from all we know of the first generation of the Griswolds of New England, the qualities developed by succeeding generations of the family have been an accumulating proof that its emigrant ancestors were high-minded, intelligent, Christian "gentlemen." The large views of Matthew Griswold, very much in advance of his time, are illustrated by a record which has just come to light, as follows:

"April 23<sup>d</sup> 1663, Hannah Griswold, wife of Matthew Griswold, has a portion of meadow-land in Windsor, Great Meadow, Twelve acres more or less. . . . this comes to her as part of her portion that fell to her by the Last will of her brother Christopher Wolcott Dec<sup>d</sup>, out of his Estate that was to be Devided among his Relations; and this parcell of meadow is *allowed by her Husband Matthew Griswold to be Recorded and made over to Hannah his wife, to remain to her and her children, and their Dispose, forever.*"\*

We can only wonder at the enterprise, courage and energy of these early pioneers. Matthew Griswold, at the early age of nineteen years, came with his brother Edward to Windsor, among its earliest settlers, then struck out from there to find a new home in Saybrook; then, as if that spot had become too narrow, crossed the "Great River," and made his final settlement as the first man who took up land in Lyme. Perhaps this may have been partly due to the English passion for landed possessions—also, perhaps, to a hereditary longing which could be fully gratified only by first occupation.

In this connection I may most appropriately dispose of a statement, distinctly made or hinted at in different quarters, that the first Matthew Griswold followed the trade of a stone-cutter. The only proofs alleged of this are, first, a receipt given by him, Apr. 1, 1679, now registered at Saybrook, for seven pounds sterling, "in payment for the tombstone of the lady Alice Bottler [Lady Fenwick], late of Saybrook;" and, secondly, the tradition

\* Copied by the Town Clerk of Windsor from Records there, in August, 1882.

that the tombstone of his father-in-law, Henry Wolcott of Windsor (who died in 1655)—similar in form and material to that of Lady Fenwick—was obtained by his agency.\* As to the receipt, nothing is more likely than that he gave it for money which he had long before paid out as Agent to Gov. Fenwick; and as to the Wolcott tradition, that by no means necessarily means that the monument of Henry Wolcott was a work of his hands. Still, it is possible that Matthew Griswold may have learned the art of stone-cutting in preparation for his emigration—perhaps as a disguise in aid of his expatriation; and that he practiced the art occasionally, as the exigencies of colonial life in a new country made it useful for him to do so, is also possible. But that stone-cutting was his occupation, or trade, there is not the slightest reason to believe; indeed, the supposition is at variance with all that we know of his prominence in the public affairs of his time, and inferable education, or are led to conjecture, from his large acquisitions of land at an early period, of his having given himself, from the first, to agriculture. Evidently he was skilled in laying foundations, and in sculpturing monuments, but it was with materials, and in forms, far more enduring than stone—nay, more lasting than the brass of the mechanic artificer: “*Monumentum aere perennius.*”

But from these general considerations I must now return, to record more in detail what we know of the three brothers, Edward, Matthew and Thomas Griswold, of whom, as has been said, the first two emigrated to America in 1639, and the other remained in England. As to this Thomas, we know, by the deposition of 1737–38 above cited, that he was the youngest son—born, therefore, not earlier than about 1621—but neither tradition nor records give us any additional facts respecting him. The yet existing Kenilworth records (as appears from Mr. Chapman’s papers) make mention of “Hanna the daughter of Thomas Grissold,” buried Apr. 8, 1632, of “Mary the daughter of Thomas Grissold,” buried Apr. 20, 1634, and of “Thomas the sonne of Thomas Grissold & Elianor his wife . . . baptized July y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> Anno Dni 1636;” also, of a “Thomas Grissold,” whose wife Joane was buried Jan. 28, 1632 (or 1633), and a “Thomas Grissold,” married to Catharine Norris June 11, 1635—that is, certainly of two, if not more, separate Thomases. But neither of them could have been the brother of Edward and Matthew, because Matthew himself was not more than about sixteen years old at the latest of these dates. On the other hand, he may have been either a “Thomas Grissold,” who was buried May 5, 1644, or a Thomas, named in the records, who had a son

\* History of New London . . . By Frances Manwaring Caulkins. New London, 1852, pp. 173–74; and Memorial of Henry Wolcott . . . New York, 1881, pp. 12, note, and 32.

Matthew born Mar. 1, 1649. The parish-records of Kenilworth, it will be seen, name at least three distinct Thomas Griswolds.

To come, then, to the two emigrants, a tradition remains to be alluded to, that their emigration was in company with the Rev. Ephraim Huet of Windsor, who "had been a minister of Wraxall, near Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, was proceeded against by Archbishop Laud, 1638, for neglect of ceremonies, came next year." \* Savage thought this tradition plainly erroneous, for the reason that George, son of Edward, Griswold, in his deposition above cited, testified that he lived with his father in England "in his youthfull years," which, according to Savage, must have extended later than to the year 1639. But the year of Huet's emigration, this very year 1639, being now fixed, independently, as the date of the emigration of Edward and Matthew Griswold, the tradition of their companionship with Huet gains in probability; while Savage's objection is quite set aside by the fact that George Griswold, having been sixty-seven years old in 1700 (as he himself affirmed), was born about 1633, not in 1638—as Savage says—and could, therefore, well speak, when advanced in life, of a time prior to 1639 as having been in the days of his youth.

Edward Griswold, the eldest of the two emigrant brothers, also lived the longest, dying in 1691, as is said, † in his eighty-fourth year. A colonial record of 1649 shows him to have been, at that time, still residing in Windsor, where his sons Francis and George likewise had their families. ‡ It is believed that he removed to Killingworth, now Clinton, Conn., in 1663, and gave to this New England town the name of his old place of residence in Warwickshire. He was a Deputy to the General Court, before this, in 1662. Under the year 1667, as "Mr. Edw. Grissell," he is enrolled a Deputy, and, as "Mr. Edward Griswold," a Commissioner "for Kenilworth." § In 1674 there was a grant made to him of two hundred acres of land, which were laid out, after long delay, in 1682, "at the north end of Lyme bounds." ¶ As "Mr. Edward Griswould" he was Deputy "fr. Killingworth" in 1678, when he was also nominated for election as Assistant, and as Commissioner; represented his town in every Court held from that year on to 1689; and was, during this period, repeatedly made Commissioner. ¶ In 1678 he was on a committee for establishing a Latin School

\* General. Dict. . . . By James Savage. Boston, 1860, ii. 490.

† Savage's General. Dict., ut supra, ii. 316.

‡ Public Records of the Col. of Conn. . . . 1636-1665. Hartford, 1850, p. 196.

§ Public Records . . . 1665-1677. . . . Hartford, 1852, pp. 58, 63.

¶ Id., p. 240, and note.

¶ Public Records. . . . 1678-1689. . . . Hartford, 1859, pp. 1, 3, 5, 26, 48, 49, 75, 76, 97, 121, 139, 140, 169, 195, 230, 237, 251.

in New London.\* He was the first deacon of the church of Killingworth.

He was twice married: first, in England, to Margaret —, who died Aug. 23, 1670, † and secondly, in 1672 or 1673, to the widow of James Bemis of New London. "Before coming to Windsor he had Francis, George, John and Sarah, probably all born in England, and he had at Windsor" three sons and three daughters—all, as appears by their days of birth or baptism recorded at Windsor, by his first marriage. ‡

His son Francis is found to have been at Saybrook in 1655-56, § but was one of the first proprietors of Norwich, settled in 1660, taking "an active part in the affairs of the plantation;" ¶ and from 1661, inclusive, to 1671, was a Deputy to the General Court. ¶ He died in 1671, \*\* leaving several children, of whom a daughter, Margaret (b. 1668), married Thomas Buckingham, son of the Rev. Thomas, of Saybrook, in 1691. ††

George, son of Edward, Griswold, was a freeman of Windsor in 1669, ‡‡ and seems to have lived there permanently. He died in 1704, §§ having had sons and daughters. John (b. 1668), son of George, was father of Isaac (b. 1718), who was father of Abiel (b. 1755), who was father of Origen (b. 1785), who was father of Judge S. O. Griswold, now of Cleveland, Ohio. Judge Griswold and his sisters now own a tract of land at Windsor which once belonged to their ancestor George.

Edward Griswold's third son, John, who was born in England, died in 1642; but he had another son of the same name, born in Windsor in 1652, whose grandson Josiah (son of Daniel, b. 1696) was the maternal grandfather of Hon. William H. Buell, now of Clinton, Conn. A daughter of Edward Griswold, Deborah (b. 1646), who married Samuel Buell in 1662, "was the ancestral mother of all the Buells in Killingworth (Clinton), all the Buells east of Connecticut River, and nearly all of Litchfield, Conn." Her husband was the great-grandfather in the fourth degree of Hon. W.

\* History of Norwich. . . . By Frances Manwaring Caulkins. Published by the Author, 1866, p. 92.

† "Her gravestone stands in the Clinton Congregational Burying Ground, with the letters M. G., and is called the oldest monument."

‡ Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, ii. 316; and History of Anc. Windsor. . . . By Henry R. Stiles. . . . New York, 1859, p. 640. The existing records of Kenilworth give baptisms of children of Edward Griswold as follows: Sarah, 1631; George, 1633; Sarah, 1635; Liddia, 1637.

§ Caulkins' Hist. of Norwich, ut supra, p. 53.

¶ Id., p. 177.

¶ Id., p. 84.

\*\* Id., p. 132.

†† Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 640; and Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, i. 285.

‡‡ Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1665-1677. . . . Hartford, 1852, p. 519.

§§ Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 641.

H. Buell, so that the latter is descended on both sides from Edward Griswold of Killingworth. Edward Griswold's son John (b. 1652) had a son Samuel (b. 1685), whose daughter was the "Mary, daughter of Samuel Griswold Esq. of Killingworth," who married, in 1739, Elihu son of Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey of Durham, Conn., and was the mother of the late Judge Chauncey of New Haven.\*

Another son of Edward Griswold, named Joseph (b. 1647), † had a son Matthew (b. 1668), who had a son Matthew (b. 1718,) who had a son Elihu (named, perhaps, from Elihu Chauncey, the husband of his father's second cousin Mary Griswold) who was born about 1750—Dr. Elihu Griswold of Windsor, whose wife Mary (b. 1756) was a daughter of Dr. Alexander Wolcott, son of Gov. Roger Wolcott. ‡ Dr. Elihu Griswold removed to Herkimer County, N. Y., about the year 1800.

MATTHEW GRISWOLD, having come to Windsor, married, October 16, 1646, Anna daughter of the first Henry Wolcott of Windsor, an emigrant from Tolland, Co. Somerset, by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Saunders, of the adjacent parish of Lydiard St. Lawrence.§ Either before or after the date of his marriage he removed to Saybrook, in the capacity of Agent to Governor Fenwick. The exact year of his removal to the river's mouth cannot now be fixed, but he is said to have been the earliest actual occupant of land within the bounds of Lyme (set off as separate from Saybrook in 1665-66), implying that he had settled there long before this separation. Indeed, his original grant is believed to have emanated from Fenwick, || which would carry us back to 1645, at least, when Fenwick's rights under the Warwick Patent were extinguished by agreement with the colony of Connecticut. ¶ Another indication of his having very early become a resident of Saybrook is given by his testimony of 1684, quoted above; for in that he speaks of having thought to leave Saybrook and purchase land in Windsor ("being not accomodated to my mind where I then liued at Saybrook"), \*\* at a time when land up the river had depreciated in value by reason, as is plain enough, of the prevalence of Parliamentary rule in England lessening the inducements to emigration, before

\* See Memorials of the Chaunceys . . . By Wm. Chauncey Fowler. Boston, 1858, pp. 112-13.

† Stiles' Hist. of Anc. Windsor, ut supra, p. 640.

‡ Memorial of Henry Wolcott, ut supra, pp. 77 and 140-42.

§ Memorial of Henry Wolcott, ut supra, p. 11. The Wolcott family of Windsor were of the old English gentry.

|| Caulkins' History of New London . . . ut supra, p. 72.

¶ The History of Conn. . . . By G. H. Hollister. New Haven, 1855, i. 135.

\*\* See above, p. 121.

the progress of events in the old country, culminating in Cromwell's military usurpation, had again tempted the more conservative Englishmen to expatriate themselves—from all which it would appear that he was a resident of Saybrook as early as within the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, though after the middle of October, 1646, because he was already married when he contemplated returning to Windsor.

By the colonial records we find him at Saybrook, first, on the 20th of March, 1649-50, reference being made, under that date, to an answer to a "petition from the inhabitants of Saybrook, presented by Matthew Griswold and Tho. Leppingwell."\* He was a Deputy to the General Court in 1654. In the same year Major Mason was deputed to take with him "Matthew Griswold of Seabrooke," and "goe to Pequett and joyne with Mr. Winthrop to draw the line betwne Pequett and Vncus according to the bounds graunted that towne," . . . and indeavo<sup>r</sup> to compose differences bet: Pequett & Vncus in loue and peace."† At a Court held May 17th, 1660, it was "granted that y<sup>e</sup> Dep: Gouverno<sup>r</sup> & Math: Griswold shal lend vnto N. London two great Guns from Sea Brooke w<sup>th</sup> shot."‡ In 1661 he headed a committee "to try the bounds of N. London."§ Under the year 1663 it is recorded that "Matthew Griswold" and others were to lay out certain bounds "to p<sup>r</sup>uent future in-conueniences."|| About 1664-65, when Lyme was soon to be set off from Saybrook as a separate town, there arose a dispute between New London and Saybrook as to the westward extent of the former town—whether or not the land between Niantic Bay and Bride Brook, including Black Point and Giant's Neck, belonged to New London. This lasted for several years, when, at length, in 1671, "the town [of New London] annulled all former grants . . . except . . ." but set apart, at "our west bounds at Black Point," a tract of three hundred and twenty-five acres "for the use of the ministry forever," which same tract had been reserved, three years earlier, for the same use, by the town of Lyme. In August, 1671, "the people of both New London and Lyme were determined to mow the grass on a portion of the debatable land. . . . Large parties went out from both towns for the purpose, and, having probably some secret intimation of each other's design, they went on the ground at the same time. . . . The Lyme men, under their usual leaders, Matthew Griswold and William Waller, were in possession of the ground when the other party advanced. . . . Constables were in attendance on either side, and Messrs. Griswold and Palmes were in the commission of the peace, and could authorize warrants of apprehension on the spot. As

\* Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut. . . . 1636-1665. Hartford, 1850, p. 205.

† Id., p. 257.

‡ Id., p. 352.

§ Id., p. 366.

|| Id., p. 418.



the New London men approached, and, swinging their scythes, began to mow," the Lyme constable attempted to do his office, supported by his fellow-townsmen, "who came rushing forward waving their weapons;" and he succeeded; when "a general tumult of shouts, revilings, wrestlings, kicks and blows followed." A warrant was issued for the arrest of Griswold, "but he was not captured." The noisy encounter was terminated "by an agreement to let the law decide;" and the General Court ordered a division of the land in dispute, by which the matter was settled.\* Such, in substance, is the account of this affair given by the historian of New London, on the authority of testimony taken at the trial of the rioters in March, 1671-72. Family tradition among the Griswolds, however, runs to the effect that the rights of the respective parties were finally made to depend upon the issue of a personal combat between champions chosen on both sides, a son of our first Matthew Griswold, the second of the name, who was noted for his athletic form and great strength, being the representative of Lyme; and that the result was in favor of his town. But this tradition may be only a mythical amplification of the recorded historical facts.†

On the 13th of February 1665-66 the articles of separation between Saybrook and Lyme were signed by Matthew Griswold as one of the committee for the east side. In 1666 he and William Waller were ordered by the General Court "w<sup>th</sup>in the space of one month to send up to y<sup>e</sup> Treasurer a true valuation of all y<sup>e</sup> rateable estate of the persons that haue estate in that place called Lyme."‡ He was a Deputy to the General Court in 1667, § and again in 1668, his name having then, first, on the colonial records, the prefix of "Mr.," at that time distinctive of a "gentleman," which afterwards they always give to it. || He was chosen Commissioner for Lyme, in 1669, for the ensuing year; ¶ in 1676 was appointed with others "to signe bills in their respectiue plantations, for what is due from the country;" \*\* and in 1677 was temporary Lieutenant of the train-bands of Lyme. †† In May 1678 he was a Deputy for Lyme; ‡‡ and the next year was appointed "to grant warrants and marry persons in Lyme for the yeare ensueing."§§ One hundred acres of land were granted to him by the General Court in 1681, "provided he take it up where it may not prej-

\* Caulkins' Hist. of New London, ut supra, pp. 166-69.

† The tradition is alluded to, as authentic history, by Dr. Dwight in his Travels in New England. New Haven and New York, 1821, ii. 522.

‡ Public Records of Conn. . . . 1665-1677. Hartford, 1852, p. 48.

§ Id., p. 70. || Id., p. 83. ¶ Id., p. 106. \*\* Id., p. 294. †† Id., p. 317.

‡‡ Public Records of Conn. . . . 1678-1689. Hartford, 1859, p. 3.

§§ Id., p. 27.

udice any former grants."\* He was a Deputy for Lyme in 1685. † On the 14th of May 1685 ("in the first year of our Sovereign Lord James the Second of England") the township of Lyme received a patent of confirmation, when it was granted, ratified and confirmed "unto Mr. Matthew Griswold, Sen<sup>r</sup>., Mr. Moses Noyes, Mr. Wm. Measure, Mr. Wm. Ely, Ln<sup>t</sup> Abraham Brunson, Sarg<sup>t</sup> Thomas Lee and John Lay, Jr., and the rest of the said present proprietors of the Township of Lyme, their heirs, successors and assigns forever." In 1686 the General Court confirmed to him and others a tract of land eight miles square, "lyeing and being near unto Connecticut River, about twelve or thirteen miles up the said River," which had been deeded to them in 1674 by "Captain Sannup (or Sanhop)" of the Niantics. ‡ The Court chose him in 1689 to be a Justice of the Peace, or Commissioner, for Lyme, and he held the same office the five following years, successively. §

To these notes from colonial records, mainly showing the public trusts conferred on the first Matthew Griswold, I add a few others from the public records of Lyme and the family-archives, illustrative of the growth of the Griswold landed domain within his time. He was reputed to be the richest man in Lyme. After his death the landed property of the family was increased yet more, until it came, at length, to be an estate almost baronial in extent, stretching along Long Island Sound and elsewhere. So early as in the third generation, as appears from a paper preserved in the family, dated November 2, 1724, Patience Griswold released to her brothers John and George, and to several sisters, her proportion of right and title, as one of her father's legatees, to "about four thousand five hundred and fifty acres, be y<sup>e</sup> same more or Less, situate, Lying and being in y<sup>e</sup> Township of Lyme." From a plea in answer to a charge of trespass, of the year 1781, by Governor Matthew Griswold—which is among the family papers—we learn that by "the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands in the Township of Saybrook . . . on or about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1655 . . . were duely Sever'd and Laid out to Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup>, then of s<sup>d</sup> Saybrook, who then was one of s<sup>d</sup> Propriators . . . for him to hold in Severalty as part of his Share and Interest in s<sup>d</sup> Common and Undivided Lands," certain lands including a fishery at the mouth of the Connecticut River, on the east side:

"and the said Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup> soon after Enclosed the same in a Good Sufficient fence, and Continued so Siez<sup>d</sup> and Possess<sup>d</sup> of the place . . . till the time of his Death . . . and the same Lands . . . with all the appurtenances to the same belonging,

\* Public Records of Conn. . . . 1678-1689. Hartford, 1859, p. 93.

† Id., p. 181.

‡ Id., pp. 200-or.

§ Id., p. 252 ; and Public Records of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. Hartford, 1868, pp. 24, 43, 66, 92, 121.

by sundry legal Descents Descended from the s<sup>d</sup> Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Sen<sup>r</sup> to his Great Grandson Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Esq . . .”

There can be no doubt that this document refers to a part of the estate, at the mouth of the “Great River,” which has been occupied by the family for seven generations; and it probably fixes the date of the first Matthew Griswold’s beginning to occupy that site as a place of residence. This family home has been always known by the name of Blackhall—a memorial, doubtless, of some familiar English locality. There are several places of the name in England. Here, then, not in the rich alluvial meadows of Windsor, nor on the breezy, but sandy, plain of Saybrook—as limited to the western side of the Connecticut, after the setting off of Lyme—did Matthew Griswold fix his home. He settled upon the extreme point of land that stretches out between Connecticut River and Long Island Sound. It was all “made land,” under the slow processes of nature: the sea had washed up its sand to meet, and be mingled with, the alluvial deposits brought down by the “Great River,” in its progress from Canada to the sea. After all these centuries, the modeling of nature’s forces still appears in the roll and swell of the ground, the hillocks and the eddies. This lower level is near the sea. The land begins to rise toward the north-west; the nearest spur of the northern mountains is to be seen just above the present railroad-station, and follows the Connecticut, with hills, sometimes rolling, often well-wooded, sometimes rocky and precipitous. Another range—the so-called Meetinghouse-Hills—further eastward, runs toward the north. Between these ranges is the tract on which the village of Lyme now stands, in a position much sheltered from the cold winds on the east, north and west, while lying open, on the south, to winter-sunshine and summer-breezes. Long Island stretching along, some miles away, between the main land and the open ocean, cuts off the violence of storms, while not shutting out the freshness of the ocean-air. The seasons are tempered along the shore. Frosts come late, and melt away earlier in the spring than in any other part of New England. The autumn usually lingers long under the golden light radiated from the sun, and reflected from the sea, which, from Newport all along the shore, fills the atmosphere with a halo of beauty.

The land-records of Lyme show an indenture of March 8, 1664, by which the first Matthew Griswold then had deeded to him

“A parcell of Land Lying and beeing uppon Blackhall point, *near the dwelling-house of Matthew Griswold aforesaid*\* . . . the upland beeing by estimation forty akers . . .

\* Showing that Matthew Griswold had a dwelling-house at Blackhall point before March 8, 1664. The original well belonging to it is believed to exist still, within the grounds of Mrs. Charles C.

with all the meadow or marsh-lands thereto belonging, part of which meadow is adjoining to the upland, and part thereof is lying and beeing on the southwest end of the Great Island or Marsh . . . .”

Among the family-papers is an original deed of Thomas Leffingwell to Matthew Griswold, dated February 18, 1674, conveying his

“whole accommadations of Lands att Seabrooke, situate, lyeing and being on both sides of Connecticut River, except . . . . The p'ticulars of that w<sup>ch</sup> is sold unto the s<sup>d</sup> Mathew Griswell being as followeth: Imp<sup>rs</sup>, on the west side of the above s<sup>d</sup> River the whole right of Commonage belonging unto one hundred & fifty pound Allottment withe the ox-pastour, house & home-Lott; Sec<sup>d</sup>, on the east side of the s<sup>d</sup> River the whole accommadations belonging unto a two hundred pound Allottment, with such rights, Commonages, priviledges & appurtenances as doe or shall belong thereunto, as also the whole right, title and interest unto and of one hundred pound Allottment which was bought of ffrancis Griswell\* . . . . only excepted twenty acers of Land of the first Division where the house stands . . . . Resigned unto ffrancis Griswell . . . .”

Another private paper, dated July 11, 1674, records the laying out to Matthew Griswold of “fifty acres more or Less of upland . . . . bounded west by the Sea and Bridebrook, East by the land bought of Richard Tousland, south by the Sea, north by the Commons,” which seems to be a description of the promontory of Giant's Neck, the home of the Rev. George Griswold, of the third generation, and of a branch of the family descended from him. On the 28th of February, 1676, as Lyme records show, Matthew Griswold gave in a statement of certain lots of land then owned by him, as follows:

“Matthew Griswold Senior, his lotts in the first division of upland & meadow, *whar his new dwelling house doth stand*, Containing in Generall about one hundred and fourty aight akers and a half . . . . and is bounded Northerly by Blackhall river, Easterly by the highway as far as his dwelling house, southerly by Sea, westerly by the Great River. . . .”

Of the church, or ecclesiastical society, of Lyme, there are no existing records early enough to show whether the first Matthew Griswold was concerned, or took an interest, in the organization of either. But the First Church of Saybrook possessed, within a few years, a silver communion-cup which was his gift, as the inscription on it: “S. C. C. dono domini Matthew Griswold,” attests; though the three initials at the head, probably standing for “Saybrook Congregational Church,” would seem to prove the inscription to be of a much later date than the fact it commemorates.†

Griswold, a little to the south of whose residence the first dwelling of the first Matthew Griswold is said to have stood.

\* This is, undoubtedly, Francis son of Edward, mentioned p. 122.

† This cup now belongs to the family of the late Deacon William R. Clark of Saybrook.

"Matthew Griswold died in his house at Lyme [September 27, 1698], was buried at Saybrook; his gravestone is not to be found." Mrs. Griswold survived him, and was living September 17, 1700, when she and her son-in-law Abraham Brownson were both cited to appear before the New London County Court, as administrators of her husband's estate; but she had, probably, died before May 22, 1701, when Brownson was summoned alone as administrator, by the same Court. Her age in 1699 was seventy-nine years.\*

Matthew and Anna (Wolcott) Griswold had five children, named in the following order in a family-record: Sarah, Matthew, John, Elizabeth, Anna. But neither the family-papers nor the existing public records of Windsor, Saybrook, or Lyme (all of which have been consulted) give us their birth-days, excepting that of Matthew, who was born in 1653. This date being given, it is immediately evident that the order of names, at one point at least, should be changed; for, if Elizabeth was the second child born after Matthew, her birth could not have occurred before 1655, whereas she was first married in 1670—which is quite improbable. Accordingly, I shall assume an order which seems likely to be nearer the truth, as follows:

1. Elizabeth; born, according to corrected order of names, not later than 1652, and, very likely, from the date of her marriage (early marriages being then usual), in that year; who married: 1st, October 17, 1670, John Rogers of New London, Connecticut; 2d, August 5, 1679, Peter Pratt; and 3d, soon after 1688, Matthew Beckwith. She had two children by her first husband: 1. Elizabeth, born November 8, 1671; 2. John, born March 20, 1674; by her second husband she had a son Peter; and by her third marriage, a daughter, Griswold Beckwith.† In 1674 John Rogers, her first husband, departed from the established orthodoxy of the New England churches by embracing the doctrines of the Seventh Day Baptists; and, having adopted, later, "certain peculiar notions of his own," though still essentially orthodox as respects the fundamental faith of his time, became the founder of a new sect, called after him Rogerenes, Rogerene Quakers, or Rogerene Baptists. Maintaining "obedience to the civil government except in matters of conscience and religion," he denounced, "as unscriptural, all interference of the civil power in the worship of God."‡ It seemed proper to give here these particulars with regard to Rogers's views, because they were made the ground of a petition by his wife for a divorce,

\* See her testimony of Jan. 5, 1699, in Col. Records, Private Controversies, v. doc. 145, *M.S.*

† Caulkins' Hist. of New London, ut supra, pp. 203-09.

‡ Id., pp. 204-05.

in May 1675, which was granted by the General Court in October of the next year,\* and was followed in 1677 by another, also granted, for the custody of her children, her late husband "being so hettridox in his opinion and practice."† The whole affair reminds us of other instances, more conspicuous in history, of the narrowness manifested by fathers of New England towards any deviations from established belief; and of their distrust of individual conscience as a sufficient rule of religious life, without the interference of civil authority. There is no reason to believe that the heterodoxy "in practice," referred to in the wife's last petition to the Court, was aught else than a non-conformity akin to that for the sake of which the shores of their "dear old England" had been left behind, forever, by so many of the very men who forgot to tolerate it, themselves, in their new western homes. Of course, like all persecuted, especially religious, parties, the Rogerenes courted, gloried in, and profited by, distresses. John Rogers always claimed that the Court had taken his wife away from him without reason; both of his children eventually sympathized with their father, and lived with him.

2. MATTHEW (see below).

3. *John*; who died young, s. p.‡

4. *Sarah*; born, according to corrected order of names, not earlier than 1655; who married, probably before 1675, Thomas Colton (not George, as commonly said) §, of Springfield, Mass., by whom she had a daughter Sarah, born September 25, 1678, ¶ a "third daughter" Elizabeth, whose birth-day is unknown, and probably three other children. ¶¶

5. *Anna*; born, according to the family-order of names, not earlier, and probably, from the date of her marriage, not later, than 1656;\*\* who married, September 2, 1674, Lieut. Abraham Brownson (as he himself spelt

\* Public Records of the Col. of Conn. . . . 1665-1677. Hartford, 1852, p. 292.

† Id., p. 326.

‡ Anna Griswold and John Griswold appear as witnesses to a deed of sale, among Lyme records, dated Apr. 26, 1681. The association of names and the date identify this John as the son of Anna Griswold—showing that, if not born later than 1654, he lived as long as to his twenty-seventh year.

§ Savage's Geneal. Dict., ut supra, i. 438.

¶ Id., ibid.

¶¶ Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Saybrook testified, Sep. 7, 1699, "that Mr. Griswold gave Elizabeth, third daughter of his daughter Sarah Colton deceased, her *one fifth* of moveable estate. . . ." See Col. Records, Private Controversies, v. doc. 156. MS.

\*\* Her gravestone, in the Meeting-House Hill Burying-Ground at Lyme, gives the date of her death (Apr. 13, 1721), without telling her age; but that of her husband, alongside of it, shows that he was seventy-two years old in 1719, when he died. This suits well enough with the supposition that she was born in 1656.

his name) of Lyme. With this marriage is connected the memory of an unhappy lawsuit, in which Abraham Brownson and his mother-in-law united against her only surviving son, the second Matthew Griswold. This suit has left its traces in various public records, but need not be recapitulated here. I notice it only for the reference made in an affidavit given in the case, and now preserved in the New London Probate Office, to certain evidences of property in England which were withheld from Matthew Griswold, as follows:

"Affid. before W<sup>m</sup> Ely, Justice of Peace, Nov. 15, 1699, by Henry Meriom—that Brunson told him he had a trunk of writings that were his father-in-law's, which he said that it would vex his brother Mathew Griswold very much. I told him that I heard so . . . and I told him that I believed that there was some weighty concerns in those papers, for money either in this country or in England; he answered that there were some great concerns in them, and that there were some papers there that said Griswold never knew of, and never should . . ."

This concealment of titles to estates was complained of to the General Court by Matthew Griswold, in 1700, "that all those deeds and writings which doe concern all or any of the lands that did belong to his father Mr. Mathew Griswold in his life-time, both in old England and new, are withheld, so that they cannot be entred upon the publick records. . . ."\* Had these papers been recorded, they would, in all probability, have thrown some light upon the English ancestry of the Griswolds.

Abraham and Anna (Griswold) Brownson had six children, from one of whom, a daughter Mary (b. 1680), descends the present Chief Justice of the United States, Judge Morrison Remick Waite, as follows: Mary Brownson married, August 26, 1704, Thomas Wait of Lyme (from Sudbury, Mass.); Thomas and Mary (Brownson) Wait had Richard (b. 1711), who married, Jan. 13, 1757, for his second wife, Rebecca eldest daughter of Capt. Joseph Higgins; Richard and Rebecca (Higgins) Wait had Remick (b. 1758), who married, in 1786, Susanna eldest daughter of Nathaniel Matson of Lyme, and sister of the mother of the late ex-Gov. Buckingham; Remick and Susanna (Matson) Wait had Henry Matson (b. 1787), who married, Jan. 23, 1816, Maria daughter of Col. Richard E. Selden of Lyme, and granddaughter of Col. Samuel Selden, a distinguished officer in the army of the Revolution; Henry Matson and Maria (Selden) Waite (so he spelt the name) had Morrison Remick (b. 1816), a graduate of Yale College in 1837, and now the prime expounder of American law. Henry Matson Waite was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut,

\* Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. . . . Hartford, 1868, p. 338.  
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from 1854 till the constitutional limit of age obliged him to retire. "It was . . . in questions of law that his strength especially lay; and his legal erudition, patient research, power of discrimination and terseness of argument, were fully appreciated by an able and learned court."\*

MATTHEW Griswold,† the second of the name, born in 1653, followed the footsteps of his father in public life—the "Mr. Matthew Griswold" named in the colonial records of 1696, as Deputy and Commissioner, and in 1697 as Commissioner,‡ being probably the son, and not the father (considering the age of the latter); and the son being certainly intended by the designation of "Mr. Mathew Griswold" as Deputy in 1704, 1707, 1708, and 1710.§ But his sphere seems to have been more private than that of his father. His father, a few days before his death, deeded to him large estates (not improbably in the spirit of English law, keeping landed property in the male line, and having respect to promogeniture), to which he himself added others by purchase. On the 21st of May, 1683, when about thirty years old, he married Phœbe Hyde, granddaughter of the first William Hyde of Norwich, Conn., and daughter of Samuel and Jane (Lee) Hyde.|| Our most interesting memorials of him are copies of writings of his own. Among these is the following incomplete letter to his sweetheart, revealing much of his character, and worthy to be preserved, not only for its sentiments, but also for the form in which they are expressed:

"DEARE HEART,

"Tender of my most unfayned and Intyre Love to you, hoping you are in good health, &c. Although my present Abilities of body and mind will nott allow mee to Write Largely unto you, as I sho<sup>d</sup> be glad to do, yet, having this opportunity, I was desirous to trouble you with a line or two—A Little to Remind you of the unexpected . . . unheard of . . . which I have mett with, In the management . . . the motion of Marriage mad by mee unto yo<sup>r</sup>selfe, which . . . so very strange that I am att a great Loss . . . of mind to think what the good pleasure of the Lord . . . case as to a fynale Issue; though this I must saye, If I thought you had not Reall Love and Affection for mee I should then think it rather my Duty to desist than to prosed; but as yet I am nott, nor can not bee,

\* Conn. Reports . . . of Cases . . . in the Supr. Court. . . . By John Hooker. Hartford, 1870, xxxv. 597-99. Obit. Notice by Hon. C. J. McCurdy; and N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1870, xxiv. 101-05.

† From this point onward, especially, I have more or less drawn from Chancellor Walworth's treasury of genealogical lore, the Hyde Genealogy. This general acknowledgment is due. But family-papers, monumental records and public archives have enabled me sometimes to correct the Chancellor's statements, though such changes are for the most part made without notice.

‡ Public Records of Col. of Conn. . . . 1689-1706. Hartford, 1868, pp. 158-59; and Id., p. 201.

§ Id., 482; and Public Records . . . 1706-1716 . . . Hartford, 1870, pp. 20, 67, 169.

|| Hyde Genealogy . . . By Reuben H. Walworth . . . Albany, 1864, i. 10.



convinced that It is so, for, as God and thy owne conscience knows very well, when I was fully come to a conclusion in my own minde never to give myself nor you any farder Trouble in this matter, yo<sup>r</sup>selfe were pleased to tell mee that unexpected (though welcome) news, that you could not beare the thoughts of a fynale Separation ; and since, when you were last att ou<sup>r</sup> side of the River, you told mee the same thing, besides many things which you have in discourse told diverse of youre owne best freyn<sup>d</sup>s, which gave them grounds to conclude that you had special Love for my person. If I had thought that these things had been false, I must have Judged of . . . according to the . . . which would have commanded a period to all proceedings of this nature ; but cont<sup>v</sup> I believed thee, and accordingly concluded that hee which had Incindled this Love in Thee would increase It, and in his good Time bring us together in the Relation of man and wife, and hereupon gave my affections their full scope, concluding not only that I mite, but that it was my duty to, Love her intirely for whose Sake I should forsake Father and mother, and, as I tould you when I last spake with you, I shall nott att this time Release any promise (and you to mee, I should nott suffer for yo<sup>r</sup> Sake) which has past between us, though I cannot desire you should proseed to Joyne yourself In marriage with mee on the account of pittie. I desire to look to God who is able to give mee . . . to all his gracious promises which wo<sup>ld</sup> be matter of comfort . . . (for so they are . . . I would desire you<sup>ld</sup> not forgett how willing I have been, according to my Cappacity and opportunities ; so then, in kindness and in way of Requital, faure mee with some Lynes.

I shall not enlarge att present, but, desiring that the Good Lord would graciously guide us to that which may tend to his glory and our own everlasting peace, I take leave and Remain thine, and thine only, in the bonds of Intire Affection, M. G."

He also wrote verses, of limping gait, indeed, but which, not the less for that, remind one of hymns by famous poets of his age, such as Donne and Herbert, as if he might have been not unfamiliar with them. Two fragmentary specimens, inspired, as the foregoing letter was, by his love, must suffice :

" And grant me this  
Token of bliss—  
Some lynes for to peruse with speed,  
That may to mee  
A Token be  
You doe mee choose in very deed."

" Deceit is lothsome though in matters small,  
And guile in things which are but triviall ;  
But when the case amounts to such a height  
To be of such concernment & such weight,  
Those that will then Intentionaly deceive  
Shall sure a curse as their Reward receive.

" Then find it true and nott a lie  
Hee's thy best friend that speaks out playne :  
My deare, take heed,  
And make great speed,

Lest thou give God no Just offence ;  
 Then for my part  
 A loving heart  
 From thee shall bee large Recompense.  
 . . . . .”

But we have a fuller disclosure of character, as well as a story of romantic adventure, and of remarkable Providential overruling of evil for good, in a letter of his, dated November 8, 1712, at Lyme, to Rev. Cotton Mather, relating what had befallen his eldest son, thrown, by his own fault, amid the hazards of war of the the Spanish succession.\*

This very interesting document reads as follows (the italicizing being in the printed copy used) :

“ SIR,

“ Tho' I am an Utter Stranger to You, yet, considering that it ought to be the chief and continual care of Every Man *To glorify God*, I thought it my Duty humbly to present unto you the following Narrative, desiring you to improve it as God shall direct.

“ This last *October*, 'tis Five years since, my Eldest Son, having a vehement Desire to go to Sea, and concluding that I would not consent unto it, took an opportunity to make his Escape whilst I was attending the General Court. I used utmost Endeavours to recover him, but he got off from *Piscataqua*, Leaving me Sorrowfully to think what the Event might prove, of a *Child's wilful forsaking the Duty of his Relation and the Means of Grace, and ingulfing himself into the Temptations of a Wicked World*. And I was the more concerned because he had been but a very *Weakly Lad*. They had not been long at Sea before they were Surprized by a dreadful Storm, in the Height whereof the Captain ordered my Son to one of the Yard-Arms, there to Rectify something amiss, which whilst he was performing he wholly lost his Hold ; But catching hold on a loose Rope he was preserved. This proved a very Awakening Providence, and he Looked at the Mercy as greatly Enhanced by reason of his *Disorderly Departure*. Arriving at *Jamaica* he was soon Pressed aboard a *Man of War*, from whence, after diverse Months of *Hard Service*, he obtained a Release, tho' with the Loss of all the Little he had. He then fell in with a *Privateer*, on board whereof he was Exposed unto Eminent hazard of his Life, in an hot Engagement, wherein many were killed, and the Man that stood next unto him was with a Chain-Shot cut all to pieces. In the time of this Fight God caused him to take up Solemn Resolutions to Reform his Life, which Resolutions he was enabled, thro' Grace, to observe. And he then Resolved that he would Return as soon as might be *to his Father's House*. After a Skirmish or two more he was cast away. Then he was taken by the French, and turned ashore at the Bay of *Honduras*, where he with fifteen more were taken by a Party of Spanish Indians who were Led by a Spaniard. Having

\* A tract suggested by the facts of this narrative was written by Cotton Mather ; and published under the following title : “ Repeated Warnings. Another Essay to warn Young People against Rebellions that must be Repented of . . . With a Pathetical Relation of what occur'd in the Remarkable Experiences of a Young Man who made an Hopeful End lately at Lyme in Connecticut. Boston, 1712.” A copy of this “ very rare ” pamphlet is in Yale Collage Library, from which I have taken the narrative.

their Hands now tied behind them, and Ropes around their Necks, they were in that manner led unto a Place called *Paten*, Six hundred Miles distant from the place where they were taken, and very far within the Land, having no Food but Water and the *Cabbage* that grows upon Trees. My Son had at that time the *Fever and Ague* very bad, so that many times every step seemed as though it would have been his last. Yet God marvellously preserved him, while Three men much more likely to hold the Journey than himself perished on the Road. Upon their Arrival to the End of their Journey they were fast chained, two and two ; and so they continued Eight Months confined, and Languishing in Exquisite Miseries. My Son was visited with the *Small Pox* while he was in these Wretched circumstances.

“ In this time time two Godly Ministers came to see my Family, and One of them then putting up a fervent Prayer with us, on the behalf of my Absent Child, he was directed into such Expressions that I was persuaded that the Prayer was not lost, and that my Poor Son was then in some Remarkable Distress. Noting down the Time, I afterwards found that, at the Time when this Prayer was made, my Son was then in Irons, and had the *Small Pox* upon him. I observed some other Things of this Nature which Modesty directs to leave unmentioned. Innumerable Endeavours were used in this Time, by the Father Confessors, to perswade them to turn Papists, Sometimes Promising them Great Rewards, at other times threatening them with the *Mines*, and with *Hell*. Some of these Miserable men became Roman Catholicks. Hereupon the man who took them Petitioned the Viceroy for a Liberty to Sell them into the Mines ; which was very likely to have been granted. But there happening an Irreconcilable Difference between the Governour of the Place and him, the Governour then wrote to the Viceroy, informing him that they were honest men, taken by the French and turned ashore, having no ill Intention against the Spaniards. The Viceroy hereupon sent a special Warrant that they should all be Released, and care taken to send them down to the Seaside, there to be put aboard some Spanish Ship, and sent to *Old Spain*, there to be delivered unto the English Consul. The New Proselytes, learning of this, took to their Heels, met them on the Road, went with them for *Old Spain*, leaving their New Religion behind them, together with a Wife which one of them had married ; and became as Good Protestants (to a trifle, if I mistake not) as they were before. They were put aboard Spanish Ships, and carried Prisoners to *Campecha*, and several other Places in the *Spanish Indies*, waiting till the Plate-fleet went home. My Son with some of his Companions were put on board of one of the *Galeons*. In the Voyage to *Spain* he was Seized with a dreadful Fever. The Doctor, having used his best means for him, a considerable time, at last pronounced him *past Recovery*. However, he let him Blood, and afterwards the Vein opened of itself, and bled so long that all his Blood seemed to be gone, and he lay for Dead. The Bleeding stop't, and so he Quickly Recovered. The Captain of the *Galeon* told him he had no Child, and, if he would Embrace the Catholick Faith, and be Baptized into it, and Partake of the Mass, he would immediately give him Three hundred Pounds, and put him into as good a Way to Live as he could wish for. Then the *Pious Instructions* of a *Godly Mother*, long since gone to a better World, were of Precious use to him. For, tho' he was then Lame (and not long after in danger of losing his Leg) he was Enabled to sleight all these Temptations, and put his Trust in the Providence of God. I must wish that such Experiences as these might stir up *Parents* to be more careful in *Catechising their children*, and that You, or some Powerful Person, would move the Authority that, if it be possible, some more Effectual Course may be taken for the Instructing of Youth.

“My Son was Landed at *Cadiz*. From thence, by the Good Providence of God, he got a Passage to *Portugal*. From thence to *New-foundland*. From thence to *Nantucket*, And a Cure for his Leg. Here I may not omit my Thankful Acknowledgment of the Kindness of some Good People whose Hearts God stirred up to have Compassion on my Child in his Low Estate. There was a Gentleman of *Boston* who had some Lameness in his Knees (whose name I have forgot): He in the Voyage from *New-foundland* to *Nantucket* supplied him with Money, and was very kind to him. At *Nantucket* several were exceeding kind to him, Entertained him at their Houses, gave him Monies and Garments. When I revolve the Charity of these Good People, it often makes me think of what we read Mar. xiv. 8, 9. But I have not as yet had an opportunity in the least to retaliate their Kindness. My Son coming to *Rhode Island* got a Passage home from thence by Water.

“Thus, after Four Years were near Expired, I received my Son, The truest Penitent that ever my Eyes beheld! This he freely manifested both in Public and in Private. Whilst as yet in perfect Health, he took diverse Opportunities to discourse privately with me. Once he told me *He verily believed he had but a very little time to live*; Said he, *Tho' I am in perfect Health, I believe I have but a very little Time remaining. And, since God has been Exceeding Merciful to me, I greatly desire to spend the Remainder of my Time very much to His Glory.* In farther Discourse he told me that a Man, whom he then named, had formerly done him Great Wrong, and that he had often resolved to revenge himself. Said he, *I now freely forgive him.* He added, *I have not in my Childhood behaved myself so Respectfully towards such a Man (whom he also named) as I ought. I must take a Time to beg his Pardon.* And upon Enquiry I since find that he did so. He now quickly fell sick; and he now said to me, *Sir, my Business home was to make my Peace with you and to Dy.* I asked him with what Comfort he could look Death in the face. He answered me, *My most dear Father, I will hide nothing from you. When I was in Irons at Paten, I had a clear Manifestation of the Love of God in Jesus Christ unto me. I had after this no Burden remaining on my Conscience, but only my wicked Departing from you. For which cause I Earnestly begged of God that I might Live to see your Reconciled Face. This I now do, and I bless God for it. Had it not been for that one thing, I would much rather have chosen at that Time to have died than to Live. I could now desire to Live, if God please to grant it, that I may Glorify Him, and be a Comfort to you in your Old Age. But I think you will find it otherwise.* When I perceived that he drew near his End, I Earnestly desired, if it might be the Will of God, that he might have some *Promise* in the Word of God fixed on his Mind at the Time of his Departure. And after I had spake to him, Endeavouring to gain his stedy Attention, I said, *At what time a Sinner*—*Altho' your Sins have been as Crimson*—*There is a Fountain*—*Ho, every one that thirsteth,* With other Scriptures; in all which I purposely left out the Latter part of the Text, which he readily fill'd up, and made the sense complete. I then, turning to a Friend, said, *Here is great Ground of Thankfulness! You see he is no Stranger to these Promises; I hope he has improved them in the Time of his Adversity.* He readily replied, *That I have! many and many a time, God knows.* He Lived not long after this. His whole Conversation for the Eight Weeks (which was all the Time he lived after his Return Home) was Exceeding Exemplary. Then the Lord was pleased to take from me a Son in whom I hoped to have Enjoyed a Blessing.

“If this Account may quicken Parents in Well Teaching and Establishing their

Children in the Fundamental Truths of Religion, and may admonish Children to take heed of Running Undutifully from their Parents, and Irreligiously from the Means of Grace, and may Encourage those who do so, yet humbly, in their Distress, to Cry unto God, adhere to His Truth, and hope in His Mercy, I have my End. And I have nothing further to trouble you with, but to ask your Prayers, that I and all Mine may be humbled, sanctified and quickened to Duty to God, our own Souls, and one another, by all His Dispensations.

*I am R. Sir,*

*Your most humble Servant,*

M. G."

"*Lyme in Connecticut,*  
*Novemb. 8, 1712."*

When this last letter was written, the "Deare Heart" of the lover's epistle, before quoted, against whose sportive playing of fast and loose, to try his constancy, his own simply loyal nature seems to have possessed no weapons of defence but a somewhat too serious tone of remonstrance, had for several years rested from her labors of love as wife and "godly mother" (having died November 29, 1704); and Matthew Griswold had married secondly, May 30, 1705, Mrs. Mary Lee, widow of the first Thomas Lee of Lyme, *née* De Wolf. He died January 13, 1715, and was buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. His last wife survived him till 1724, when she was laid beside him.

He had eleven children, all by his first marriage:

1. *Phæbe*; born Aug. 15, 1684; who died in 1702, unm.
2. *Elizabeth*; born Nov. 19, 1685; who died in 1704, unm.
3. *Sarah*; born Mar. 19, 1687-88; who died Jan. 4, 1760, unm.
4. *Matthew*; born Sept. 15, 1688; who died in 1712, unm.—the "prodigal son," returned to his father's house.
5. JOHN (see below).
6. *George*; born Aug. 13, 1692; a graduate of Yale College in 1717; who married: first, June 22, 1725, Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel Lynde of Saybrook, Conn., descended from a branch of the great English Roman Catholic family of Digby, and probably from the van der Lindens of Holland; and secondly, July 20, 1736, his second cousin Elizabeth Lee (granddaughter of the first Thomas Lee of Lyme by his first wife), who died in 1758.

It is interesting to notice the probability that the first marriage of George Griswold was due to an acquaintance formed in his college-days—for the Collegiate School, which became Yale College, was at Saybrook up to the very year of his graduation; and Nathaniel Lynde had been one of its chief patrons and its first Treasurer. George Griswold's name heads the list of members of his class, five in number, arranged, as usual in early

times, according to reputed social rank. He was graduated with the second honor. His salutatory oration now lies before me, in his own handwriting, the oldest Yale College document of this sort known to exist, the next to it in age being the valedictory oration delivered by the elder President Edwards at his graduation in 1720. Due regard to the scholarship of this ancient graduate of Yale, and the interest attaching to so valuable a relic of the infancy of the College, as well as of an early period in the history of the Colony of Connecticut, justifies my giving here its exordium, and some other passages, in the original Latin. Its Latinity, though occasionally faulty, challenges comparison with that of the fifth part of any class graduating in our day:

“Nobilissimi, amplissimi, atque etiam spectatissimi auditores, omni observantiâ cœlendi, laudibusque maximis laudandi, hancce orationem, quoad queo, quamvis non eo modo ornatam prout me oportet, vobis medullitus consecrare volui—in quâ exoptamus ac precamur manum divinam beneficia vobis pro vestris meritis conferre. Vestrarum virtutum profunditas non potest a nobis exquiri, nec vos in nostrâ oratione congrue saluari, propter flosculorum Rhetoricæ inopiã in eâ repertam; nec assumimus aliquid de vestris virtutibus garrere, quod . . . vos omnibus maximisque splendoribus animi ac corporis præditi estis, et divinâ humanâque doctrinâ ornati.

“Vestra præsentia maximum decorem summumque nitorem huicce diei adfert, qui supremo gaudio lætitiâque nos gaudere efficit, quem terræ quotidianæ indefatigatæ rotationes tandem tulerunt. O felix dies, O felix tempus in quo noster microcosmus omnem ejus gloriã induit, ac ejus splendore resplendet, representatque macrocosmum; hic dies est præferendus, omnibusque præponendus, ac ad dextram omnium aliorum consedere debet. Invocentur omnes Musæ canticum lætissimum cantare, et cœlestes, terrestresque inhabitatores in hujus diei celebratione unanimiter conspirent. O excellentissime dies, tantâ pompâ, tali amplitudine ornate, in quo doctrina solio summae dignitatis sese tollit ab alto, ac ineffabili luce sese omnibus illustrat. O illustrissima præsentia doctorum, o quam tantopere gaudemus perlaetum atque jucundissimum hujusce diei spectaculum aspicere, in quo magnates primatesque nostræ Reipublicæ cum profundissimo doctorum concursu congregantur . . . Ut hujusce diei pompa gloriaque auferentur, impediatur aliquid terræ motionem, ut sol nobis immobilis stare videatur, quasi ab ejus cursu desisteret, quasi vultu placido nostra negotia prospiceret, ne corpora cœlestia, terrestria aliquo contagio homines offenso afficiant [*i. e.* To increase the pomp and glory of this day, *may the earth's motion be impeded, so that the sun may appear to us to stand still*, as if desisting from its course, and taking note of our affairs with placid face, lest celestial or terrestrial bodies should smite men with any contagion]. Sed omnia consentiunt aliquid splendori literarum conferre. Studiis literarum intellectus non tantum dilatatur, sed etiam voluntas regulatur: humanitas urbanitasque ex regulis ejus colliguntur. Philosophus non tantum rerum cognitione et intelligentiâ super alios eminere solet, sed et morum præstantiâ, nam doctrina ‘emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.’ Sicut virtus voluntatem, sic rerum scientia intellectum perficit. O quid dicemus, o quibus argumentis ratiocinabimur, ut homines stipulemur justos labores pro literarum acquisitione suscipere; a quibus ignavitate deterrentur! Sed si finis coronat opus, fructus beneficiaque e studiis literarum profuentia pro maximis difficultatibus in eâ acquirendâ ferendis sufficienter satisficient.”

His address to the Governor of the Colony is, in part, as follows :

"Sed ne tempus tereremus, ac omnibus et singulis, prout ordo tam doctrinae quam virtutum requirit, orationem nostram hunc in modum omni submissione publice indicamus: Imprimis honoratissimo, praecellentissimoque viro, doctissimo domino Gurdon Saltonstall armigero, gubernatori Coloniae Connecticutensis, quasi super genua flecta nostram orationem praebemus [*i. e.* First of all, to Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, bearer of heraldic arms, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, we tender our discourse *as on bended knees*], qui est homo praestantissimus, permultis, permagnis preciosissimisque facultatibus tam animi quam corporis indutus, quibus non tantum honor huicce Colonnae adfertur, sed etiam in peregrinis regionibus fama ejus semper magis ac magis vagatur ; eximius fulgor ejus gloriae soli similis coruscationem stellarum omnium quae ipsi praecesserunt obscurare videtur. O fons sapientiae, quam plurimas leges tulisti, sapientissimo consilio consultus, quarum observantia ad Republicae commodum plurimum tendit ! Legibus tuis requirimus ac dirigimur utiles esse patriae, Coloniae et societatibus in quibus collocamur. Domine clarissime . . . o quam jucundum est nobis aspicere hominem omnibus ac singulis virtutibus ornatum in summo imperii statu illatum . . . mansuetudo tua, civilitas affabilitasque erga inferiores cum admiratione aspicuntur [*i. e.* Most illustrious Sir . . . thy *gentleness, courtesy and affability to inferiors* are beheld with admiration]. O benignitas ineffabilis quae tuis actionibus erga omnes exprimitur . . . omnes tuae actiones in summâ justitiâ initiantur, summâque aequitate consummantur . . . Quid ultra possumus cogitare, quid ultra possumus dicere dignum praedicari, de tali illustrissimo atque etiam fidelissimo gubernatore ? sed tantum praecavi quod laudes operum tuorum, pro quibus tibi immortales agimus gratias, in perpetuum vivant in ore viventium."

In a similar strain of eulogy he next addresses the Lieutenant-Governor and other magistrates of the body politic ; and then the reverend curators of the "Academy," thus :

"Omnis splendore generis, eruditione, prudentiâque praeclarissimis dominis, patronis ac fautoribus honorandis hancce orationem salutarioram omni animi subjectione consecrare volumus—viris sapentiâ pietateque praeditis, quorum curae ac inspectioni munera publica, tam ecclesiastica quam scholastica, committuntur, in quibus muneribus sic semetipsos gesserunt ut omnium admirationem acquisiverunt. O fidelissimi Evangelii ministri, a Christo constituti ad verbum ejus praedicandum, ecclesiamque ejus regendam, O homines peritissimi, tam in ecclesiâ congregandâ quam conservandâ, vestra munera tam bene perfungimini quam laudibus altissimis laudari meremini, benedictiones plurimorum in vestra capita quiescunt, propter consolationes illis per vos divinitus commissas; vestrorum laborum fructum videtis, eoque gaudetis, vestris instructionibus ac directionibus plurimi ad Deum conversi fuerunt. O quam confirmatam ac corroboratam ecclesiam habemus ex verbis vestrorum labiorum quotidie nutritam ! Vester amor benignitasque erga eam tam magna quam multa sunt quod ea debet Deo benedicere, ac vos extollere, propter vestram benevolentiam ei largitam. Beneficia ecclesiastica una cum scholasticis grato animo recipimus."

Then the learned Rector, Samuel Andrew, is similarly saluted, in an address ending with these words :

"Sed etiam haec academia summo honore summoque splendore ac laudibus dignissimis a tali Rectore coronatur, qualis singulis ac omnibus doctrinae ornamentis, et maximâ

animi fortitudine, decoratur, a cujus illuminatione nostra academia cum summis academiis literatis contendere audet ; tanta enim sunt ejus erga nos merita quanta a nobis remunerari non possunt, sed tantum gratissimo ac deditissimo animo agnosci."

The other instructors, *four tutors only*, one a graduate of four years standing, and two of only three years—the most conspicuous of whom were Samuel Johnson, afterwards President of Columbia College, and Elisha Williams (though not a graduate of Yale, the successor of Cutler in the presidency) are saluted as follows :

" Proximoque serenissimis ac non uno literarum genere doctissimis illis viris, omnium disciplinarum scientiâ præditis, nostris nempe vigilantissimis institutoribus orationem omni salute præbemus, qui . . . ad culmen doctrinae attigerunt, artemque a capite ad calcem investigaverunt [*i. e.* Next, to those most august men, most learned in all branches of letters, endued with knowledge of all sciences, our most vigilant instructors, do we address ourselves with every salutation—to them *who have reached the pinnacle of learning, and have investigated the principles of science from top to bottom*]. O Musarum fautores, omnibus doctrinae dotibus induti, qui alios videre pro scientiâ studiosissime quærentes magnopere delectant, qui a nullâ industriâ nulloque labore abstinerunt liberalia principia artium in nos instillare ! . . . O generosissimi homines, nobis benignissimi, omnibus illos amabiles reddentibus induti, summâque docendi facultate præditi, in quâ unusquisque doctorum nobis præambulavit ! Domini clarissimi, benevolentiam omnium sub vobis doctrinam quaerentium adepti fueritis ; propter beneficiorum tam permagnorum quam permultorum collationem, flumina scientiæ a labiis vestris ad nos profluerunt ; distillationesque optimæ ac exoptatæ doctrinae in nos quotidie ceciderunt. O utinam nos negligentiam oblivioneque non affectos fuisse ! quam corroborati, quam confirmati in rebus utilissimis ac nobis necessariis fuissetis, quibus propter nostram incuriam tantum in durâ matre imbuimur. Pro his beneficiis nobis gratuito collatis maximam gratiarum redditionem reddimus." \*

With which of the reverend pastors of the Colony, whose learning and virtues were so highly extolled by the young graduate, he studied, after the manner of his time, to prepare himself for the ministerial office, we are not informed. He began preaching at East Lyme in 1719; the next year provision was made for his continuing there, and on the 30th of January, 1724, according to the church-records, he was invited to settle for life. Upon his acceptance of this call a church was organized, and he was installed Pastor. Of his ministerial life there exist, happily, some memorials, in notes of sermons, dated from 1721 to 1758, and other original memoranda. The handwriting of the sermons, however, is so minute and faded with age that I shall give a specimen of only one of them, preached 1757-58, on the text : " For what shall it profit," etc., Mark viii. 36, 37 :

\* The original manuscript of this oration is now deposited in the library of Yale College, a gift from Deacon George Griswold of East Lyme, Conn., great-grandson of the author.



"If the soul be so precious as has been shewn, from the word but now read, then take heed of abusing your souls. Christians, God hath given you souls that sparkle with divine beauty—oh, do nothing unworthy of your souls, do not abuse them! There are divers sorts of persons that abuse their souls. You degrade your souls that set the world above your souls, who 'pant after the dust of the earth'—as if a man's house were on fire, and he should take care to preserve the lumber, but let his child be burnt in the fire. They degrade and abuse their souls that make their souls lackeys to their bodies; the body is but the brutish part, the soul is the angelical; the soul is the queen-regent who is adorned with the jewels of knowledge, and sways the scepter of liberty: oh, what a pity is it that this excellent soul should be made a vassal, and be put to grind in the mill, when the body in the mean time sits in a chair of state! Solomon complains of an evil under the sun—Eccl. x : 7, 'I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth'—is it not an evil under the sun to see the body riding in pomp and triumph, and the soul of man, a royal and heaven-born thing, as a lackey walking on foot? Persons abuse their souls that sell their souls; the covetous person sells his soul for money; as it is said of the lawyer, he hath a tongue that will be sold for a fee, so the covetous man hath a soul that is to be set for sale for money: Achan did sell his soul for a wedge of gold; Judas did sell his soul for silver . . . The ambitious person sells his soul for honors, as Alexander the 6<sup>th</sup> did sell his soul to the devil for a popedom; and what is honor but a torch lighted by the breath of people, with the least puff of censure blown out? how many souls have been blown to hell by the wind of popular applause! The voluptuous person sells his soul for pleasure; one drowned himself in sweet water, so many drown their souls in the sweet, perfumed waters of pleasure. Plato called pleasure the bait that catcheth souls. . . . They abuse their souls that poison their souls; error is a sweet poison, it is the invention of the devil; you may as well damn your souls by error as vice, and may as soon go to hell for a drunken opinion as for a drunken life. You abuse your souls that starve your souls; these are they that say they are above ordinances, but sure you shall not be above ordinances till you are above sin. . . .

"And now, my brethren, who would serve so unprofitable a master as sin is? . . . let me expostulate the case with the ambitious man, who aspires unto great dignities, honours and promotions in this world: what are all these in comparison of his soul? many have great titles, honourable names in this world, who shall be degraded of all in the world to come! what is honour? it is but momentary; what would rich coats of arms, great dignities, preferments, honours, popular observance advantage your precious soul? The apostle tells, 'Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble [are] called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world:' he doth not say 'not any'; some are ennobled by a spiritual as well as a natural birth, but oft-times great dignities, preferments, honours, promotions, are clogs and hindrances to the soul . . . wherefore, then, should any man labour more for greatness than goodness, preferring favour of men before the favour of God, high places on earth before the high places in heaven? . . ."

At the same time that he ministered to his own parish, he preached for several years to the neighboring Indian tribe of the Niantics, having a commission as missionary to them from the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America. A record of services under this commission, kept by him from 1744 to 1746, shows

that in those years he gathered Indians together, for religious instruction, as often as from two to five times monthly, usually in numbers from twenty to forty. In this connection a vote of the Commissioners, in 1757, is somewhat significant, that, considering it "likely the Indians of Nihantic might be brought more generally to attend the Rev. Mr. Griswold's lectures, *in case they were less frequent*, the said Mr. Griswold be informed that the Commissioners would have him, for the future, to preach a lecture to them only once a fortnight, instead of doing it weekly as at present." Doubtless an assembly of Indians might try the powers of any preacher, and Mr. Griswold was, at this time, no longer young; yet, to judge by those of his sermons which remain to us, he probably was not gifted with that natural eloquence which has ever been so highly appreciated, as well as exemplified, by our native Indians. Nor could he have had the pathos of a David Brainerd, whose deeply compassionate appeals to the dusky children of the forest at Stockbridge were often answered by tears. Upon the whole, however, his ministry must have been more than ordinarily useful, if we may judge by the following contemporaneous obituary: \*

"Lyme in Cont., 19 Oct., 1761.

"On Wednesday last died the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. George Griswold, of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Society in Lyme, after more than Seven Weeks Painful Illness, in y<sup>e</sup> 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and in y<sup>e</sup> 37<sup>th</sup> Year of his Ministry.

"He was a Grave, Judicious and Godly Divine, very Laborious and Successful in his ministry: he was a Branch of an Honorable family in y<sup>e</sup> town; Early under very Serious Impressions of Religion, and Received a Remarkable Change by the Grace of God, about y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age, which is supposed the Beginning of the Divine Life in his Soul. Thenceforward it was y<sup>e</sup> reigning Care, and Business and Pleasure of his Life to Serve God, and do Good to mankind. He had early a thirst for Learning, which was now increased in him, and was gratified in a Liberal Education, by which he prepared for y<sup>e</sup> Great Work for which he was designed of God. He entered the Ministry under various Discouragements, but was engaged to undertake it from an animating Love to God, to immortal Souls, and to y<sup>e</sup> Sacred Work, which of Choice he preferred to any of y<sup>e</sup> Employments of this World. He was very vigilant and Diligent and Laborious in fulfilling his Ministry among the People of his Charge and to y<sup>e</sup> Nehantick Indians, whom he had y<sup>e</sup> Care of for many years. The Chief Subjects of his Preaching were y<sup>e</sup> great Doctrines of y<sup>e</sup> glorious Gospel; his Manner was plain and Solemn, and his evident Aim to win Souls, and to direct and engage to Christian Practice; and his Labours were Blessed of God to y<sup>e</sup> Good of Many. He was an excellent Christian of y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Stamp, of great humility and Guileless

\* I copy what seems to be the original draft. Its chirography, compared with that of Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, leads me to conjecture that he was the author of it. He was a near neighbor and ministerial associate of Rev. George Griswold for fourteen years, and his nephew by marriage; and the two were in close sympathy with each other, theologically. Although Parsons had ceased to reside in Lyme after 1745, family-ties must have brought him there often, as long as he lived.

Integrity in his Walk before God and Man, a lover of God and good men, fervent in his Devotions, given to hospitality, and very exemplary in all Christian Duties, both relative and Personal, as a husband, Parent, Neighbour, friend, a Shining Example to y<sup>e</sup> Believers, in Word and Doctrine, in Conversation and Charity, in Spirit, faith and Godliness, Purity, Peaceableness, Righteousness and every Good Work. Extremely temperate in all things, of eminent Patience and Meekness, which Shone out in him, with an amiable Lustre, in the Severe and long trials with which it pleased God to exercise him, especially for many latter years of his Ministry; and in his Last Illness Christ was all his dependence, and had much Peace and comfort in believing, to y<sup>e</sup> Last.

"A well adapted Sermon was preached at his funeral By y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Jewett to a large and afflicted Auditory, from John i: 47, 'Behold,' etc."

He died October 14, 1761. By his marriage to Hannah Lynde he had two sons, George and Sylvanus (afterwards the Rev. Sylvanus), and two daughters; by Elizabeth Lee he had the same number of children, again divided equally between sons and daughters; his two younger sons were Samuel and Andrew. His daughter Elizabeth, by the first marriage, married John Raymond of Montville, Conn., and became the ancestress of Theodore Raymond, Esq., now of Norwich, Conn. This John Raymond's father had married, for his second wife, Sarah Lynde, a sister of the first wife of the Rev. George Griswold.

The male line of descent from him branched out widely, constituting what has been called the Giant's Neck branch of Griswolds, from the place of his residence. From his son George were descended, in the third generation, the princely brother-merchants of New York, Nathaniel Lynde and George Griswold (b. 1773 and 1777); also, Thomas Griswold, the father of Mrs. Elizabeth Griswold, now of Lyme, widow of Charles Chandler Griswold, who was descended from the first Matthew by another line which I shall presently take up—the Blackhall branch, as it may be properly called, that property of the first Matthew Griswold having been mostly held by them ever since his day.

John Lynde Griswold, who passed a serene and beneficent old age at Peoria, Ill. (dying January 15, 1883), was a son of the elder of the two eminent merchants of New York. A sister of his, Catharine Ann (d. 1857), was the wife of Peter Lorillard of New York; a half-sister, Mary, is the widow of Alfred Pierpont Edwards of New York, a son of the late Henry W. Edwards, Governor of Connecticut. One of the sons of George Griswold, the younger of the two New York merchants, was Richard Sill (d. 1847), whose second wife and widow, Frances Augusta (Mather), now lives in Lyme. He left three children: 1. Louisa Mather, now the wife of General Joseph Griswold Perkins of Lyme, whose mother was a Gris-

wold of the Blackhall branch ; 2. Richard Sill, now of Lyme ; and 3. Fanny Augusta, now the wife of Professor Nathaniel Matson Terry, of the United States Naval School at Annapolis, Md. A daughter of the New York merchant George Griswold, Matilda (half-sister of Richard Sill, Sen<sup>r</sup>), is the wife of the present Secretary of State, Frederick Frelinghuysen ; and a sister of hers by the whole blood is the widow of John C. Green of New York, the great patron, of late years, of the College of New Jersey.

Mrs. Elizabeth Griswold, the widow of Charles Chandler Griswold, has two children : 1. Elizabeth Diodate, now the widow of Judge William Griswold Lane, her second cousin, a descendant of the first Matthew by the Blackhall branch, of Sandusky, Ohio ; and 2. Sarah Johnson, now the wife of Lorillard Spencer, and mother of four children, of whom one is Eleonora the wife of Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, Italy, Chamberlain of the present King of Italy, and a Lady of Honor to her Majesty the Italian Queen.

A Griswold by descent has favored me with the following note on some of the prominent physical traits of the family : " The original Griswolds seem to have been blue-eyed, very tall, large-boned, muscular, athletic and powerful. By the marriage of the Rev. George Griswold to Hannah Lynde, some of the beauty of the soft and regular features, and fine complexions, hereditary with the Digby-Lyndes, came into that branch of the family. The Wolcotts were also a tall race, but with fuller forms, black eyes, rich brunette complexions, and much beauty of the type which is still marked in the Wolcott family of to-day. This Wolcott beauty has characterized many of the Blackhall branch of Griswolds, who are twice Wolcotts by descent, as we shall see, through the marriage of Governor Matthew Griswold, added to that of his great-grandfather, the first Matthew."

The ancestral property of Giant's Neck fell, in the course of time, into the hands of those great merchants of New York who have been named, grandsons of the Rev. George Griswold ; and a stone church still stands—though no longer used—which they built on a spot consecrated by the pious labors of their grandfather. But, ceasing to care for the old property, they sold it, and that beautiful site is now given up to a large factory of fish-fertilizers. Yet, on all the varied and beautiful shore between the mouth of the Connecticut and New London there is no spot so picturesque and beautiful as Giant's Neck. The end of the Neck, stretching out into the Sound, is a flat formation of rock, making a natural wharf surrounded by deep water. As one looks out upon the pretty islands that cluster about the rock-bound shore, and into the wide ocean beyond, sum-

mer-villas rise to the imagination, with grounds of varied beauty for which nature has well prepared the way, and a group of pleasure-boats and yachts, some riding at anchor in the offing, others moored at the natural wharf; while the rails, a short distance away, connect this charming retreat of one's fancy with the great city. What might not have been made of the site, had it been improved by the wealth of its inheritors!

Having now completed what I propose to say of the Giant's Neck branch of Griswolds—referring only to Chancellor Walworth's Hyde Genealogy for further particulars—I return to enumerate other children of Matthew and Phœbe (Hyde) Griswold, younger than their son the Rev. George Griswold:

7. *Mary*; born Apr. 22, 1694; who married, Sept. 4, 1719, Edmund Dorr; and died Feb. 21, 1776. One of their sons was the Rev. Edward Dorr (b. 1722, graduated at Yale College in 1742), a pastor of the First Church of Hartford, Conn., from 1748. Their daughter Eve (b. 1733) married, in 1762, George Griffin of East Haddam, Conn., and was the mother of the distinguished clergyman Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin, and of the great lawyer George Griffin of New York; also of Phœbe Griffin, who married Joseph Lord of Lyme, the mother of Mrs. Phœbe (Lord) Noyes, wife of the late Deacon Daniel R. Noyes of Lyme, of the late Miss Harriet Lord of Lyme, of Miss Frances Jane Lord now of Lyme, and other children. Messrs. Daniel R. and Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, Minn., Mrs. E. B. Kirby of St. Louis, Mo., Mrs. George Loveland of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and Mrs. Charles H. Ludington of New York City—all children of Daniel R. and Phœbe (Lord) Noyes—are great-great-grandchildren of Mary Griswold.

8. *Deborah*; born in 1696; who married, Oct. 19, 1721, Major Robert Denison of New London, Conn. (his second wife); and died between 1730 and 1733, leaving several children. Her husband "was a captain in General Roger Wolcott's brigade at the taking of Louisburgh, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of Major and of Colonel. He removed to Nova Scotia,"\* and was known as "Col. Robert Denison of Horton, N. S.," as early as 1761. Family-papers of the Denisons show that they were royalists. Col. Robert Denison, in his will, proved at Horton in 1765, bequeathed his "Cape Breton gun and silver-hilted sword," and "the gun brought from Lake George."

9. *Samuel*; born in December, 1697; who "died June 10, 1727, aged 29 years 6 months," unm.

\* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, i. 55.

10. *Patience*; born in 1698; who married, between Nov. 2, 1724 and Mar. 28, 1728,\* John Denison, brother of her sister Deborah's husband; and died Nov. 8, 1776, having had sons and daughters.

11. *Thomas*; born in February, 1700; who "died July 27, 1716, aged 16 years and 5 months." †

JOHN, fifth child and second son of Matthew and Phœbe (Hyde) Griswold, through whom descends the Blackhall branch of the Griswold family, was born December 22, 1690; married, June 23, 1713, Hannah Lee, his step-sister (by his father's second marriage, to Mrs. Mary Lee—see above), who died May 11, 1773; and died September, 22, 1764. His gravestone in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme reads as follows:

"Sacred to the Memory of John Griswold, who, after having sustained the Public offices of Justice of the peace and of the quorum for many years, departed this life Sept. 22<sup>nd</sup> 1764, in the 74<sup>th</sup> year of his age;"

and in a note to a funeral sermon preached on his daughter Phœbe's death, it is said that he "was not only a Gentleman of great wealth; but also was much beloved and esteemed by his townsmen and acquaintance for his superior wisdom and integrity." As the eldest surviving son of his father, he had, by the law as it then stood, a double portion of the paternal estate; to which he added by repeated purchases. A few illustrations of the state of New England society in his time, taken from family-papers, will not be out of place here.

Two deeds of negro men, "sold and delivered" to him during his life, have been preserved; and his inventory includes a negro girl Phillis. In all probability these are only a representation of his household-slaves. As Justice of the Peace, presentments were made to him, at different times, for profanation of the Sabbath, "in y<sup>e</sup> Time of Divine worship . . . in y<sup>e</sup> meeting-House . . . by unbecoming Carriage (viz.), by continuing to Laugh and provoke others y<sup>t</sup> sat with him to do so also, by whispering, and by speaking out so Loud as to be heard by several persons, and by pricking y<sup>e</sup> boys with pins y<sup>t</sup> sat with him in y<sup>e</sup> seat"; by "going, between meetings, into y<sup>e</sup> orchard . . . near y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-House and beating Down y<sup>e</sup> apples off y<sup>e</sup> Trees"; and that ". . . Did unnecessarily on Said Day Travil from Said house to one Sertain Called Mason's Pond in Colchester, . . . and then and there unnecessarily, In a Canoe, proceed upon said pond,

\* Proved by two signatures of hers, as maid and wife respectively, of these two dates.

† The birth-months of Thomas and Samuel are determined by inscriptions on their gravestones in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. A draft of a will of Thomas, made when he was "very sick & weak in body," is dated 1716.

and did and exercised Labour by fishing in said Pond"; that ". . . Did play Cards in a private house, Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Laws of this Government"; and "a couple of young fellows" were accused before him "with Lying." What singular manifestations are these, in a land of dearly bought freedom, of an over-weening zeal to enforce religious formalities, to restrain personal liberty arbitrarily, and to treat immoralities themselves, irrespective of the injuries to society which they occasion, as punishable by human law! We find, also, among the family-papers, a memorandum, dated Aug. 12, 1746, of payment being due from the Colony of Connecticut to John Griswold "for boarding four souldiers that were Inlisted in y<sup>e</sup> Expedition to Canada"—a memorial of the Cape Breton Expedition in the Old French War; in which his brother-in-law Denison was an officer of distinction, as we have seen, and Roger Wolcott held an important command, whose daughter had been for nearly three years the wife of his son Matthew.

The home of John Griswold was a house which he built where now stands the house of Judge Matthew Griswold (his grandson, 1760-1842) in the Blackhall Avenue. Judge Matthew is said to have made his house exactly like that of his grandfather, to please his own father the Governor.

The children of John and Hannah (Lee) Griswold were :

1. MATTHEW (see below).

2. *Phæbe* ;\* born Apr. 22, 1716; who married, Dec. 14, 1731, the Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme; and died Dec. 26, 1770. Her husband was graduated at Yale College in 1729, and settled as Pastor of the First Church of Lyme in 1731, after having studied for the ministry with the Rev. Elisha Williams, Rector of Yale College, and with the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Mass. In the days of "New Light" theology, and of the ministerial methods growing out of it, he being warmly in favor of them, and of Whitefield, the eloquent preacher of the new views (who twice visited him, and "preached from a rock on his grounds near the present meeting-house, since known as the 'Whitefield Rock')," he encountered opposition, and finally took a dismission, and removed to Newburyport, Mass., where he died; and where, in his house, as is well known, Whitefield had previously died. Of Mrs. Parsons it is said, in a funeral sermon preached on her death :

"The God of Nature was pleased to furnish her with mental endowments to an uncommon degree. In the solidity of her judgment and penetration of mind she shone superior

\* Reference is to be had to the Hyde Genealogy for further particulars respecting the younger children of John Griswold, which I here omit—my object being, chiefly, to follow the line of descent through his eldest child Matthew.

to most of her sex; in canvassing many difficult points she could distinguish with surprising clearness.

"For readiness, liveliness and keenness of wit she appeared to me unrivall'd. The agreeable sallies of that social endowment have often excited my esteem and admiration. Such a degree of penetration and agreeable sprightliness seldom meet in the same person. Her ingenious friends, whom she favored with her letters, can testify with what correctness and spirit, with what instructive solidity and elegant vivacity, she could write.

"Such was her courage and firmness of resolution as you can seldom find in the delicate sex . . .

"Her indefatigable industry in the affairs of her family was truly remarkable . . .

"Her knowledge of Geography and History, especially her critical acquaintance with Church History, was truly rare.

"Knowledge in Divinity enters deep into her character. Comparatively but few of her sex, I believe, have had their minds more enriched with that treasure. . . .

"She was a person of much christian simplicity and integrity; of an upright, sincere and conscientious turn of mind; a bitter enemy to all unchristian craftiness and sly deceit . . .

"Though she was honorably descended, and lived in an honorable station, yet she could, without the least self-denial, condescend to the meanest of the human race. . . .

"She was possest of great sensibility of heart, was much acquainted with the tender and delicate emotions of humanity and sympathy . . . . ."\*

A son of the Rev. Jonathan and Phœbe (Griswold) Parsons was Colonel, afterwards General, Samuel Holden Parsons (b. 1737); who studied law with his uncle Gov. Matthew Griswold, was made King's Attorney in 1774, and removed to New London; but at the commencement of the Revolution entered actively into military service, was at the battle of Bunker Hill, was made a Brigadier General in 1776, distinguished himself in the battle of Long Island, and was appointed Major General; after the war removed to Middletown, Conn., resumed the practice of his profession, and was an active member of the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in Connecticut, of which his uncle Gov. Griswold was the President. Under an appointment as Commissioner of Connecticut, he obtained from the Indians a cession of their title to the "Western Reserve" of Ohio, and was afterwards made the first Judge of the North-western Territory by Washington, his confidential friend. †

A sister of General Parsons, Lydia (b. 1755), married Capt. Moses Greenleaf of Newburyport, Mass., and was the mother of the late eminent law-professor; and author of the "Treatise on the Law of Evidence," Simon Greenleaf of Harvard College.

3. *Thomas*; born Feb. 15, 1719; who married, Dec. 17, 1741, Susan-

\* A Funeral Sermon . . . occasioned by the death of Mrs. Phebe Parsons . . . By John Searl . . . Boston, 1771, pp. 37-40.

† From an article by the Hon. C. J. McCurdy, in the New Haven Register for Dec. 20, 1881.



nah, daughter of Nathaniel Lynde, Jr. of Saybrook, Conn.; and died July 16, 1770. He is known as Ensign Thomas Griswold. His wife died Sep. 25, 1768. They both lie buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme. One of their daughters, Lois (b. 1747), married Samuel Mather, and was the paternal grandmother of Mrs. Richard Sill Griswold now of Lyme.

4. *Hannah*; born Jan. 10, 1724; who married, Nov. 5, 1740, Benaja Bushnell (Y. C. 1735) of Norwich, Conn.; and died Aug. 16, 1772, having had fourteen children, sons and daughters.

5. *Lucia*; born July 6, 1726; who married, Jan. 9, 1753, Elijah Backus, Esq., of Norwich, Conn.; and died Dec. 16, 1795, having had nine children.

6. *Sarah*; born Dec. 2, 1728; who married, Nov. 1, 1750, Judge William Hillhouse of New London, North Parish (Montville), Conn.; and died Mar. 10, 1777. She was the mother of the late Hon. James Hillhouse of New Haven, Conn., so long Senator in Congress from Connecticut, and grandmother of the late James Abraham Hillhouse, author of *Hadad*, *Percy's Masque* and other poems, by which he will be always remembered as one of the most accomplished of the second generation of American men of letters, subsequent to the Revolution.

7. *Clarissa*; born May 30, 1731; who died in infancy.

8. *Clarissa*; born Feb. 9, 1733; who married, Oct. 22, 1754, Nathan Elliot of Killingworth, afterwards of Kent, Conn.; and died Feb. 11, 1811, having had thirteen children, sons and daughters.

9. *Deborah*; born Mar. 1, 1735; who married, Dec. 9, 1756, Capt. Nathan Jewett of East Haddam, Conn.; and died May 16, 1811, having had nine children.

10. *John*; born May 15, 1739; who died in infancy.

11. *Lydia*; born in June (bapt. June 13) 1742; who married, before 1768, Samuel Loudon, a bookseller, of New York; and died after 1770. Two letters from her husband to her brother Gov. Griswold give us these two approximate dates; and from one of them, dated Apr. 12, 1768, I quote the following: "Last week I sent you three Newspapers. I now send you two more. The first of the five begins the American Whig, a Paper which I hope will be useful to the Publick. . . . You'll see the Design of the Whig is to raise a universal stir in N<sup>o</sup>. America against the importation of a Bishop."

*Edward Elbridge Salisbury*

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 70, Vol. XI.)*

The "one Isaacs of East Hampton," mentioned in the preceding entry of "28 April, 1781," and note thereto (January magazine, p. 66), was a Christianized foreign Jew, who came to East Hampton before the Revolution, and subsequently died there, at the age of 75 years. *Thompson's Hist. Long Island*, I. 323). His daughter, Sarah Isaacs, married William Payne, the first teacher of the Clinton Academy, at East Hampton, founded in 1784. He was a Boston medical student, and pupil of Dr. Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill. Their son—the grandson of Aaron Isaacs—was *John Howard Payne*, the immortal author of "Home, Sweet Home," whose remains, only a few months ago, were brought back to his native land from their far African grave near the ruins of Carthage, and interred at Washington, through the thoughtful care of the venerable William W. Corcoran.

"Mr. Rivington," the writer of the entry of "16th May, 1781" (the last in the January magazine), was the well-known Printer of the *Royal Gazetteer*. His information was incorrect. The "Mr. Stedman" was either Charles, or Alexander, Steadman of Philadelphia, the former many years a Councilman of that city. Both brothers were men of character, and before the war, with Baron Stiegel owned and operated the Elizabeth Furnace in Lancaster county, Pa. (*Keith's Provincial Councillors*, 162.) Town gossip probably originated this report, though there were many then in Philadelphia who would have liked to have driven out Reed.

*Transaction between Capt<sup>n</sup> Sullivan,\* Capt Holland† & Major De Lancey.*

17<sup>th</sup> May. 1781.

Captain Sullivan left Philadelphia on the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst and says the evening he arrived there there were very great riots on account of the depreciation of the paper

\* Daniel Sullivan, an elder brother of Major-General John Sullivan, the Continental general, but at this time a member of the Continental Congress from New Hampshire.

† Stephen Holland, of Londonderry, New Hampshire. He was a colonel of militia, a member of the House of Assembly, and a man of note. In 1775, before the Declaration of Independence, he denied at a town meeting that he "was an enemy to his country" in writing; and the statement ended by saying that "he was ready to assist his countrymen in the glorious cause of liberty at the risk of his life and fortune." In 1778 he was proscribed, banished, and his estate confiscated. He was a gentleman of culture, easy address and influence. He was a magistrate, a representative of the town in the Legislature, clerk of the county of Hillsborough, and Lieut.-Col. of the militia of Rockingham County. In 1777 he was imprisoned as a loyalist by the committee of safety of Londonderry, but escaped from the jail, and went to Boston, and thence to Newport, where his wife was permitted by the committee to join him, and from there he came to New York. At the close of the war he went to England, and thence to Ireland, where he died shortly after the peace of 1783. —*Parker's Hist. Londonderry; Farmer and Moore N. H. Hist. coll.; vol. 1, Sabine's Loyalists; Wells and Hicks' British and Am. Register, 1774, 1775.*

money, and that there was no doubt of their having tar'd a dog, covered him with bills, and drove him into the Coffee House: They would have sent him into the Council but were prevented.

Mr Sullivan says his brothers letter to Mesheck Weare was printed in France, which caused a great deal of confusion.

The night he got there, after the riot he supped with the General, who told him as the people had not virtue enough to keep up the value of their money, the army must quit the field. He was at first reserved with his brother, but when he delivered Mr Hollands letter he opened freely ; he read the letter not less than thirty times, it put him in great confusion, and made him shed tears. He said he wished he had receive it sooner, he desired Mr Sullivan not to forget to say he would do everything in his power to comply with the letter. He said above a hundred times he wished from his heart to bring about a reconciliation. He wrote an answer, which he gave to his Brother, consisting of a whole sheet of paper, but next morning sent his aid de camp to tell him he wanted to speak to him, and when he came, he said that if that letter was found upon him it would endanger his life ; that he would find some other means to communicate it to Major Holland. His brother told him from Major H: that if he would give us information of the transactions of Congress and his advice what steps to take, he need only name his own terms. He said he wished he had known it sooner but hoped it was not too late ; that he would find out a method if it was in his power ; that it was of the utmost consequence to preserve secrecy in such an affair and charged him, if it was found out that he had carried a letter from New York, to say it was sealed, as his safety depended upon it, and he would find some business to send him to Mr Holland. Mr S: thinks it is either one Noble or Smith. The General said he would ride a hundred miles to have an hours conversation with Mr Holland ; he should then know his mind about politics. Mr Sullivan has not the smallest doubt of his brother's good intentions towards us.

Signed            { Ol. De Lancey  
                          { Daniel Sullivan  
                          { Stephen Holland

Then the above named Daniel Sullivan personally appeared and made solemn oath to the truth of the above and within account given by him to Major De Lancy before, [me]

Signed        Stephen Holland.\*

\* Why the above statement is verified by the oath of Daniel Sullivan, who makes it, does not appear on its face. Holland, a fellow-New-Hampshireman of General Sullivan, who knew him and his family well, and had long been clerk of a court in New Hampshire, probably, out of precaution, required it as a proof of good faith. This sworn statement both corroborates, and is corroborated and explained most fully, by the following letter from Luzerne, the French minister, to Vergennes, the head of the French cabinet, written just six days after Daniel Sullivan left Philadelphia on his return to New York, and four days before the entry of his statement in this "Private Intelligence" by Capt. Beckwith. It is very singular that these two documents, one from

23 *May* 1781—

“Obadiah Johnston, pilot of the *Romulus*, made his escape from the ship, he was confined in together with five others. They seized the ship's boat, went into the harbor, and cut out a schooner loaded with lumber and oil. She had two men on board: The wind being fair they ran through the fleet close by the Con-

England the other from France, each separately brought back to America about a century after their dates, should so completely explain each other, each giving one side of the same transaction.

Philadelphia, May 13, 1781.

My Lord,

When the letter mail from Philadelphia was intercepted last year, and the English printed some of the letters, I noticed one from a Delegate who complained of the pecuniary straits in which he was kept by his State, and the dearness of all the necessaries of life in Philadelphia. Of this I had the honor of sending you a translation. From that time it seemed necessary that I should open my purse to a Delegate whose needs were made known to the enemy by his own confession, and in the guise of a loan I sent him sixty-eight guineas and four sevenths. The interception of a second mail put the English in possession of a letter addressed to him by the treasurer of his State; and this also they printed. This, too, treated of pecuniary necessities. General Clinton suspected that a man so pressed for money could be easily corrupted, and as his brother was a prisoner in New York, he permitted the latter to go to Philadelphia on the pretext of negotiating his exchange. The Delegate sought me, and told me in confidence that his brother had brought him a letter, unsigned, but which he knew by the hand writing to have been written by an English Colonel then in New York. “The writer of this letter,” he said to me, “after dwelling on the resources of England, and the means she possesses for ultimately subjugating America, compliments me warmly on my intelligence, my talents, and the high esteem in which the English hold me.” He added, “that they regard me as the fittest man to negotiate a reconciliation between the mother country and the English colonies; that they wish me to make known my sentiments on this subject; that all overtures on my part will be received with the consideration which they deserve; that I have only to state my wishes; that the person who wrote to me was fully empowered to open a special negotiation with me, and that I may count on the profoundest secrecy.”

“I made answer to my brother with all the indignation that such propositions aroused in me; I threw the letter in the fire before his face, and when he started for New York, I begged him to let those who sent him understand that their overtures had been received with the deepest scorn. Yet I have preserved silence about this matter toward Congress, partly in order not to compromise my brother, partly in order not to make a parade of my own disinterestedness, and partly because I thought it hazardous to announce with too much positiveness to my colleagues that the enemy was seeking a traitor among us, and that his reward was ready. But I thought to confide to you these particulars, in order to put you on your guard against the enemies' intrigues, even in the very bosom of Congress; for if they have dared to make such offers to me, whose attachment to the good cause is so generally known, it is only too possible that they have done the same to others who have not apprised you of it.”

This confidential communication seemed to me to be true in the main; but I was not quite convinced that this Delegate had charged his brother to carry to New York a message so haughty and so insulting to the English as that which he had repeated to me. He made me a very strange proposition,—to pretend to lend an ear to the overtures that had been made to him, and to send a trusty man to New York to ask of General Clinton a plan of reconciliation; adding, that he had been unwilling to use his brother's services, fearing his attachment to the cause of independence. “I see,” he told me, “many advantages in thus sounding the disposition of the English, in order

querant, but were never hailed. They have seven sail of the line, the Romulus and one Frigate ; the Fantasque with her lower deck guns out and a prison ship. Their troops are there still ; they sent some to Providence, but they returned back again. A Brig arrived five days before he came away, which brought intelligence that thirty sail of transports, with 2000 troops convoyed by a line of Battle Ship & two

to find out what their scheme of corruption may be, and to learn how far they intend to go in their concessions,"—and he named to me four Members of Congress to whom he proposed to confide his project before putting it in execution,—all of them being men of established integrity. This Delegate himself enjoys an excellent reputation, and I am very unwilling to suspect that he meant to make me a cloak for a correspondence with the enemy ; but he has so often told me of the losses that the Revolution has occasioned him, and so bitterly regretted his former condition of ease and comfort, that I could not help dreading for him the temptation which he would encounter ; and I did not hesitate to dissuade him from the enterprise, by clearly pointing out the great evils it would entail. He did not promise me, formally, to abandon it ; but if, notwithstanding the representations which I intend to reiterate to him, he persists in it, I shall so narrowly watch his conduct that I shall hope to discover whatever may be ambiguous in it. Moreover I have constantly encouraged him to be very confiding ; and to him I always attribute the rupture of the league formed by the Eastern States,—a league which by false notions of popularity and of liberty, and by excessive jealousy of the army and the General-in-chief, has long obstructed the most necessary measures, and which on many occasions has shown itself jealous at once of our interests and our influence. In his own State he is highly esteemed ; he enjoys the credit of determining it to declare for independence in 1776. It is the only State which has not yet fixed its form of government, and, since this delay has been productive of evil, and permits ill-disposed persons still to hope for the re-establishment of the English government, he has promised me that, on his return, he will use his influence with the people to induce them to adopt a constitution. I know not how much longer he will remain in Congress ; but I thought you would not disapprove my offer to continue to him every six months, the loan that I made him last year, so long as he shall remain a Delegate, and my proposition has been very gratefully received. In any event, it is interesting to keep an eye on him. It is unfortunate that many other Delegates are in situations even still more necessitous. Some from the South, whose States are occupied by the enemy, have no other resources than the receipt of a bounty from Congress for their subsistence, and this bounty is so small, that one of them, who was formerly governor of Georgia, is compelled to withdraw his wife from society, for the want of clothing in which she could respectably appear.

This attempt of the English gave me a chance to ask this Delegate whom they approached, if his long experience in Congress, and his colleagues' manner of voting, had led him to suspect any of them of corruption. He indicated the person against whom I had formerly cherished suspicions, and another whose character seemed to him equally suspicious ; but, with these two exceptions, he thought that Congress was composed of gentlemen of steadfast character and inaccessible to corrupt approaches.

I append here, my Lord, a translation of a pamphlet published against Mr. Deane [Duane] a member of Congress from New York, on the very day when this Delegate left Philadelphia on his way home. It was printed in a Gazette whose editor has declared that he will surpass all his contemporaries in the license of his columns, and that only torture or formal legal proceedings shall wrest from him the names of those who write for his journal. The piece in question is attributed to Gouverneur Morris, who was a member of the Assembly up to the end of 1779, as a Delegate from the same State. The facts alleged are known to be true ; but I think Mr. Deane [Duane] long ago abandoned the equivocal principles which governed his conduct during the first years of this Revolution, and I have found him always steadfastly attached to the cause of independence.

frigates, had sailed before she left France. She was fifty four days on her passage. They are expected every day at Newport or Boston. The new Admiral is arrived at Rhode Island. He came in a frigate to Boston. They do not talk of any more reinforcements being expected and are much afraid of our fleets intercepting those that are coming. About ten days ago (the day Admiral Arbuthnot appeared off) they got 1000 troops on board, where they continue. Their ships are not more than half manned. Admiral Arbuthnot had ten sail. The inhabitants and French are disputing constantly. They are at half allowance of beef. They say they have not salt provisions enough to go to sea.

Captain Gayton \* is not treated so well as a person of his rank should be. They stripped him and all his officers of every shirt, but the one he had on : He is very

I will await your orders, my Lord, to carry the advances spoken of in this dispatch to my account of extraordinary expenses.

The Mr. Payne, of whom I have already had the honor of speaking to you, and to whom I thought one might look to write the history of the current Revolution, went to France in February last, in the frigate *Alliance*. The two vessels despatched from Cadiz with clothing for the American army, have safely arrived at Boston.

I am &c &c

Le Ch. de la Luzerne

The Delegate spoken of at the beginning of this dispatch, my Lord, is General Sullivan, who represents the State of New Hampshire in Congress.

The answer to the foregoing despatch, of 27th July, 1781, says :

"I cannot but approve, Monsieur, the pecuniary assistance you have rendered to General Sullivan. You may continue it to him as long as he shall sit in Congress, and you will carry the amount to the account of your extraordinary expenses, avoiding the mention of his name."

These two documents are taken from a circular of Little & Brown, the Boston publishers, advertising the completion of the 8vo edition of "Bancroft's History," in ten volumes, in which they are given in both French and English, as a reply to the charge that Bancroft's statement that Sullivan "was a pensioner of Luzerne," was "inherently absurd," a copy of which was received by the writer at their book-store in 1876. The documents were furnished by Mr. George Bancroft, who printed them to show corruption; Luzerne's letter is now found to prove treason. It also demonstrates the great penetration and caution of that most able Minister. By their own words and acts must the two Sullivans be judged.

Daniel Sullivan lived at New Bristol—now called "Sullivan"—Maine, a small seaport at the head of Frenchman's Bay, east of Mount Desert. He formed a company for home defense, etc., and with it was present at the siege of Castine in 1779. In February, 1781, he was seized at night in his house, which was burned, by a boat's crew from the British man-of-war *Allegiance*, and sent a prisoner to New York, where he was released by Clinton as above stated.

He was sent to Halifax, thence to New York, and put on board "the Jersey hulk," where he remained six months; when exchanged, he died on the Sound in his passage home, not without suspicions of poison, according to the appendix. p. 286, etc., of Amory's "Life of John Sullivan." Kidder, in his "Maine and Nova Scotia in the Revolution," p. 136, says he was taken to Castine, then, some time afterward, to New York, and placed "in one of the terrible prisons there," and when exchanged, was so feeble that he died on his way home. Both accounts are clearly proven erroneous, in part, at least, by Daniel Sullivan himself.

\* Captain George Gayton, of the *Romulus*.

well. The ship he is in is an old East India-man : The seamen are on board the *Fantasque*. They allow the officers to go ashore, two at a time—a number of the inhabitants are as civil as they dare be.

One hundred were killed on board the *Conquerant*.\*

They were going out, and the signal made when Admiral A: appeared off.

The Brig from France brought dispatches.

The captains clerk of the Ship Captain Gayton is in, told him this. He usually tells them all the news he can collect. The report was that they intended sailing, to cover the arrival of their fleet, which the appearance of Admiral Arbuthnot prevented.

They have down the *Romulus* : She was very foul.

The 22 sail of transports went to France. They were convoyed by two frigates.

They have no transports there now. Their fleet very sickly—very little trade carried on there.

The schooner he took ran ashore, at Oyster Bay.

They will not exchange Captain Gayton, but for a French officer. They refused Confederacy officers.†

Extract of a letter from S: W: to D<sup>l</sup> Cox Esq ‡ dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1789. Received 29<sup>th</sup>.

“ I wish you joy— Green has been repulsed, or rather defeated before Cambden—our good Lords § are in great pain for him. They fear he will not be able to retreat from Carolina.

“ You will please to inform the board that there are now fitting out at this place three large whale boats in order to protect the trade to you by cruising in the Delaware, as well as along the Jersey shores from Cape May to the Hook—They are now ready to go down.

If these boats are not checked they will give your friends near the shores, as well as your boats much trouble. ||

\* This ship, mentioned here and in other places, was a line-of-battle ship of 74 guns, commanded by M. de la Grandière, which suffered very severely in the action of the 16th of March. In an article in the *Newport Mercury* of the 31st of March, 1781, it is stated that “ the *Conquerant*, however, suffered a great deal, because, after having fought with the British van, she sustained all the fire of the centre. She especially fought with a three-decker, the loss of whose main topsail yard and of a great part of her rigging compensated the great damage done to the *Conquerant*.”

† American officers.

‡ Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, at this time residing in the New York city. He was of the council of New Jersey, and a prominent member of the Board of Associated Loyalists, to which reference is made in this letter.

§ The Continental Congress.

|| This letter apparently was written in Philadelphia. “ The board ” referred to was the “ Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists,” organized by direction of Lord George Germaine,

*Copy of a letter from Col. De Lancey\* dated West Farms 3<sup>rd</sup> June.*

Dear Sir

I was honored with yours of yesterday. One of the Refugees has just returned from the White Plains—He informs me no troops were there. I cannot find there are any rebels in force, nearer than Croton and Greenwich—If I can get intelligence of the French coming on the lines, will give you the earliest notices.

Signed

J. De Lancey.

Col. West Chester Refugees

Major De Lancey &c

*Copy of a letter from Captain Marquard 5<sup>th</sup> June. 1781.*

Sir

One Travis, a Refugee of Col : De Lancey's who has been out as far as Salem, † six miles beyond North Castle, & who returned last Friday night, informs me that the people thereabouts dont know anything of the arrival of French troops at Crompond, but that it is the common talk amongst them, that a large body of them had left Rhode Island and were on their march towards the North River, and that the French Cavalry and light troops were daily expected in order to take the lines at Croton.

Secretary of State for the American Department, to annoy the "rebels" by boat expeditions ostensibly, and to give its members good salaries, £200 each and rations. Gov. William Franklin, of New Jersey, the natural son of Benjamin Franklin, was its president. The men it employed were really hand in glove with similar depredators on the American side, and were entirely independent of the officers of the British army. They were suppressed by Sir Guy Carleton on his arrival in 1782. (II. *Jones' History of New York During the Rev. War*, 229 and 481. )

\* Colonel James de Lancey of Rosehill, West Farms, Westchester Co., N. Y., the writer of the above letter, and Major Oliver de Lancey, of the 17th Light Dragoons, the Adjutant-General to whom it was addressed, were first cousins. The former being the fourth son of Peter de Lancey of Rosehill, West Farms, Westchester county, N. Y., and his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Gov. Cadwallader Colden, the parents of the *second branch* of the de Lancey family ; and the latter being the second son of Brigadier-General Oliver de Lancey, of Bloomingdale, New York City, and his wife Phila, daughter of Jacob Franks, of Philadelphia, the parents of the *youngest or third branch* of that family. The writer of these notes, to whom oddly enough it has fallen to edit this "Intelligence," is the eldest grandson of John Peter de Lancey, of Mamaroneck, Westchester county, N. Y., the third son of James de Lancey, Chief Justice, and Governor of New York, and his wife Martha, eldest daughter of Col. Caleb Heathcote, of the manor of Scarsdale, Westchester county, N. Y., the parents of the *eldest or first branch* of that family. John Peter de Lancey was at this time in the regular British army, a young captain in the 18th or Royal Irish regiment of foot, and a part of the time major of the "Pennsylvania Loyalists." All three officers were first cousins, each belonging to a different branch of the de Lancey family, and all grandsons of Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey the first of the name in America (who came to New York in June, 1686, having fled from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685), and his wife Anne, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler, his wife. The fathers of the three young officers, and Gen. Philip Schuyler, and Lieut.-Gov. Pierre and Gen. Philip Van Cortlandt were all first cousins.

† "Salem," comprising the present towns of North Salem and Lewisborough formed the north-east corner of Westchester county, N. Y., and the east end of the manor of Cortlandt, and through it the French army a few weeks later marched on their way to White Plains. "Travis" is believed to have been Jeremiah Travis of Westchester, who after the war went to Nova Scotia.



Several people have been sent out on this and the other side of the North River for intelligence : as soon as any one of them returns, with the least news of some Consequence, I shall not fail to give you the most early information. I have the honor to be

Yours &c

Signed

Marquard Aid de Camp.

Major de Lancey Adj't Gen'l

*Intelligence by ——— in answer to ——— June 5 1781*

Query 1<sup>st</sup>—Has there been any disturbance lately in the army & what ? how reconciled ?

Answered.—The late raised troops of Pennsylvania since the revolt at Yorktown on their route to the Southward refused proceeding until paid in hard money, for which several were executed, which caused the matter to cease for the present \*

2<sup>nd</sup> The Situation and number of General Washington's army, where are they now stationed ?

2<sup>nd</sup>

To me unknown.

3<sup>d</sup> Is the Congress money good for any thing or is the circulation of it altogether stopped ?

3<sup>d</sup>

The circulation is stopped entirely and has mostly fallen in the hands of the Eastern provinces.

4<sup>th</sup>—What hopes are there of succours from France this Summer ? or is there any ?

4<sup>th</sup>

The fleet and troops destined for America have been ordered to the East Indies to secure the Dutch property here.

5<sup>th</sup>—How is the army clothed ? Have they plenty of provisions ?

5<sup>th</sup>

Badly clothed and no magazines of provisions at present.

\* The following extract from a private letter of Wm. J. Livingston to his friend Col. Samuel B. Webb, of May 28th, 1781, vividly describes the suppression of the second mutiny of the Pennsylvania line at Yorktown, Pa., before referred to in this "Intelligence," and in this answer to the above 1st query.

"There has been a mutiny in the Pennsylvania line at Yorktown previous to their marching. Wayne like a good officer quelled it soon. Twelve of the fellows stepped out and persuaded the line to refuse to march in consequence of the promises made them not being complied with. Wayne told them of the disgrace they brought on the American arms while in Jersey, in general, and themselves in particular ; that the feelings of the officers on that occasion were so wounded that they had determined never to experience the like, and that he beg'd they would fire either on him and them, or on those villains in front. He then called on such a Platoon. They presented at the word, fired, and killed six of the villains. One of the others badly wounded he ordered to be bayonnetted.

6<sup>th</sup>—What is General Green doing to the Southward? The latest accounts from that quarter?

7<sup>th</sup>  
Any loan of Money from any of the European Powers, and the sum?

8<sup>th</sup> What accounts of the convention to be held or now holding at Vienna for a general peace? †

9<sup>th</sup> If France, Spain, or Holland dont assist this summer is not the game up? Can resources be found for another year? —

6<sup>th</sup>

Nothing later than the action of Lord Rawdon,\* has yet transpired to the Publick.

7<sup>th</sup>

A report prevails but wants confirmation, that Congress have negotiated a loan of four millions of livres from France. Arrived from Havanna a large sum of money on private account and much more expected. †

8<sup>th</sup>

Unknown to me.

9<sup>th</sup>

All depends on Mr. Morris's late undertaking as Financier General—If he succeeds everything will be done with hard money—This, it is generally thought will answer every expectation. §

Pray dont attempt anything of this kind again. You know too well my situation.

The soldier on whom he called recovered his piece and said he could not for he was his comrade. Wayne then drew a pistol and said he would kill him. The fellow then advanced and bayonnetted him. Wayne then marched the line by divisions around the dead, and the rest of the fellows are ordered to be hang'd. The line marched the next day southward mute as fish."—*Webb's Reminiscences*, 149. Had similar decided measures been taken at Trenton, the January mutiny would not have ended as it did, and this one might never have occurred.

\* At Hobkirk's Hill, S. C., where he defeated Greene on the 24th of April, 1781.

† On 24th May, 1781, Luzerne informed Congress, in secret session, that "The King has resolved to grant the United States a subsidy of six millions livres tournois, and to enable Dr. Franklin to borrow four millions more for the service of this year." That the surplus of the six millions over immediate wants "be at the disposal of Congress, or of the superintendent of their finances, if they think proper to trust him with the management of it." *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. II., p. 411. On the first June, Luzerne wrote Washington of this fact officially. *III. Sparks' Corr.*, 328. And on the 5th June we find the above reference to it in the reply to the 7th query. The Havana money was for Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance, individually.

‡ The mediation offered by the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Joseph of Austria, to effect a general peace, which the celebrated Kaunitz in vain endeavored to make a success, though the Continental Congress were ready to embrace it on the basis of Independence is here referred to.

§ The general circulation of the "Old Continental Money" ceased at the time here spoken of—May, 1781. But as soon as it took place immense speculations set in. The merchants and others of the Southern and Middle States, apprehending its entire loss of value, rushed vast quantities into New England, especially to Boston, and bought almost everything that was purchasable.

Hence, when it practically became valueless, in the following December, the bulk of it was held in the Eastern States and by some parties in the Middle States, who had faith that ultimately it would be redeemed, and thus enure to their great profit.

Beginning to be issued on the 22d of June, 1775, pursuant to a resolution of Congress of the 10th of May preceding, and ending on the 29th of November, 1779, the total amount issued in that period, four and a half years, was \$241,552,780, as stated in a Report of the Register of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, made January 30, 1828. Its disparagement commenced in Philadelphia in November, 1775, five months only after it was first issued, and about seven months before the Declaration of Independence, by the refusal of certain Quakers to receive it, ostensibly on the ground that it was intended to carry on war. During 1776, notwithstanding most forcible and unscrupulous means to compel its circulation by Committees of Safety, and other bodies, it gradually lost favor, and in June was so perceptibly depreciated as to excite general discussion throughout the "Continent." By December, 1776, it had got into such bad repute that General Putnam on assuming the command of Philadelphia, issued a general order on the 14th of that month that "should any of the inhabitants be so lost to public virtue and the welfare of their country as to presume to refuse the currency of the American States in payment of any commodities they may have for sale, the goods shall be forfeited, and the person or persons so refusing be committed to close confinement." In January, 1777, depreciation set in, and thenceforward gradually, but steadily increased, sometimes faster, and sometimes slower, according to the amounts issued and the outlook of the war, until at the time we are considering—May, 1781—its general circulation, as before stated, "stopped entirely." In August, 1779, when it had sunk twenty-two per cent., General Washington himself refused it. Writing on the 17th of August in that year to Lund Washington, whom he had previously authorized to receive the tendered payment of two bonds, he says: "I have since considered the matter in every point of view in which my judgment enables me to place it, and am resolved to receive no more old debts (such I mean as were contracted and ought to have been paid before the war) at the present nominal value of the money, unless compelled to do it, or it is the practice of others to do it. Neither justice, reason, nor policy requires it. \* \* \* The fear of injuring by any example of mine the credit of our paper currency, if I attempted to discriminate between the real and nominal value of paper money, has already sunk for me a large sum, if the bonds before-mentioned are paid off. \* \* \* If sacrificing my whole estate would effect any valuable purpose, I would not hesitate one moment in doing it. But my submitting in matters of this kind, unless the same is done by others, is no more than a drop in the bucket. In fact, it is not serving the public, but enriching individuals and countenancing dishonesty; for sure I am that no honest man would attempt to pay twenty shillings with one, or perhaps half a one. In a word, I had rather make a present of the bonds than receive payment of them in so shameful a way." (*VI. Sparks*, 321.) Never was there a stronger illustration of his pure patriotism and his exceeding great common sense.

The annexed table, showing the scale of depreciation from first to last of the Continental paper money, is of interest :

YEAR.	January..	February..	March....	April....	May.....	June.....	July.....	August...	September..	October....	November..	December..
1777.....	1½	1½	2	2	2½	2½	3	3	3	3	3	4
1778.....	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6
1779.....	8	10	10	16	20	20	21	22	24	28	36	40
1780.....	42	45	50	60	60	60	65	70	72	73	71	75
1781.....	75	80	90	100	150	250	400	500	600	700	800	1000

In the Articles of Confederation, adopted July 8, 1778, this money, then at five for one, is thus referred to : " All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for the payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged." (Art. XII.)

When the Constitution came to be adopted this money was again thus referred to : " All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation." (Art. VI., par. 1.)

Notwithstanding this " solemn pledge " of " the said United States and the public faith," *twice* given in the two successive organic laws of this great nation, not one dollar was ever paid ! The late Mr. Justice Story, in a conversation on this subject, only the year before his death, with the writer at Cambridge, after expressing regret that some discharge of this debt had not been effected, remarked, it shows that the faith of a nation, be it ever so strongly pledged, cannot be depended on when antagonized by its interest.

A Philadelphian author, a man of intellect and observation, who witnessed the rise, effect and fall of the Continental paper, thus writes : " If it saved the State, it has also polluted the equity of our laws, turned them into engines of oppression and wrong ; corrupted the justice of our public administration ; destroyed the fortunes of thousands who had most confidence in it ; enervated the trade, husbandry and manufactures of our country, and went far to destroy the morality of our people." *Pelotiah Webster's Political Essays*, 175, note,

Another able man of that city who almost in our own day has written on the history of the Continental money, the late venerable Samuel Breck uses this language : " Old debts were paid when the paper money was more than seventy for one. Brothers defrauded brothers, children parents, and parents children. Widows, orphans and others were paid for money lent in specie with depreciated paper, which they were compelled to take." *Papers before the Am. Phil. Society, afterward privately printed.*

Dr. David Ramsay, the historian, says : " Like an aged man expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or a groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. \* \* \* " Public faith was violated, but in the opinion of most men public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation." Vol. II., p. 224.

Thus, in the words of Webster, " fell, ended and died the Continental currency, aged six years ; the most powerful State engine and the greatest prodigy of revenue, and of the most mysterious, uncontrollable, and almost magical operation ever known or heard of in the political or commercial world ; bubbles of a like sort which have happened in other countries, such as the Mississippi scheme in France, the South Sea in England, etc., lasted for a few months and then burst into nothing : but this held out much longer, and seemed to retain a vigorous constitution to the last, for its circulation was never more brisk and quick than when its exchange was five hundred to one ; yet it expired without one groan or struggle ; and of all things which have suffered dissolution since life was first given to the creation, this mighty monster died the least lamented. \* \* \* I hope the reader will excuse this small digression, for when I came to the spot where the poor old Continental died, I could not help stopping to mark the place with some little signal of notice." *Webster's Political Essays*, notes 175 and 176.

Besides the Continental paper money, there was also that of the different independent States, as they then were, to an immense amount. But of it space will not permit even a brief mention. In

*Captain Marquard to Captain Beckwith.**Morris's House, 7th June, 1781.*

Dear Beckwith

It seems that Col: Tarlton's Valet de Chambre has very much imposed upon us about the French being at Crompond. Several people that have been out to learn the truth and particulars of this story, all agree that there is no such thing. Our friend E: B: is just now here and is returned last night from the Croton. He is sure that about 500 rebels have crossed the North River, and are quartered at Peekskill Hollow, for the purpose of supporting the detachment under Major Scott at the Croton River; about 60 or 70 new raised horse, whose commander's name he could not recollect are also there. He has been told that some French troops were at Danbury but he can't assert [verily] this report: Very likely a detachment of French may have gone to West Point to do duty there in order to enable Washington to make a detachment to the southward.

I depend most upon E: B: \* and he has given me his word that he will find out in a few days what is the matter,

Yours, &amp;c

(Marquard

(signed

Pray let Major DeLancey know what I wrote you now.

"The Paper Currency of the Revolution," the masterly volumes of Henry Phillips, jr., the curious reader will find the whole subject fully treated.

The specie and credit grant by the French Government—really by Vergennes—without whose favor it could not have been obtained, above alluded to in the answer to the seventh query and its note, really saved the Revolution from failure in 1781. That aid, the appointment of Robert Morris as financier, and his measures of supporting public credit on a staple basis by taxation, transformed the darkness into light—a light never afterward to go out—relieved a weak and bankrupt Congress, gave life to a mutinous, starving army, and destroyed forever that idea so long and tenaciously held by the British people, government and commanders in chief, that the American "rebellion" would die of financial exhaustion.

The answers to the foregoing nine queries are evidently by some one at Philadelphia, either in Congress or who had access to its proceedings, as its sessions were always secret. The final caution is probably addressed to the person who communicated the answers to the adjutant-general.

\* "E: B:" was probably Eli Benedict, who, in 1782, was an ensign in Colonel Beverly Robinson's regiment of Guides and Pioneers. He was a native of Danbury, Ct., and the guide of the British on their expedition against that town.—Sabine, 1st ed. 155, and 2d ed. I. p. 224.

*(To be continued.)*

## MINOR TOPICS

*Letter from Lyon Gardiner Tyler.*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In the December number of your valuable periodical I read with interest your notice of Mr. Barrows' "History of Oregon," wherein this passage occurs: "And yet in 1842 Oregon was hardly thought worth having by the United States, was omitted from the Ashburton Treaty, and the rumor was current that Mr. Webster contemplated trading it off for some codfisheries—although the author of this work, (Mr. Barrows) discredits the story." To dispel the mist hanging around a part of the early history of that region of country, allow me to throw some additional light on the policy of President Tyler's administration with regard to the Oregon question. It is undoubtedly true that in 1842 Oregon presented very few of the attractions which it does at the present day—being then a great wilderness inhabited by wandering tribes of Indians, and containing but few white settlers. Yet at no time did the President contemplate abandoning any portion of that country, without a proper equivalent—to any nation on the face of the earth. This much it is right to say in justice to President Tyler's memory.

The errors of those who have written on the subject have proceeded from a total misconception as to the policy of the administration, which was to use Oregon as the handmaid to California and Texas. Among the notes of President Tyler to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, is one which gives the key to all the negotiations and manœuvres with reference to Oregon. Good critics to whom I have repeated its substance have never failed to be astonished at the scope and character of the suggestion it contains, and to consider it one of the most sagacious, statesmanlike views ever conceived by any man in the administration of affairs. Writing to Webster, the President discloses the scheme of a tripartite treaty between the United States, Great Britain and Mexico, whereby Great Britain was to have the line of the Columbia River—we surrendering most of Washington Territory, the northern half of what was then Oregon, and taking in exchange the much greater and more fertile equivalent of California down to the 36° 30'. At the same time the independence of Texas was to be recognized by Mexico. Such a treaty would satisfy all sections of the Union. Texas would reconcile all to California, and California to the line proposed for Oregon. As Mexico was at the time a mere colony of Great Britain, and largely in debt to her capitalists, the assent of Great Britain was all that was necessary to the treaty, and this the latter was desirous, nay even anxious, to give. To accomplish this policy, the President contemplated sending Webster to England on a special mission, but the subject halted before the

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Congress expired before taking action on the mission. The sole cause of failure lay with Congress, which was as impotent a body of men at this period, consuming the hours in shameless invectives against the President and his Secretary of State, and resorting to every endeavor to embarrass the government.

The recognition by Mexico of the independence of Texas would have resulted immediately, of course, in its incorporation into the American Union; and thus, in peace, and with the extension of the Missouri Compromise line, the whole western problem would have been solved, and all the valuable part of that domain made ours without Polk's needless war of 1846 or the agitation of the slavery question. And even after Polk's ill-advised declaration of "54° 40' or fight," this policy might have been effected to the honor and peace of the country. Polk could even then have compromised honorably and successfully on the line of the Columbia, and secured to us most of what was then Oregon, and California north of 36° 30', and comprising all the country west of Texas to the Pacific Ocean. Apart from his policy of combination, the President looked, as he says, "exclusively" to the 49th parallel, and in 1843 he directed Mr. Webster to instruct Mr. Everett to sound Great Britain on that line—and to the exclusion of the free navigation of the Columbia River conceded by Monroe in his offer in 1818, and John Quincy Adams in 1826. So far was the President from thinking Oregon "not worth having" in 1842.

But in all that was done upon the subject the President ever bore in mind that our claim upon the Oregon Territory could only, from the constant flow of emigrants to the West, grow stronger by delay. The troops of England were operating in China at the time, and could readily be transported to the American coast. Hence, till the other matters could be disposed of, he was in favor, as to Oregon individually, of a new and improved treaty of joint occupancy, with a power reserved in either of the high contracting parties to terminate the same after twelve months' notice. This would have kept the question very conveniently in its aspect of handmaid to California and Texas, and still not have weakened its own independent claim or settlement. When, therefore, Whitman, the missionary, in 1842 presented himself at Washington to obtain President Tyler's sanction to his plan of leading a caravan overland to Oregon, it fell entirely in with the sagacious line of policy which the President had marked out, and received his cordial approval. President Tyler at a later period, in 1843, afforded the same kind of important encouragement to Morse in getting an appropriation from Congress to secure the trial of his telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore. Doubtless both Mr. Barrow and other historians give as many colors as they can to the really praiseworthy action of Whitman.

How far the stories about the indifference of Mr. Webster are true, I know not. Mr. Webster was subject to fits of listlessness, but in general his views were broad and his conceptions bold. Yet, when we read in his letter to Fletcher

Webster (Curtis ii. 250) that the single port of California would be "twenty times as valuable to us as all Texas," extending to the 42°, embracing the richest country in the world and insuring to us the virtual monopoly of the cotton plant as well as the control of the Mexican Gulf, we cannot help smiling and suspecting that some of that old contracted New England spirit, operating in 1787 to the surrender of the free navigation of the Mississippi and the Southwest, was possibly actively at work in his mind, inducing to the surrender in 1842 (had he not been prevented by the President) of Oregon for some advantages to the codfisheries of his own section, New England. (W. H. Gray's History of Oregon, p. 290, et seq.)

This is a true though imperfect presentation of this subject. And yet the questions are so great that I can scarcely do more than hint at them in a letter of this length. All the original letters and documents, substantiating the facts I have asserted with their entire coloring and bearing will be given to the public in my forthcoming work "The Letters and Times of the Tylers," which I trust will be the means of eradicating many an error, and of contributing in some modest degree to a true knowledge of the history of the country.

I remain,

Very truly,

LYON GARDINER TYLER.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,  
December 13, 1883.

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## CAVALRY FIGHTS WITH THE COMANCHES

Soon after the war with Mexico the United States territory became so extended, and the hostile Indians on the frontier of Texas were such dangerous and troublesome marauders, that an increased military force was deemed necessary for the protection of the border settlers, and Congress therefore adopted measures for raising and equipping two regiments of mounted men, called the First and Second Cavalry. In forming these regiments great care was used in selecting only such officers as had "won their spurs" in the recent war with Mexico; and no more chivalric names adorn the annals of history than this arm of the military service presents—names which have become as familiar as the strains of "Home, Sweet Home," and at the mention of which the heart of the nation must ever thrill with pride while the nation endures; and though in after years some of them pass in review as having worn the "Gray" instead of the "Blue," they remain no less American in their heritage and in their valor, and may still be claimed as our own military chieftains.

In the formation of the First Cavalry were enrolled the names of Col. E. V. Sumner, Jos. E. Johnston, Ben McCullough, Geo. B. McClellan, Ransom, Walker, J. E. B. Stuart, McIntyre, Crittenden, Lomax, Church, and others. In the Second



Cavalry, Albert Sidney Johnson, Robert E. Lee, Geo. H. Thomas, Wm. J. Hardee, Earl Van Dorn, E. Kirby Smith, Theo. O'Hara (the poet), John B. Hood, Fitzhugh Lee, Lieuts. Kimmel, Van Camp, Evans, and others. After these regiments were formed and stationed in Texas, the theater of the principal Indian depredations, their dashing officers, who had made themselves conspicuous for gallantry on numerous battle-fields in Mexico, were frequently engaged in hand-to-hand fights with the savage and ferocious enemies the Comanches, on the borders of Texas, and their trophies of battle bore testimony to the cruel and deadly foes they had to meet and fight to the death rather than be captured and tortured. Scalps of men, women and children hung from the belts of the savages, and also gaudy trappings of bright feathers woven in fantastic devices with shells and beads; their skin and those of their horses were stained with gay colors, making them look unearthly and hideous in the extreme. In time of battle their rude weapons were brandished with demoniacal glee and ferocity, and excited the gravest dread and horror.

Among the engagements that occurred in 1856 was the battle of "The Four Lakes," which was one of cruel slaughter. It was in this conflict that the Comanches were first introduced to the Minnie ball and the long-range rifle. The roar of artillery and the flashing of sabres were only equaled by the savage display and war whoop, and served to render the fight weird and furious, our heroes resolving to perish rather than be captured. The Comanches advanced with such celerity and irregularity that it was difficult to reach them, and each Indian seemed to fight on his own account; but the organized firing of disciplined troops even here tested the art of trained warfare, and without much loss finally put the enemy to flight.

In the same year an important engagement was led by Lieut. John B. Hood, with a command of twenty-five men from the Second Cavalry. The general orders were to attack any hostile Indians away from their reservations. Lieut. Hood had discovered a trail, but, being weary and thirsty, and his horses jaded from a long march, he went toward a river for water. Not far off he saw a few horses grazing and a flag waving over some brush. This proved a decoy. As he advanced within a few paces the flag suddenly dropped, and a large body of Comanches setting fire to the brush rushed from their ambush, some armed with Spanish bayonets, some with rifles and lances, and many with bows and arrows, and raising a wild and desperate war whoop, attacked the surprised party of cavalry. Hood's men fired volley after volley until their shots were expended; then they fell back, leaving six of their comrades on the field, and Lieut. Hood himself was borne away badly wounded. The plains and ravines to which they retreated seemed literally alive with savages, and how the brave command escaped at all was a mystery. From the heights near by they witnessed the horrors of the Indian war dances around the slain, and their hearts were filled with a desire for speedy revenge. On this occasion messengers sent to headquarters soon brought reinforcements, when a few discharges from the howitzer forced the Indians from

their covert to the plain, where they were compelled to cope with batteries supported by dismounted men and cavalry. Companies moved against them with the coolness and precision of a parade, and chief after chief fell in rapid succession, and their gay trappings and plumage were soon dragging in the gory dust. Many Indian women were observed swiftly dragging their dead and wounded from the battlefield; and it was a relief to see them finally give way and fall back in confusion and alarm before their conquerors, whom they outnumbered as ten to one. During this fight, or rather flight, Major Earl Van Dorn with a few men rode in pursuit of a party of fleeing Comanches, who were mounted on fleet mustangs and riding two on a horse. Major Van Dorn's horse was a spirited gray, which stopped at neither branch nor marsh, but cleared everything and plunging along over the ground, placed his rider, a splendid horseman, far in advance of his followers; and when the Indians in the rear of the retreating party were within range of his fire he killed the horse ridden by two young Comanches. Finding themselves on foot and hotly pursued, they quickly fell to their knees and took deliberate aim at the heart of their pursuer. He, holding the reins of the bridle in the left hand directly over the heart, felt one arrow penetrate the two bones of the wrist and glance upward, the other entering his right side and passing out at the left, seriously injuring the lung. These arrows he drew from the wounds instantly himself, the blood flowing in torrents from them. At this juncture the sergeant of the company came up and threw his own body, together with that of his horse, between the major and the flying arrows as a shield, receiving five wounds himself, but thereby saving the life of his commander. This heroism and self-sacrifice was recognized by the government by pensioning the brave sergeant. Major Van Dorn was regarded as the most successful and daring Indian fighter of the time, and was enabled to secure a quiet period for the frontiersmen against the depredations of the Comanches, but his name was one of terror and hatred to the savages.

In 1858 the Comanches renewed their hostilities, and many murders were committed. Again Major Van Dorn was ordered by Gen. Twiggs to equip four companies and go out on a scouting expedition and penetrate the heart of the Indian country. This he did, and after reaching the interior proceeded to build a stockade, and placed within it all the pack mules, extra horses and stores, and left it in charge of infantry. Friendly Indians soon discovered that a large Comanche camp was located near the village of Wichita, ninety miles away. The four companies, attended by guides, started for the camp, and the march of ninety miles was made in thirty-six hours, causing the men to be continuously in the saddle the latter sixteen hours of the ride. At daylight on the morning of October 1, 1858, they reached the village. The four companies were formed into four columns to enter the village, with orders to deploy and charge when in sight of the camp. The charge was sounded on the left and a sudden and deadly swoop was made on the unsuspecting enemy. The Indians rose up with a wild war whoop and made an obstinate defense; there were many hand-to-hand fights, but the battle resulted

in a decisive victory for the cavalry. Eighty or ninety warriors were slain and many captured. General Scott reported to the War Department as follows: "Near the village of Wichita, Brevet Major Earl Van Dorn, Capt. Second Cavalry, commanding Companies A, F, H and K of his regiment, after a forced march of ninety miles in thirty-six hours, came a little after daylight upon the camp of the hostile Comanches, consisting of one hundred and twenty lodges and between four and five hundred Indians. He immediately charged upon it, and after a most desperate struggle of an hour and a half, during which there were many hand-to-hand encounters, achieved a most decisive victory. Fifty-six Indians were left on the field; one hundred and twenty lodges were burned; over three hundred animals taken; a large quantity of supplies appropriated or destroyed, and the surviving Indians dispersed among the mountains in a destitute condition. With this victory it is painful to record the death of Second Lieut. Cornelius Van Camp, Second Cavalry, an active young officer of exceeding promise, once before named in this order for gallantry, who was shot through the heart with an arrow while charging the enemy. Sergeant J. E. Garrison, of Company F; Privates Peter Magar and Jacob Echard, of Company H, were also killed. Private Henry Howard, of that company, is missing, supposed to have been killed. The following were wounded: Company A, Brevet Major Van Dorn, severely, four wounds. \* \* \* During the combat, Capt. N. G. Evans, Second Lieuts. Harrison and Phifer, each killed two, and Lieut. Magar killed three Indians in hand-to-hand encounters. The other officers who were under Major Van Dorn are Captains Whiting and Johnson, Second Lieut. Porter and Acting Asst. Surgeon Carswell, all of whom, together with the non-commissioned officers and privates of Companies A, F, H and K, Second Cavalry, are entitled to great commendation for their gallantry.

\* \* \*

"By command of Bvt. Lieut.-General Scott.

"L. THOMAS,

*"Asst. Adj.-General."*

The return of this victorious little army was hailed with enthusiastic rejoicing and congratulation, and the Wichita fight and Van Dorn were the themes of song and story for many years along the borders and in the halls and banqueting-rooms of the cities, and the martial music of the "Wichita March" resounded through the plains of Texas wherever the Second Cavalry encamped or rode off on scouts in after years.

RIZPAH.

## NOTES

A WALL STREET INCIDENT—In his eloquent discourse on Sunday morning, December 30, 1883, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York, said :

“Great events remind us of God and of our faith in him. The best and deepest meanings of history, as of nature, come out only when reared against a divine background. To leave out God is to draw a wet sponge across the best things that history has to say. The history of a century, of a millennium as such, means nothing, unless intelligence that subtends the millennium puts a meaning into it. Mind cannot read what mind has not first written. All interpreting of history proceeds on the quiet assumption of a mind that has worked its thought and built its purpose into history. In this way the study of history helps us to find our faith and feel our faith. The mind of the reader and writer meet on the printed page. So in our efforts to interpret events, the mind that construes teaches the mind that constructs. And especially does this hold of the great and stirring events of history. It is the effect of a great disaster not only that it humbles us, but humbles us before God ; of a great victory, not only that it exalts us, but exalts us before God. We have known how, when an entire nation is stricken, it is involuntary with us to carry our cross into our churches and our tears into our sermons. Such occurrences have in them a power to make the divine very real, and our dependence upon the divine very actual and very conscious. The poets have a way of calling the

mountains divine ; so events that slope up in colossal proportion from the common level of occurrence seem always in the like way freighted with supernal import. It was, I think, the most impressive feature of our recent Evacuation Day celebration, that, by arrangement of the merchants of New York, a public prayer to Almighty God was offered at this city's monetary center. It has not only intensified our faith in the God of history, and in the strong and gracious Providence that has led in the affairs of our national life, but it has shown to us with fresh distinctness and impressiveness the faith that we already had. That scene on the steps of the Sub-treasury building is a declaration to the world that New York, in the persons of its representative men, acknowledges God as a personal Sovereign of nations and arbiter of events.”

HISTORIC SILVER—At the Bartholdi Loan Exhibition recently I noticed a magnificent silver cake-basket, which belonged, as I afterward learned, to Mrs. Archibald Russell, of New York, to whom it has descended (she being the daughter of the late John Watts, M.D., eldest son of Robert Watts and Lady Mary Alexander, the eldest child of Sarah Livingston and William Alexander, afterward Lord Stirling).

In the Rutherford manuscript papers, now in the possession of Mrs. Charlotte Livingston, widow of John Rutherford (vol. 3, p. 97), is a letter from Lord Stirling to Peter Van Brugh Livingston, of New York. This Peter Van Brugh Livingston, and his sister Sarah—Lady

Stirling—were children of Philip Livingston, second lord of the Livingston manor. The letter is dated, Boston, Mass., March 15, 1756, and has a postscript from Gen. Shirley (to whom William Alexander was private secretary and aid-de-camp) containing a request that Mr. Livingston would call upon Mr. Larue, the silversmith, and see if a silver bread-basket and coffee-pot, left with him by Gen. Shirley were finished. They were intended for presentation to Mrs. William Alexander, and each of the two was to have her arms engraved upon it. Thus, this basket now on exhibition, bearing the Livingston and Alexander arms, is probably the one ordered by Gen. Shirley for Mrs. Wm. Alexander, afterward Lady Stirling.

E. C. JAY.

DEC. 13, 1883.

FUNERAL EXPENSES IN THE OLDEN TIME—*Dear Editor*:—Among some valuable old papers in my possession I find sundry bills, which are curiously illustrative of the cost of funerals about the middle of the last century. One of these bills is to the estate of Mrs. James Alexander, the widow of the prominent lawyer, mother of Lord Stirling, and grandmother of Bishop Provost. It reads as follows:

1760.	William Cook's Acct.	£	s.	d.
To ye Rectors.....		0	13	0
To Opening ye (Trinity) Vault.....		0	9	0
To 5 Bells Tooling, at 18s. each....		4	10	0
To ye Pall.....		0	18	0
To ye Clerks fees.....		0	5	6
To 3 Invitations, at 18s. each.....		2	14	0
To Cleaning ye Church.....		0	12	0
To 6 Porters, at 6s.....		1	16	0
		11	17	6

To a coffin covered with cloth and lined within :			
Finding for ditto, double gilt furniture, full trimmed with all belonging, except cloth lining and ribbon.....	10	00	00
To making up a State Room, finding stuff & tacks.....	0	14	00
	£10	14	00

I find no account however of the "baked meats" and feasts provided for the occasion.

But here is a receipt for pew rent in St. Paul's church, then one of the most fashionable churches of the city.

"Received five dollars for one year's pew hire in St. Paul's church, due 1st May, 1801.

"WILLIAM BROWN."

Truly a pew was not the expensive luxury then that it is now! R.

MRS. VOLCKERT P. DOUW—This estimable lady, who died recently in Albany, was one of that elegant, cultured and refined class who for years have graced the aristocratic homes of the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, as well as of the hills of Otsego. She resided in summer at a beautiful country seat in Greenbush known as "Wolvenhoeck," a mansion built in 1723 with bricks imported from Holland, and in winter she occupied her city home in State Street, Albany. It was on the farm of the Douw family that the English army, and the sixteen Colonial regiments, were encamped in 1755, under General Abercrombie, previous to the attack on Fort Ticonderoga in the French and Indian war. And it was at this

historical spot where "Yankee Doodle" was composed by Dr. Shackleferd, and sung in derision of the four Connecticut regiments, under the command of Col. Thomas Fitch, of Connecticut. Mrs. Douw possessed great

loveliness of character with mental endowments of high order; she was of commanding presence, and in her earlier years a pronounced beauty. Her loss will be deeply mourned by a large and admiring circle of friends.

J. F.

### QUERIES.

WASHINGTON BUTTONS—A copper button, partially plated with silver, was



CENTRAL INITIALS OF WASHINGTON; THOSE OF ORIGINAL STATES WITHIN OVALS OF BORDER.

found in the dust of a country highway some years ago and came into my possession. It is of comparatively fine finish and workmanship. An antiquarian informs me that he has seen three similar buttons in possession of different persons, who call them "Washington buttons." What is known of the history of those buttons and of the occasion of their being made?

THEO. F. WOLFE, M. D.

JERSEY CITY, Dec. 24, 1883.

DE WOLFE—An old history of New York mentions Abraham De Wolf. Broadhead's History of New York (Harpers, 1859) speaks of Dirck De Wolf. Both these persons were from Amsterdam, and manufacturers of salt. Were they both of the same family? Is

there a living descendant of either, or any record of their families?

In Connecticut, we find Balthazar, or Belshazzar, or Bazaleel De Wolf, mentioned in Hartford in 1656, in Wethersfield in 1664. He wrote his own name "Baltazarr dewolf," his son, Edward, added an *e* at the end of the name. Balthazar De Wolf removed to Lyme in 1668, with his sons Edward, Simon and Stephen. He had probably a daughter, Mary, and perhaps other children. Descendants of his name have been prominent families in Rhode Island and Nova Scotia for several generations. The Governor Griswold branch of the Lyme Griswolds are his descendants in the female line.

Can any one connect the New York and Connecticut De Wolfs?

Can the derivation of the name be ascertained? There are said to be high families of the name in Belgium and Germany. There is also a De Wolfe coat of arms in Burke's General Armory, showing an English family of the name.

Please address in reply,

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY,  
New Haven, Conn.

U. S. ENSIGN—Please inform me through your Magazine the origin of design of the U. S. Ensign and oblige,

C. R. MALLINSON,  
TROOP F 2d CAV. FORT CUSTER, M. T.

## REPLIES

IS IT THE FIRST AMERICAN COIN? [x. 518]—The figure of the piece under the above title is something new as a coin. In the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. V. p. 25, will be found a cut from a specimen of Aztec money—so called by all of the early writers on Mexican History; this specimen belongs to a member of the Boston Numismatic Society, and an account of it is given by William S. Appleton. In Vol. 16, p. 1, of the same journal is an account of “*Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America*,” by J. Carson Brevoort, which gives reference to various authors on the subject. No mention is made of any other form of money at that early date.

J. C.

18 SOMERSET ST., BOSTON.

COLONEL DAVID CROCKETT [x. 484]—The closing paragraph of the sketch of Col. Crockett in the December Magazine does great injustice to the defenders of the Alamo, while it unwittingly, I have no doubt, associates Crockett with the only group of skulkers found in that heroic garrison. The passage begins as follows: “The scene is at the Alamo: The Alamo is surrounded by the army of Santa Anna, and but six of the garrison are left alive. *The garrison has surrendered.*” This assertion is all wrong. Not a man of that garrison surrendered, but each one, Crockett among the rest, fell fighting at his post, except the few skulkers referred to. Even they did not surrender; but were dragged from their hiding-place and executed. The writer goes on to say: “Crockett stands alone in an angle of the fort; the barrel of

his shattered rifle in his right hand, and in his left a huge bowie-knife, dripping blood. There is a frightful gash across his forehead, while around him is a complete barrier of about twenty Mexicans lying pell-mell dead and dying.”

The assailants of the Alamo were infantry troops, armed with musket and bayonet, and during the minute, or half minute, which it must have taken Crockett to fell his twenty foes, who had more than twenty at their backs, it is singular that no soldier was able to shoot or pierce him; for a man who wielded a rifle-barrel in one hand, and a big bowie-knife in the other, however robust, must have been an awkward fencer. The passage then continues thus: “Crockett’s look and step are as undaunted and defiant as ever. The word of death is given. A dozen swords are sheathed in that brave heart, and Crockett falls and expires without a groan, a frown on his brow, and a smile of scorn and defiance on his lips—a fitting end to his heroic life.” Now what prevented those twenty swords from doing their office before Crockett got through with striking down twenty of his assailants. A good story, whether true or not, ought to have a spice of probability. All that is known about Crockett’s death is, that, like his companions, he fell fighting at his post. Santa Anna was not accompanied by a corps of ubiquitous, all-seeing reporters, who could describe the last blow and last look of every hero who fell. Crockett’s body was found, not in an angle of the fort, but in a one-gun battery which overtopped the center of the west wall, where his remains were identified by Mr.

Ruiz, a citizen of San Antonio, whom Santa Anna, immediately after the action, sent for and ordered to point out the slain leaders of the garrison.

In regard to the six last survivors, of whom the writer to whom I refer says Crockett was one, the fact from which the story has apparently grown is, that about half an hour, I think it was, after the capture and massacre, four, five, or six men of the garrison were found in one of the rooms of the Alamo, concealed under bundles of forage or some such substance. The discovery was reported to Santa Anna, who ordered the men to be shot, which was at once done; but it is needless to say that Crockett was not one of them. He was already dead at his post when those men were found.

The defence of the Alamo and the fall of its garrison form one of the most heroic incidents in our history; but the true recollection of it is almost buried under fictions, which, from reaction, are liable to throw doubt on the real heroism of the narrative. The name of Crockett has been a fruitful nucleus for those incredible yarns, one of which contradicted his heroic death by bringing him to life in the mines of Mexico. His name seems to have a charm which can secure belief for any romance about him. The author of the article in question gives a truthful account of Crockett's home life, but has evidently been misled by some extravagant story-teller concerning his death.

REUBEN M. POTTER.

AMERICAN HOUSE, HAMILTON, Bermuda.

LAFAYETTE'S REGRETS [ix. 521. x. 82. 83]—Relative to the discussion provoked by my article in the November Magazine, as to whether Lafayette visited

Washington's Headquarters when in Newburgh, September 16, 1824, I would further say that the steamer *James Kent*, having run aground on the Oyster Banks, the party was detained three hours, and thus Lafayette did not arrive at the wharf until seven o'clock in the evening. Immediately entering a brouche, he was escorted in procession through Colden, First, and Smith Streets, to the Orange Hotel, which he never left, except for a few minutes to step into the ball-room in Crawford's Hotel to shake hands with the ladies, until his final departure. The remainder of his time was wholly employed in the Orange Hotel, in receiving and replying to addresses, in visiting there the Hiram Lodge of Free Masons, in resting in his chamber, and in taking supper at 12 o'clock (midnight), when he sat down to table with about one hundred gentlemen. At two A.M. he left the dock for Poughkeepsie. To the official address, in the Orange Hotel, of Francis Crawford, Esq., president of the village, Lafayette replied: "That he returned the corporation and the inhabitants of the village of Newburgh his sincere thanks for the kind reception he met with from them, and for the remembrance of his former services. That he regretted extremely that he could not have arrived at an earlier hour. That it would have given him the greatest pleasure to have visited the house long tenanted by the great Washington, and the ground where the American army had encamped." In the *Newburgh Gazette* for September 18, 1824, and in Eager's *History of Orange County*, are minute and circumstantial accounts of Lafayette's visit.

ASA BIRD GARDNER.

JUDGE ADVOCATE'S OFFICE, GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, 9 *January*, 1884.



## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY —The last stated meeting of the society for the year 1883 was held December 4. The paper of the evening was read by Chief-Justice Charles P. Daly on "Songs and Song-writing," an attractive subject in excellent hands, and its able treatment was favored with many marks of approbation by the cultivated and appreciative audience present. The careful research and nice criticism, with which the paper was replete, threw much new light upon the history of songs, and the recondite principles of feeling and taste involved in their composition; while the graceful recital of many famous examples and their interesting story lent an additional charm to this most entertaining lecture.

The annual meeting for 1884 was held January 2. The yearly reports of the executive committee, treasurer, and librarian were read, showing the steady growth of the collections and the society's general progress and continued prosperity during the past year. Care and prudence continue to characterize the management of its funds. Steadily adhering to its wise policy, it has no debts, no mortgages on its building or its collections, and no outstanding bills. The funds belonging to the society amount to \$69,000. The income during the year was \$12,526.41, and the expenditures were \$8,936.07.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the society for the year 1884: President, Augustus Schell; First Vice-President, Hamilton Fish; Second Vice-President, Benjamin H. Field; Foreign Corresponding Secretary, William M.

Evarts; Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Edward F. De Lancey; Recording Secretary, Andrew Warner; Treasurer, Benjamin B. Sherman; Librarian, Jacob B. Moore. Messrs. Benjamin H. Field, George H. Moore, and William Dowd were appointed members of the executive committee, to serve for four years, and Messrs. Heber B. Durand, Andrew Warner, George H. Moore, John A. Weekes, Daniel Huntington, and Cephas G. Thompson, members of the Committee on the Fine Arts.

The need of enlarged accommodations for its collections in all departments is felt by the society more severely than ever, but the expectation is entertained that, with matured plans, they will shortly be provided. The report presented by the executive committee contained the details of the society's condition and progress, including an interesting synopsis of its history, and its struggles and triumphs during the seventy-nine years of its existence. In view of the fact that its noble work has been accomplished mainly without external aid, public or private, the committee recommended that it should continue to rely on the zeal, interest and substantial aid of its members for the accomplishment of its present effort, notwithstanding it is one virtually to place its extensive collections on a footing commensurate with their value and importance, for the permanent enjoyment and use of the public.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY — The winter meeting of this society was held at the library hall in Portland, December 22, 1883, afternoon and evening.

The meeting was opened with a brief address by the president, Hon. Jas. W. Bradbury, of Augusta. Mr. H. W. Bryant, the librarian and curator, read his quarterly report, and the President called upon Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, for an interesting paper on the British occupation of Penobscot during the Revolution. An excellent paper by Dr. C. E. Banks, U. S. M. H. S., of Washington, D. C., on the first Governor of Maine, Edward Godfrey, was read by Gen. Brown; and William F. Gould, Esq., of Portland, discoursed on the first Banks and Bankers of Portland. Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D., read a paper concerning the Rev. William Screven. The first Baptist church in Charleston, S. C. was organized by men from Kittery. The first knowledge we have concerning the church in Kittery is to be gleaned from a letter written Jan. 3, 1682, from that place, and directed to the Baptist church in Boston, requesting it to assist in founding a church of like faith with its own and that Rev. William Screven be called for its pastor. The church at Boston acted on this letter.

**BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—The annual meeting of this society was held on the evening of January 8th, Vice-President William D. Fobes occupying the chair. The Secretary read the manager's report for the year, and the following officers were elected: President, William D. Fobes; Vice-President, Stephen M. Clement; Recording Secretary, Leon F. Harvey, M.D.; Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, George G. Barnum; Councillors, W. H. H. Newman, Rev. A. T. Chester, D.D., Hon.

James M. Smith, O. H. Marshall, Wm. C. Bryant, Jared H. Tilden, Emmor Haines, Rev. Samson Falk, Ansley Wilcox, George W. Townsend, James Sheldon, Charles B. Germain, Elias S. Hawley, and Maurice Kingsley. Mr. Fobes, on taking the chair as presiding officer for the year, addressed the meeting with great force and earnestness in relation to the future of the society.

**WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—The annual meeting was held January 2d, at its rooms in the Capitol. President John A. Rice called the body to order, after which officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, Hon. John A. Rice; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL.D., Madison; Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL.D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Hon. M. M. Davis, Baraboo; Chauncey C. Britt, Esq., Portage City; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. J. F. Potter, East Troy Lake; Samuel Marshall, Esq., Milwaukee; Hon. John T. Kingston, Necedah; Hon. David Atwood, Madison; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. C. L. Colby, Milwaukee; Hon. J. J. Guppey, Portage City; Fred. S. Perkins, Esq., Burlington. Corresponding Secretary, Lyman C. Draper, LL.D.; Recording Secretary, Robert M. Bashford; Treasurer, Hon. A. H. Main; Librarian, Daniel S. Durrie. At the close of the meeting Dr. Draper—thirty years Corresponding Secretary of this Society—was presented with a handsome silver tea service.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—

The sixty-second annual meeting of this institution was held on the evening of Tuesday, January 8, President William Gammell in the chair. The principal feature of the occasion was the annual address of the president, which embodied a comprehensive account of the progress and work of the society during the year, and was received with marked expressions of appreciation. Hon. Amos Perry, the Secretary, read letters of great interest, and Dr. Charles W. Parsons, chairman of the Library Committee, reported the gifts as exceeding in number and quality those of any previous year. Officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, Professor William Gammell; First Vice-President, Hon. Francis Brinley, of Newport; Second Vice-President, Dr. Chas. W. Parsons; Secretary, Hon. Amos Perry; Treasurer, Richmond P. Everett.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A quarterly meeting of the Chicago Historical Society was held in its hall, January 15, 1884. President Arnold occupied the chair. The Librarian reported upon the accessions to the library, and a paper on "The Thirteenth Amendment in the Illinois Legislature in 1865" was read by Hon. William Bross, who was Lieutenant-Governor at the time the amendment was adopted, February 1, 1865. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold; Vice-Presidents, E. B. Washburne and John Wentworth; Secretary and Librarian, Albert D. Hager; Treasurer, Henry H. Nash.

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THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-ninth

annual meeting in the library hall, in Somerset street, Boston, on Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1884. The occasion was one of marked interest in various respects. Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, the President, who is 85 years of age, occupied the chair, and conducted the proceedings in his accustomed felicitous manner. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Marshall P. Wilder; Vice-presidents, Joseph Williamson of Maine, Joseph B. Walker of New Hampshire, Hiland Hall, Vermont, George C. Richardson, Massachusetts, John R. Bartlett, Rhode Island, Edwin H. Bugbee, Connecticut; honorary Vice-presidents, George William Curtis, LL.D., of New York, and 13 others; corresponding secretary, Edmund F. Slafter; recording secretary, David Haskins, Jr.; treasurer, Benjamin B. Torrey; historiographer, Increase N. Tarbox; librarian, John W. Dean.

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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY — The January meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held at the rooms on Thursday, January 10. The President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, remarked that ninety-four years had passed since the first meetings of the original founders of the society were held, and that six years hence it would celebrate its centennial anniversary. After touching upon several topics of moment, he alluded feelingly to the loss sustained in the recent death of Mr. George Dexter, whom he considered a model secretary and a scholar of exceptional acquirements. Mr. A. B. Ellis read an excellent paper entitled "American Patriotism on the Sea."

## BOOK NOTICES

LIBRARY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN LITERATURE. NO. III. THE GÜE-GÜENCE; A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua. Edited by DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 94. Philadelphia. 1883.

Dr. Brinton has given us in this work the only specimen of the native American comedy in existence, as far as known to him. The manuscript was obtained by the late Dr. Carl Hermann Berendt, in Nicaragua, who, however, made no translation of any portion of it. The story of the comedy is quaint and peculiar, and will be regarded with interest by many who neither count themselves scientists or antiquarians. The grim humor which the native mind seemed to prefer was in a certain peculiarity assumed to deceive and get the better of one's neighbor. The most valuable portion of the book is the Introduction, covering twenty-four pages, with numerous instructive illustrations. It treats of the Nahuatl and Manguel of Nicaragua, their Bailable or dramatic dances, their music and musical instruments, and gives much curious information concerning the play itself. Dr. Brinton says: "No hint as to its author is anywhere found. There are, however, reasons which I consider weighty ones, to believe that it is the production either of a native Indian or a half-caste." Of its age he remarks: "It is probable that we may assign the early portion of the eighteenth century as the latest date for its composition, and there is some evidence that a more remote period is not improbable."

THE LORD IS MY SHEPHERD. The Twenty-third Psalm. In Song and Sonnet. Illustrated. BY WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. Square 12mo, pp. 44. Lee & Shepard. Boston. 1884.

A charming and unique little volume containing twelve original songs and sonnets founded on the twenty-third Psalm, even while appearing simply as one of a group of holiday beauties, must necessarily attract more than ordinary attention. These poems are from the pen of Rev. William C. Richards, whose poetical productions during the last twenty years have delighted so many appreciative readers. With every return of the gift season we are treated to scores of choice collections from the poets, arrayed in every garb which artistic taste and ingenuity can devise, but rarely do we meet on these occasions with a whole volume of original poems, or, as in this instance, with a new and permanent gem in the coronal of sacred Psalmody. Such a work should be individualized, and take its proper rank among original productions. The author

has given us two poems on each verse of the beautiful Psalm, and each poem is accompanied by an appropriate full-page illustration of exceptional merit, both as regards conception and execution. These poems teem with sweetness and sentiment, the thought restrained within the limits of close and clear expression, the movement varied and musical, giving us indeed an exquisitely luxurious sense of the charms of sound and rhythm; and the interpretation of the Psalm is just as well as comprehensive. The publishers have issued the book in admirable taste. It first appeared in the "Golden Floral" style, with silk-fringed, daintily illuminated card-board covers. But it met with such favor that a new edition in permanent binding was presently found indispensable.

A MEMORIAL, with Reminiscences Historical, Personal, and Characteristic, of John Farmer, A.M., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. BY JOHN LE BOSQUET. 16mo, pp. 138. Cupples, Upham & Co. 1884.

Dr. Farmer was a distinguished antiquarian scholar and a Christian philanthropist, who was born in 1789, and died in 1838. He resided during the last seventeen years of his life at Concord, New Hampshire, and was a busy writer on a variety of historical and genealogical subjects. A long list of his published and unpublished works appears in the fifteenth chapter of the little volume before us; not least among which are mentioned "ten bound volumes, duodecimo, of memoirs of more than two thousand graduates of Harvard College, and two bound volumes, same size, of memoirs of graduates of Dartmouth College." During his later years he was occupied in arranging, indexing, and preparing for binding, the public papers of the State of New Hampshire. He left behind him a large mass of material for a second volume of the History of New Hampshire. His "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England" was projected on a broad scale, and was a work of immense labor. He assisted in the formation of the New Hampshire Historical Society, in 1823, and a year or two afterward became its corresponding secretary; an office he continued to fill with eminent ability to the end of his life.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, January 1637|8—September 1664. Published by Authority of the State, under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, Editor. Square

quarto, pp. 563. 1883. Price per volume \$2.50.

This volume contains a minutely accurate transcript of the proceedings and acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, during upward of a quarter of a century prior to 1664, together with four excellent indexes—one to the titles of the bills read, another to the bills passed, a third to names of persons and places, and a fourth to miscellaneous business. The very foundations of Maryland's history are thus made accessible to every inquiring mind. Preceding the main body of the work is an interesting Report of the Committee of Publication—consisting of John W. M. Lee, Bradley T. Johnson, and Hon. Henry Stockbridge—respecting the principles which have governed its action in the work, and the various steps that have been taken by the Historical Society of Maryland to discharge the duty imposed upon it by the State. This committee informs us that they have now a copy of every law passed in the province of Maryland up to 1670, with but very few exceptions. A Calendar of the STATE ARCHIVES, occupying forty or more pages of the work, describes the contents of all the books of legislative records which have been deposited in the fire-proof repository of the Historical Society. This is an exceptionally valuable portion of the work. In the Editor's Preface which follows we learn that the text has been printed exactly as it is written, with all the errors, irregularities of spelling, contractions, eccentricities of punctuation, etc., faithfully reproduced. The true objects in view in providing for the publication of the early archives of the Province have been to secure the documents from further loss, and to place students and investigators abroad in as favorable a position as is enjoyed by those who have access to the original manuscripts.

The work is handsomely printed in clear, bold type, on fine paper, annotated with marginal references. The State of Maryland, the Historical Society, the Committee of Publication, and the accomplished Editor are all to be congratulated upon the successful results of their well-directed efforts.

#### MARYLAND IN THE BEGINNING. A

Brief Submitted to the Historical and Political Science Association of Johns Hopkins University. BY EDWARD D. NEILL. Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 54. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. 1884.

The Maryland charter; the Embarkation of Colonists; the Faith of the Colonists; Arrival in Maryland; The First Commissioners—Thomas Cornwallis, Jerome Hawley, and Leonard Calvert; Leading Men in the Beginning—Justinian Snow, Henry Fleet, and George Evelyn; Balti-

more's Dispute with Jesuit Missionaries; The Act of 1649 concerning Religion; and the Jesuit Mission, are the principal topics embodied in this concise little treatise, which bears the impress of careful study, and is written in clear, forcible English.

APPLETON'S GUIDE TO MEXICO, Including a Chapter on Guatemala, and a complete English-speaking Vocabulary. BY ALFRED R. CONKLING, LL.B., Ph.B. With a Railway Map and Illustrations. 12mo. pp. 378. D. Appleton & Co. New York. 1884.

Mexico is fast becoming one of the most interesting countries in the world. Hence it is no matter of wonder that the want of a guide-manual should have of late been keenly felt by the throngs of tourists, capitalists and speculators visiting that country, or that the demand should have met with an intelligent response in the appearance of such a necessary volume. But we hardly looked for so extensive an amount of useful and general information as we find condensed into these well-digested pages. How to reach Mexico, the cost and methods of travel, and the proper season for a visit, whether of pleasure or profit, are natural inquiries quickly answered in the opening chapter. But as we turn the leaves one after another we acquire wisdom in a multitude of unexpected directions, more particularly in relation to history and chronology, geography and topography, literature, concerning important ruins, commerce, architecture, painting, mineral wealth, geology, zoölogy, agriculture, religion, and education. We are nearly half through the book, our interest thoroughly aroused in Mexico, its condition, its progress, and its needs, when we reach Part Second, and begin a new lesson in Mexico's "Cities and Routes of Travel." The work abounds in illustrations, and its railway maps are excellent. It is the best and most complete guide-book to a great and growing country that we have ever seen. Its information is presented in agreeable style, its reading matter is attractive, and it is the only book of this description concerning Mexico known to exist. The traveler henceforward will, we predict, make this model manual as much a part of his luggage as his hand-glass or pocket-knife.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS OF ORVILLE DEWEY, D.D. Edited by his daughter, MARY E. DEWEY. 12mo. pp. 366. Roberts Brothers. Boston. 1883.

With the exception of Dr. Channing, no clergyman occupied a more prominent position in

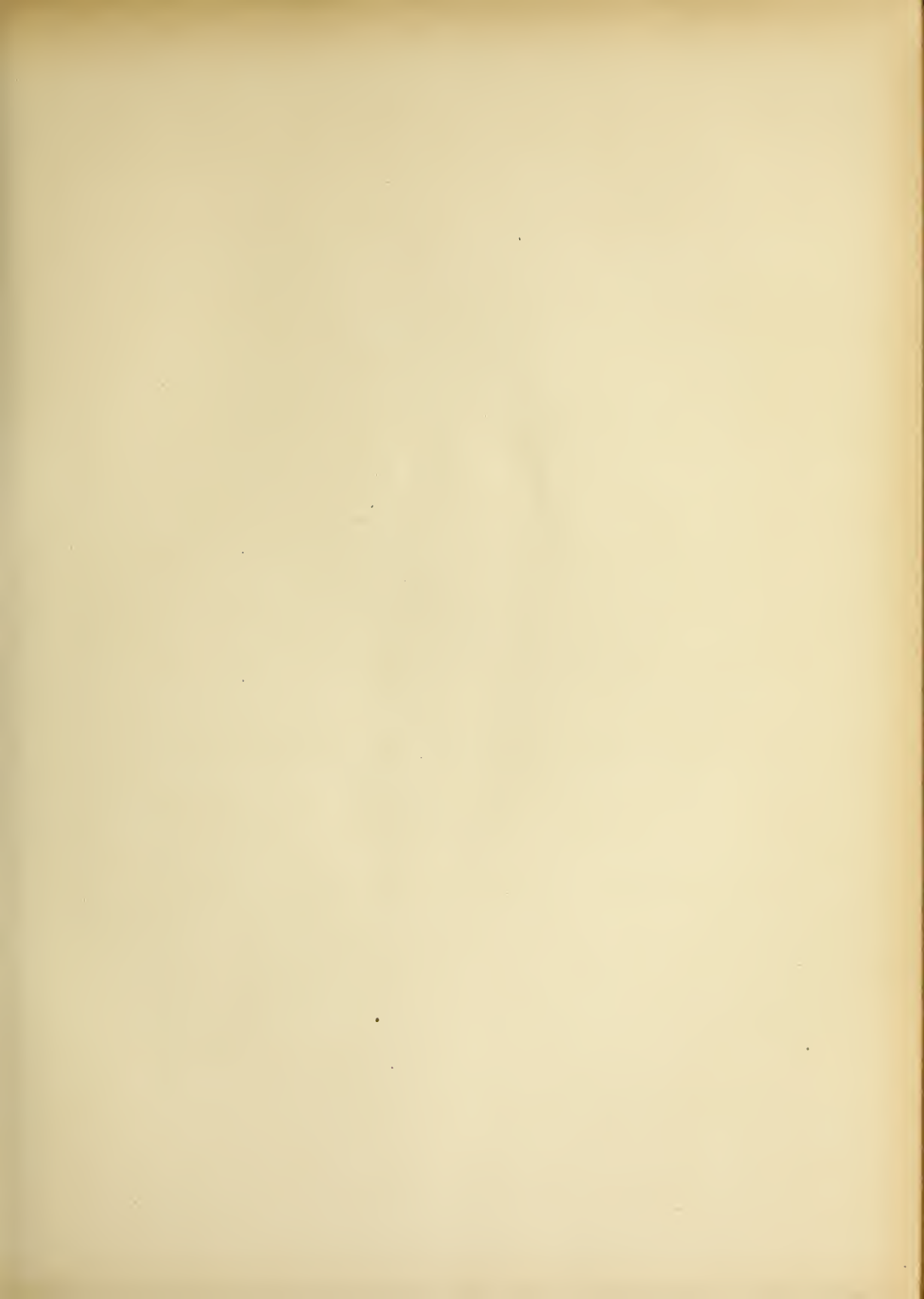
the early annals of American Unitarianism than Dr. Dewey. The sketch of his own life, written in his declining years, occupies the first one hundred and sixteen pages of this volume, and while it reveals but little of the real man as he appeared in the most active and influential part of his career, it is charmingly readable. He describes the little town of Sheffield, where he was born, in 1794, and tells how his grandparents came there through the woods on horseback, from Westfield, before any roads were built; he gives us glimpses of his child-life, of school exhibitions in the meeting-house—the stage laid upon the pews—of holidays, singing-schools, militia musters, of the books he read in his youth, of his first acquaintance with Dr. Channing, of the distinguished men he met in after years, and of many varied and interesting experiences. He presents a graphic account of the church on the corner of Mercer and Prince Streets, New York City, over which he was installed pastor in 1835; of its destruction by fire in 1837, and of the erection of its successor—the Church of the Messiah—in 1839. Among the New Yorkers of whom he speaks are Peter Cooper, Joseph Curtis, and William Cullen Bryant, who were members of his congregation. He often visited Moses Grinnell in his hospitable home, meeting there Washington Irving and other notables. Jonathan Goodhue, the great merchant, he says, “was a man whom nobody that knew him can ever forget. Tall and fine-looking in person, simple and earnest in manner, with such a warmth in his accost that to shake hands with him was to feel happier for it all the day after. I remember passing down Wall Street one day when old Robert Lenox was standing by his side. After one of those warm greetings I passed on, and Mr. Lenox said: ‘Who is that?’ ‘Mr. Dewey, a clergyman of a church in the city.’ ‘Of which church?’ said Mr. Lenox. ‘Of the Unitarian Church.’ ‘The Lord have mercy upon him!’ said the old man. It was a good prayer, and I have no doubt it was kindly made.”

Dr. Dewey's health failing, he traveled extensively in Europe and elsewhere; he passed a few winters in Washington. He does not seem to have been satisfied with the results of his study of the philosophy of history and humanity, and complains of his “understanding falling into contradiction with the judgments it formed last month or last year.” He held positive views on the question of slavery, to which he gave forcible expression in a time of great excitement, that “the law must be obeyed,” which brought upon him an immeasurable torrent of abuse. He was gifted in oratory, and as a preacher will be best remembered by the public. His daughter has made a wise selection from his correspondence, which adds greatly to the substantial value of the volume.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW. Vol. I., No. I. Published monthly. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The publication of a new religious monthly, edited by five theological professors, is in itself an event in periodical literature worthy of special notice. It announces for its object positive and constructive work in the sphere of opinion and belief, rather than controversy, and will advocate the method and spirit of Progressive Orthodoxy. One of its notable features will be the survey by competent writers of the religious condition of other countries, particularly of those in which missionaries are actively at work. Questions relating to the building of society at the West, and to its reconstruction at the South, will be discussed by men engaged in the work; and practical studies in Sociology will be given from time to time. It promises also to become a critical organ in Biblical, historical and philosophical matters. The initial number of this new and interesting publication covers one hundred and twenty royal octavo pages. Its leading article is by Professor Egbert C. Smyth, one of the editors, and is an admirable presentation of the theological position of the *Review*. Washington Gladden, D.D., writes of Christianity and Æstheticism; Professor Jewett, of the Norris gifts to the Andover Seminary; Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., of New York, contributes A Bible Study—The Unjust Steward; Professor Harris writes of the Doctrine of Sacred Scriptures, which is substantially a review of Professor Ladd's recent work; Augustus F. Beard, D.D., surveys the Huguenot churches of modern France in a particularly happy manner, bringing together a mass of facts never before collected into the same relationship; and Miss Caroline Hazard contributes two short poems. There is also an editorial department, with notes, notices and other matters of moment, not least among which may be found a chapter of intelligence from the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Leyden, September 10-15, 1883, that brought together more than two hundred scholars from various parts of the world. The editors of the *Andover Review* are Professors Egbert C. Smyth, William J. Tucker, J. W. Churchill, George Harris, and Edward Y. Hincks. We cordially commend this new enterprise to the careful attention of our readers.

ANNOUNCEMENT—The Griswold Family of Connecticut—in three parts, the first of which appears in our current issue—a most agreeable as well as scholarly chapter of history, biography, and genealogy combined, by Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, will be continued through the March and April numbers of the Magazine.—EDITOR.





*J. P. Brissot*  
geboren den 14<sup>ten</sup> Jenner 1754  
Deputirter bey der ersten Gesetzgebung  
aus dem Departement von Paris  
guillotiniert den 29<sup>ten</sup> October 1793.



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## OUR TWENTY-ONE PRESIDENTS

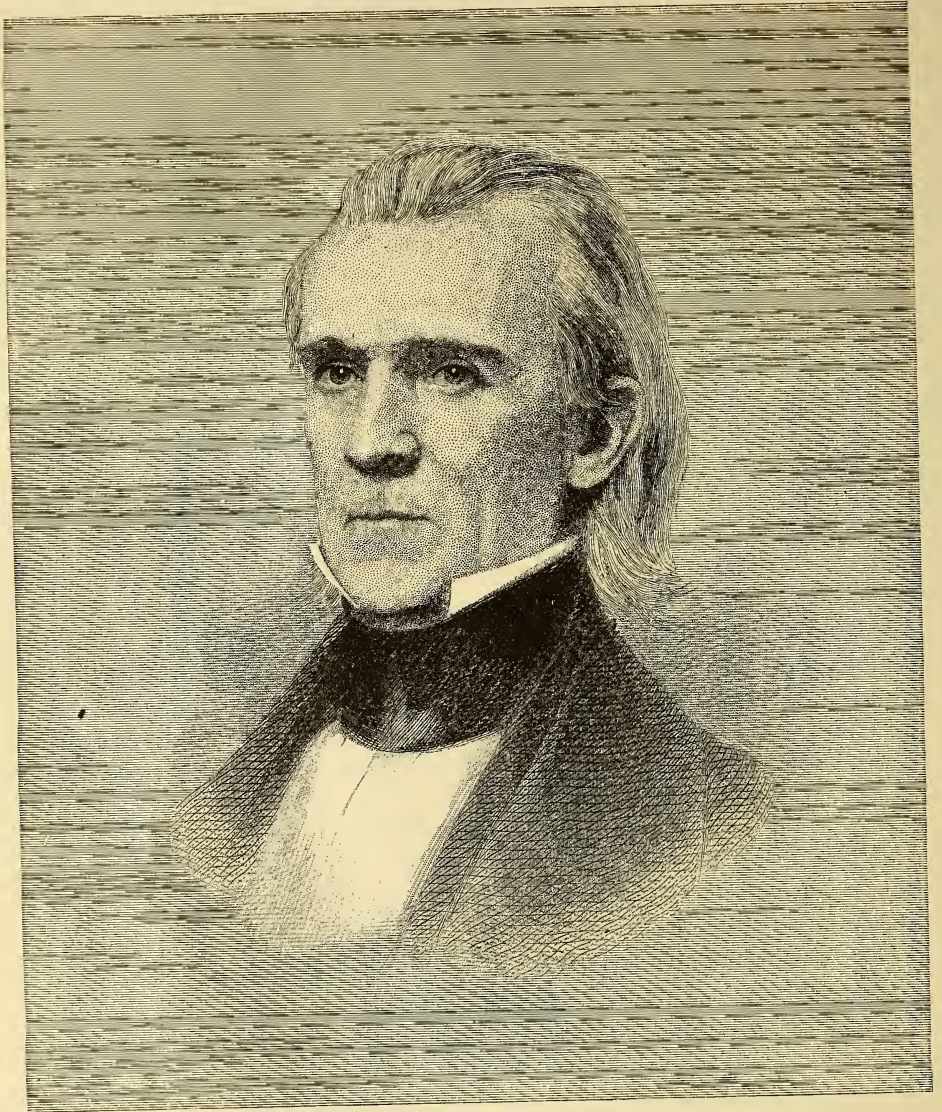
### II.

#### THE LAST ELEVEN.

IN the paper on the first ten presidents which was printed in the February number of this Magazine it was shown that the average length of presidential service has considerably decreased as the years of the Republic have grown in number. A not less interesting fact is that the age at which men are called to the presidency has also decreased to a surprising extent, the decrease beginning with the second division of the list. Taking only the years of their ages, and omitting the months, we find that the average age of the first ten presidents, at the time of entering upon the office, was fifty-eight and eight-tenths years; while that of the last eleven has been only fifty-three and nine-elevenths years. Indeed only two of the eleven had reached the average age of the first ten at the time of their inauguration. These two were Taylor and Buchanan.

When we remember that five of the first ten served for eight years each, while only one of the last eleven did so, it will be seen that the difference is still more marked between the average age of presidents in office during the first fifty-six years, and that of those in office during the last forty years.

But if we divide the whole list of presidents into four groups—three of five each and one of six—it will be seen that the decrease has been confined entirely to the last two groups—the last eleven presidents. The average age of the first five—from Washington to Monroe—was precisely the same as that of the second five,—from John Quincy Adams to Tyler,—namely, fifty-eight and eight-tenths years. With the third group of five, however—from Polk to Buchanan—the decline was sharp, the average being only fifty-six years. With the remaining six—from Lincoln to Arthur—it sinks to fifty-two years.



*James K. Polk*

1845-1849.

[From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

The oldest president ever put into office was Harrison, who was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his inauguration. The youngest was General Grant, who became president at forty-seven.

One or two further facts of a curious character may be mentioned before we turn to the consideration of the group of presidents whose portraits accompany the present article. The century that gave birth to the union of thirteen States, gave birth also to thirteen of the presidents, namely the first twelve and Mr. Buchanan. Fillmore was the first president whose birth occurred in the nineteenth century, and he was born in the first year of the century. Two presidents have died in office from natural causes; two have died by criminal violence. Two of those who have succeeded from the vice-presidency have broken with the party that elected them. One president—James Buchanan—was a bachelor; and one—John Tyler—was married during his term of office.

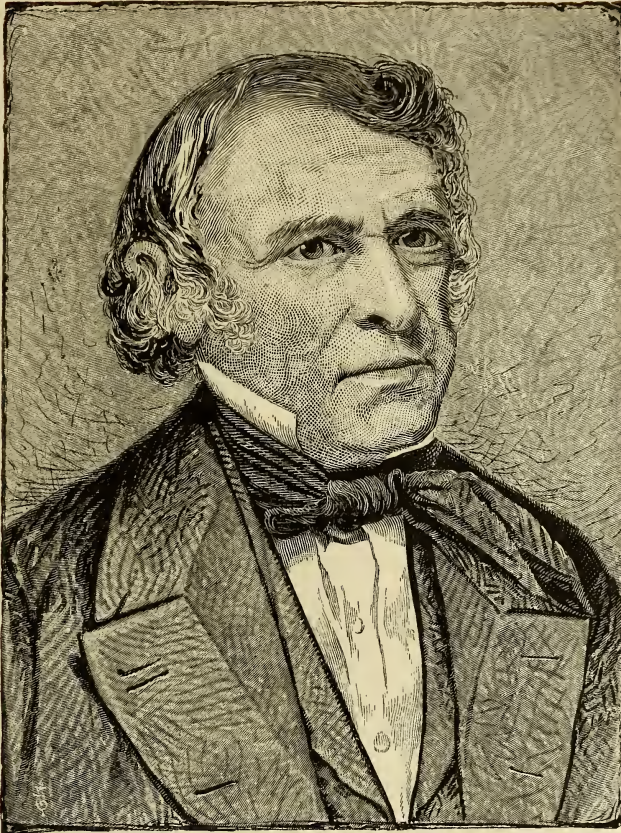
The election of Polk was in the nature of a plebiscitum. Personally he was far less distinguished than his opponent, Mr. Clay. His party had been in the minority at the last preceding election, and, upon purely party grounds, his nomination was scarcely the strongest that could have been made. That is to say, he was not the foremost leader of the Democrats. On the contrary, he was a comparatively obscure man in politics, although he had served for a considerable time in Congress and had been speaker of the House of Representatives. He was scarcely anybody's first choice for the nomination, but he was voted for in the convention because no one of the more prominent leaders could secure the necessary two-thirds vote. He was chosen by way of compromise, and his nomination gave great offense to many Democrats. There were sharp divisions in that party, too, on questions of policy, and these seemed still further to diminish Polk's chances of election. On the other hand, the Whigs had nominated Mr. Clay, their undisputed leader and a statesman of the highest reputation throughout the country. His political standing and personal popularity were so great that for a time his election was regarded as certain. In August, 1844, so shrewd a political seer as Governor R. P. Letcher wrote to Buchanan, earnestly warning him, in the interest of his own political future, to avoid activity in behalf of Polk. "Polk has no more chance to be elected," he wrote, "than if he were now *dead and buried and damned*, as he will be in due time."

But the election turned upon other than mere party questions, or questions of personal popularity. The people were called upon to decide by their votes whether or not Texas should be annexed to the Union. The election of Clay would have been a decision in the negative; the election

of Polk was a decision in the affirmative. The desire of the South to increase southern territory, and the more general wish of the people of other parts of the country to enlarge the national domain, were strongly reinforced by the fear that Texas, if left unannexed, might fall into English or other unfriendly possession; and the popular interest in this question overbore all other considerations. The election became, as I have said, a plebiscitum, to decide whether or not an imperial domain should be added to the territory of the Republic, and; upon that issue chiefly, Polk was chosen President by a considerable electoral majority. The will of the people was so distinctly expressed in favor of annexation, that Congress passed the measure without waiting for the new President's inauguration. During his term the war with Mexico, which had been foreseen as a necessary consequence, ensued, and Polk conducted that and the other affairs of the country with vigor and success in administration.

We now encounter another of those anomalies of which our political history is full. The Mexican war had been a Democratic measure, and the Whigs had bitterly denounced it as such. It had added an imperial possession of untold value to the country's domain, and in its course had given additional luster to American arms. In the natural order of events the glory and the gain should have inured to the benefit of the Democratic party which had brought about the war in opposition to the Whigs. But the Whigs quickly seized upon the results and turned them to their own advantage. They selected the chief heroes of the struggle for their presidential candidates in the next two elections, and in the first of them they won by virtue of the popularity of the war which they had so bitterly denounced as a wicked measure of their opponents.

In Taylor's case, at least, if not in Scott's, their choice was determined almost solely by the fact of his great prominence in that war and his consequent popularity. He was not in any sense a Whig leader. It was even doubtful, at first, whether he was a Whig at all, and it was necessary to ask him in order to find out. He cared so little for politics that he had not voted for forty years, and hence had never voted for any Whig candidate, as that party was then less than forty years old. In declaring his allegiance to the party that proposed him for the chief magistracy of the country he was careful to qualify his profession of faith by saying that he was "a Whig, but not an ultra Whig." Certainly he had not been ultra in his support of his party, and there was a good deal of dissatisfaction among the Whig leaders when he was nominated. They had among their number some of the foremost statesmen in the country, including both Clay and Webster, while Taylor was not a statesman at all. Webster



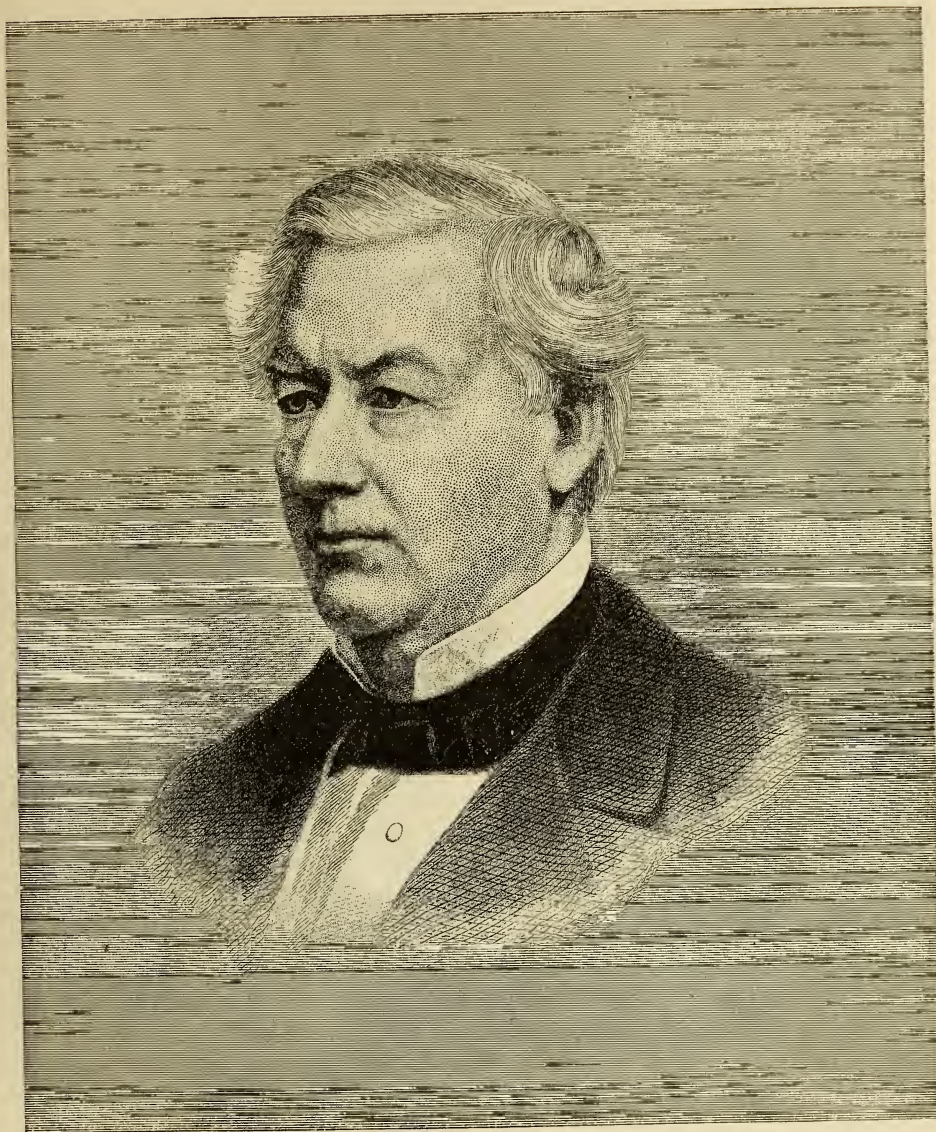
*Zachary Taylor.*

1849.

called him an "ignorant frontier colonel," which was not altogether a correct characterization, for he was not a colonel, but a major-general, whose rank had been fairly won by good work in his profession. But he was certainly ignorant. He knew nothing of civil affairs, and had received a very meager education in his youth. He was a frontiersman and a soldier, and nothing else. He had shrewdness and ability, but his mind had been trained only in military affairs.

Taylor had, however, precisely the qualities which had won popular favor for Jackson and Harrison. He was a man of the people. His life

had been adventurous and dramatic. He had won the admiring nickname of "Old Rough and Ready," as Jackson had that of "Old Hickory." His military achievements had been remarkable, and of a kind to arouse popular admiration. As the hero of Palo Alto and Buena Vista, he brought to the service of the Whigs the glory of a war which they had opposed, and helped them to win by means of that very enthusiasm for conquest which had overthrown them four years before. His nomination, like that of Harrison, was founded exclusively upon considerations of availability, and his election was due to the fervor of popular admiration for the man and his exploits of arms rather than to popular convictions with respect to questions of national policy. Such questions, indeed, scarcely entered into the campaign at all, and if they had done so, Taylor knew very little concerning them. He expressed serious doubt of his own fitness to deal with civil affairs, and the statesmen of his party shared his doubts very sincerely. But his name was a watchword among the people. He represented personal prowess, and—more important still—striking success in arms; and these, as two previous elections had shown, were the chief subjects of popular admiration. Those very deficiencies of education and of experience in civil affairs which excited doubt in the minds of the judicious, commended the candidate to the favor of the people. They liked him the better because he was a plain man, unfamiliar with political life and untrained in the schools. In calling him "Old Rough and Ready," they admiringly emphasized the roughness quite as much as the readiness. His war-horse was more talked about than his political principles. A mention of "Old Whitey" in a speech called forth more applause than any exposition of Whig doctrines could. It was a time of wild enthusiasm for the glorification of a popular hero. Taylor had battled with the Indians in hand-to-hand conflicts. He had conquered the Rio Grande valley. He had overthrown Mexican armies outnumbering his own three to one. The American name was exalted in him, and the common people, especially, were represented in his person and character. For these things they meant to make him president. They crowned themselves with "Buena Vista" hats and honored their hero with their votes, knowing and caring little about the questions on which the two great political parties were at variance. Their patriotism found more natural expression in the elevation of a man who had done so much to exalt the country's name than it could have found in efforts to promote one or another policy in the conduct of affairs; and it cannot be doubted that there is a certain salt of sincerity in such expressions of patriotism which is by no means to be despised as a factor of safety in a Republic. The love of country which takes this con-



*Millard Fillmore*

1849-1853.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

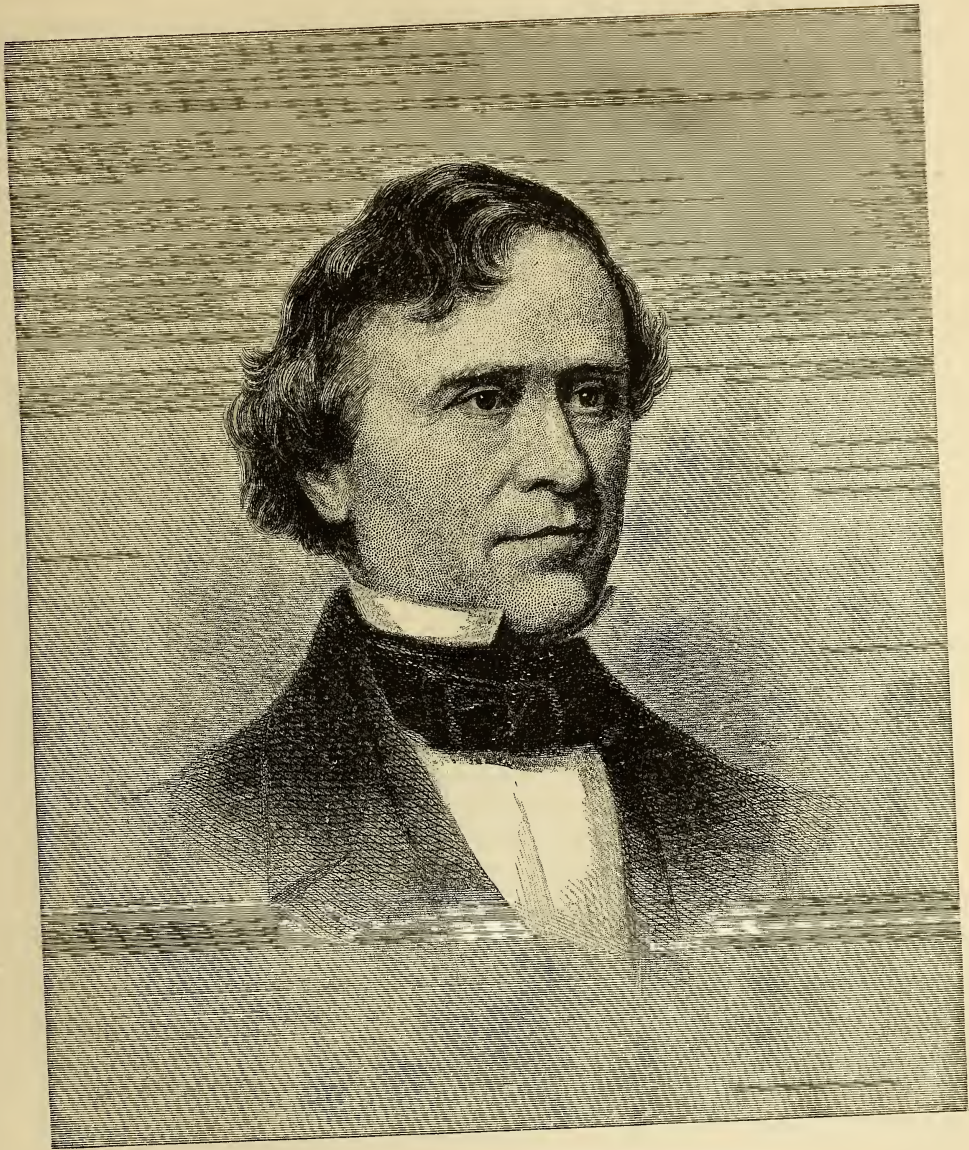
crete, personal form, is not very thoughtful or very judicious ; but it is sound and desperately in earnest, and it is a spirit which may be depended upon to serve the nation faithfully in times of stress. It makes of the Republic a goddess to be worshiped, and of the people willing sacrifices, ready, if need be, to suffer a glad martyrdom in defense of the flag. It does not discriminate nicely with respect to measures or the personal qualifications of men ; but it exalts patriotism as the first of virtues, and stimulates devotion to the Republic by rewarding it unstintedly.

Mr. Fillmore, who, as vice-president, succeeded to the presidency on the death of Taylor, was also a man of the people, but in a different sense. Born of poor parents, he received a very meager education, and early began to support himself by manual labor. But his advancement came to him by virtue of personal effort for improvement. He supplied the deficiencies of his early training by later study and by association with men of education. He acquired a thorough knowledge of the law, and won distinction at the bar. In politics his success was achieved by earnest work in the direction of statesmanship, and it was as a statesman that he received the nomination for vice-president.

His political course presented some contradictions, which appear to have resulted from his sincerity in following his convictions, even when these suffered change and involved inconsistency. He did not share the Whig views respecting the old National Bank, but he once put forth a suggestion of his own for a national banking system not unlike that which is now in existence. In Congress he was early numbered among anti-slavery men ; he supported John Quincy Adams in the celebrated controversy respecting the right of petition ; he advocated the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the suppression of the slave trade among the states ; and he opposed the annexation of Texas except under conditions similar to those that were afterward embodied in the Wilmot Proviso. Yet as president he approved the Compromise measures of 1850, and lost whatever chance he had for the nomination of his party in the next election by signing and seeking to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. After the questions growing out of slavery had become the chief subjects of dispute in national politics, he accepted a nomination for the presidency at the hands of those of his party associates who refused to follow the main body into the new Republican organization.

In the election of 1852 both parties had difficulty in choosing their candidates, and both in the end passed their foremost statesmen by to nominate men of less prominence in politics. The Democratic convention was divided between Buchanan, Marcy, Cass, Douglas, Dickinson and





*Franklin Pierce*

1853-1857.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

other leaders, but no one of them could win the necessary number of votes. It was only after thirty-five ballotings had resulted in nothing that the Virginia delegates suggested Franklin Pierce as a compromise candidate, and he was not nominated until the forty-ninth balloting was reached.

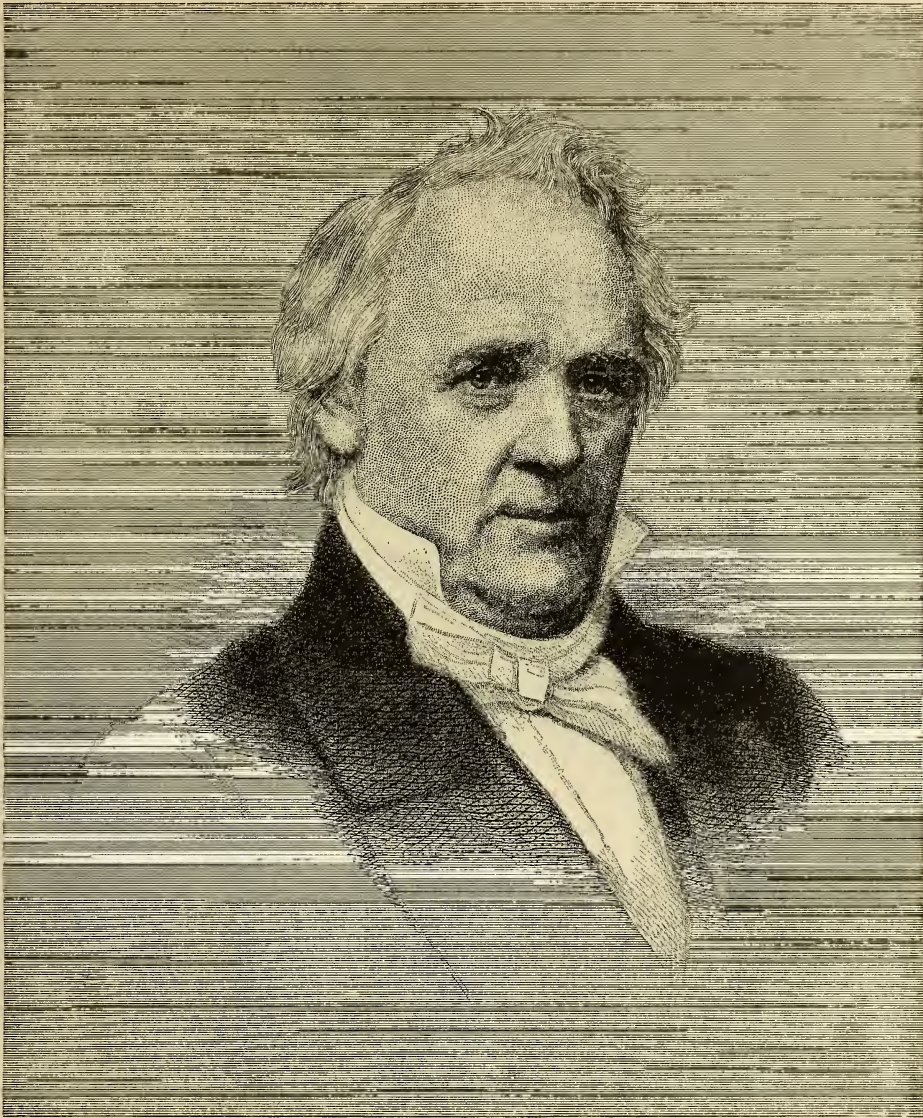
The Whig convention had still greater difficulty, and after fifty-two ballotings nominated General Scott.

Pierce was almost unknown to the country. He had served creditably in both houses of Congress, but had made no national reputation. He had also fought well as a brigadier-general of volunteers in the Mexican war, but neither his rank nor his services there had been of a kind to make him a popular hero. The great majority of the people had never heard of him in any capacity. So little was he known, indeed, that his name was at first variously printed at the head of the columns of his own party journals, appearing sometimes as "Frank Pierce," sometimes as "Franklin O. Pierce," and sometimes correctly. At a loss for something to say about him, one editor resorted to a sort of fortune-telling, and predicted Pierce's election to be the fourteenth president because there were just fourteen letters in his name, and because the letters "F. P." were the initials of "fourteenth president" as well as of Franklin Pierce.

The Whigs, on the other hand, by their nomination of the remaining hero of the Mexican war appealed again to the popular spirit which had served them so well in 1848. Scott had the advantage, too, of a brilliant earlier reputation won at Lundy's Lane.

So far, the advantage seemed to lie with the Whigs; but the fervor of the war spirit was spent, or, to put the matter more accurately, other subjects of strenuous interest occupied the attention of the people. The slavery question, which had so seriously disturbed the country during Taylor's and Fillmore's administrations, was felt to be the most menacing thing that the future held in store for us, and throughout the land there was an eager desire to set it forever at rest if that might be. A new party had arisen whose purpose was agitation, and whose cardinal doctrine was that of active opposition to the extension of slavery; and although this new party's strength was still comparatively insignificant, its existence aroused the people to a sense of danger and increased their eagerness to put the whole subject out of politics by the emphatic declaration of their will that the Compromise measures of 1850 should be deemed a final settlement of that question.

In adopting their platforms, the two parties pronounced in favor of that course with equal emphasis. But the Democratic declaration of intention



*James Buchanan*

1857-1861.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," expressed the general if not the universal opinion of the party; and the candidate chosen was in the fullest accord with the doctrine set forth. The Whig resolutions to the same effect were equally strong, but were by no means equally representative of party sentiment. They were adopted by the convention, but there was a stormy minority in that body which voted against the declaration. Moreover, seventy of the delegates from northern states, who voted against the measure, were the active supporters of Scott for the nomination, in opposition to Webster, Fillmore, and other Whig leaders, and so his nomination was understood to be, in a sense, the triumph of that part of the Whig party—and it was a considerable part—which refused to be bound by the act of the majority and declined to regard the resolutions embodied in the platform as a true expression of Whig doctrine.

The effect of all this was to place the Democratic party and candidate before the people as the representatives of the popular wish for peace on this question, and to give to Pierce's election somewhat the character of a popular decision against the further agitation of a subject which gravely threatened the future of the country. The Democrats were united in this purpose, while the Whigs were divided and were supporting a candidate whose nomination had been sought by that part of the party which refused to give a pledge against agitation.

The election showed how general the desire was to remove the subject of slavery from politics, and to avoid disturbing the compromise already made. Pierce received 254 electoral votes, and Scott but 42. Moreover, two of the four states which alone voted for Scott were southern—namely Kentucky and Tennessee—and it is obvious that for their votes he was indebted to the general strength of the Whig party within their borders, and not to any sympathy existing there with those Whigs in the north who refused to accept the declaration of the convention as binding upon the party.

The election that made Pierce president was the last national contest in which the Whig party had an active share. It had never succeeded in breaking the power of its opponents. Twice, indeed, its candidates had been elected to the presidency; but in both cases the success was due, as we have seen, to special circumstances and to the personal popularity and military repute of the candidates. Moreover, both the presidents elected by the Whigs died in office, the one within a month, the other a little more than a year after his inauguration. In the first case, the succeeding



*Abraham Lincoln*

1861-1865.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

vice-president, by acting with the Democrats, deprived the party of the fruits of its victory; in the other, the course of the vice-president, after his accession to the chief-magistracy, was offensive to a large minority of the party. Thus, during the whole period of its existence, the Whig organization had held control of the executive office for only four years, and then in a way displeasing to many of the Whigs.

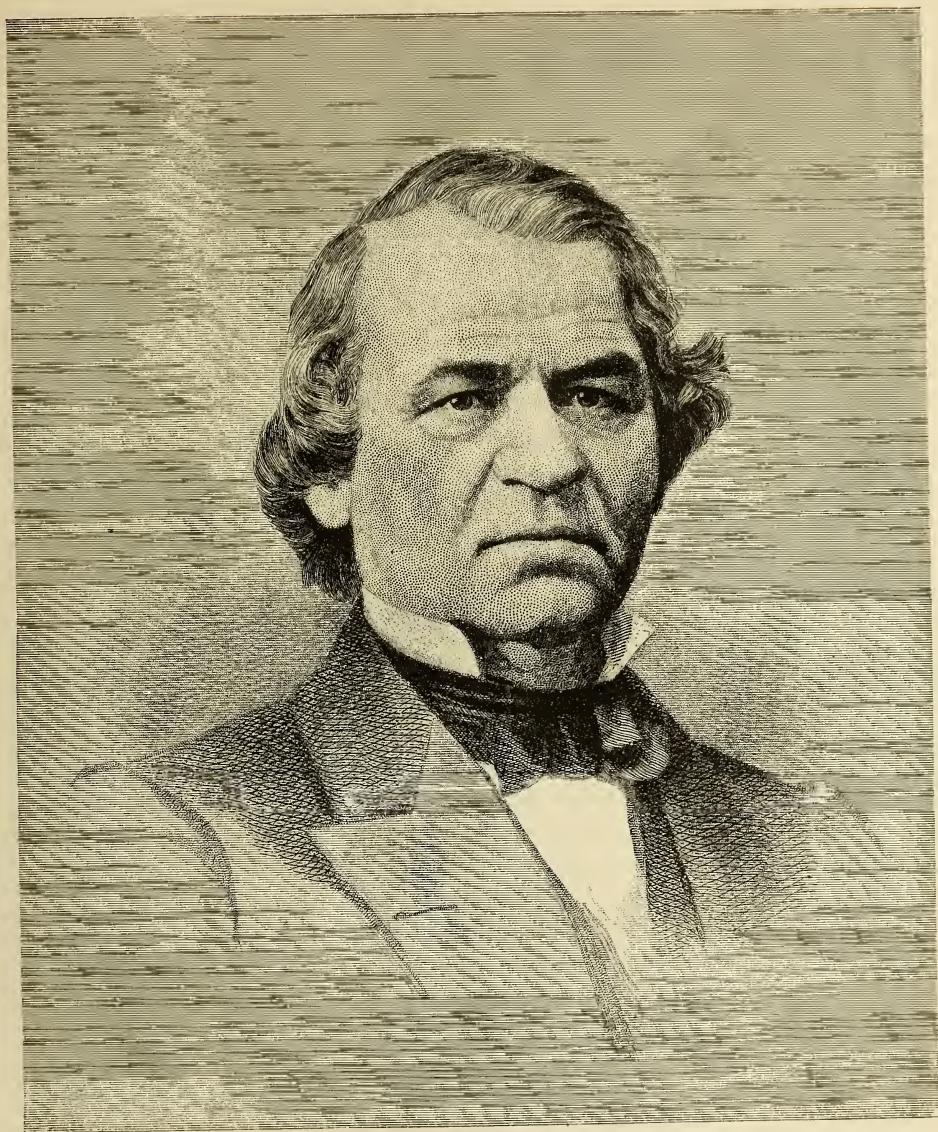
This want of success doubtless contributed to the party's decay; but a more active cause was at work to that end. The election of Pierce did not settle the slavery question. The agitation which it was intended to suppress not only continued, but increased in violence and stress. In connection with the territories, the relations of the country to slavery became the subject of paramount and almost exclusive interest. Men who had hoped and labored to remove the question from politics were forced to take sides upon it, to join actively in its agitation, and to determine their party relations by that single test.

The insignificant Free Soil party of 1852 had become the Republican party in 1856, and it was then the only real contestant of Democratic supremacy in national affairs. It had destroyed the Whig party, by drawing to itself the anti-slavery element and driving the pro-slavery Whigs into the camp of their ancient enemies.

The Republicans nominated Fremont, because of his supposed availability, in preference to any one of its statesmen of recognized political ability, of whom there were many in the party of no little distinction in national politics.

The Democrats, for the first time in many years, nominated one of their representative leaders, Mr. Buchanan. A third party, consisting mainly of old Whigs who were unwilling either to follow their former associates in supporting the Republican candidate, or to unite with the Democrats, nominated Mr. Fillmore.

The fact that questions relating to slavery were almost the only issues of the campaign, gave to party divisions a much more distinctly geographical character than they had ever before assumed. Both candidates for the presidency were citizens of Northern States, it is true; but with Mr. Buchanan the Democrats had nominated a Southerner for Vice-President, while both of the Republican candidates were from the North. Moreover, while the Democratic candidate relied upon the South for the greater part of his strength, the Republicans had neither support nor the hope of support in that quarter. As if to emphasize this dangerous point still more strongly, Mr. Buchanan's nomination was secured in opposition to the wish of Mr. Douglas's friends by the activity of a prominent South-



*Andrew Johnson*

1865-1869.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

erner in the convention. It was thus, in a sense, the South that nominated him.

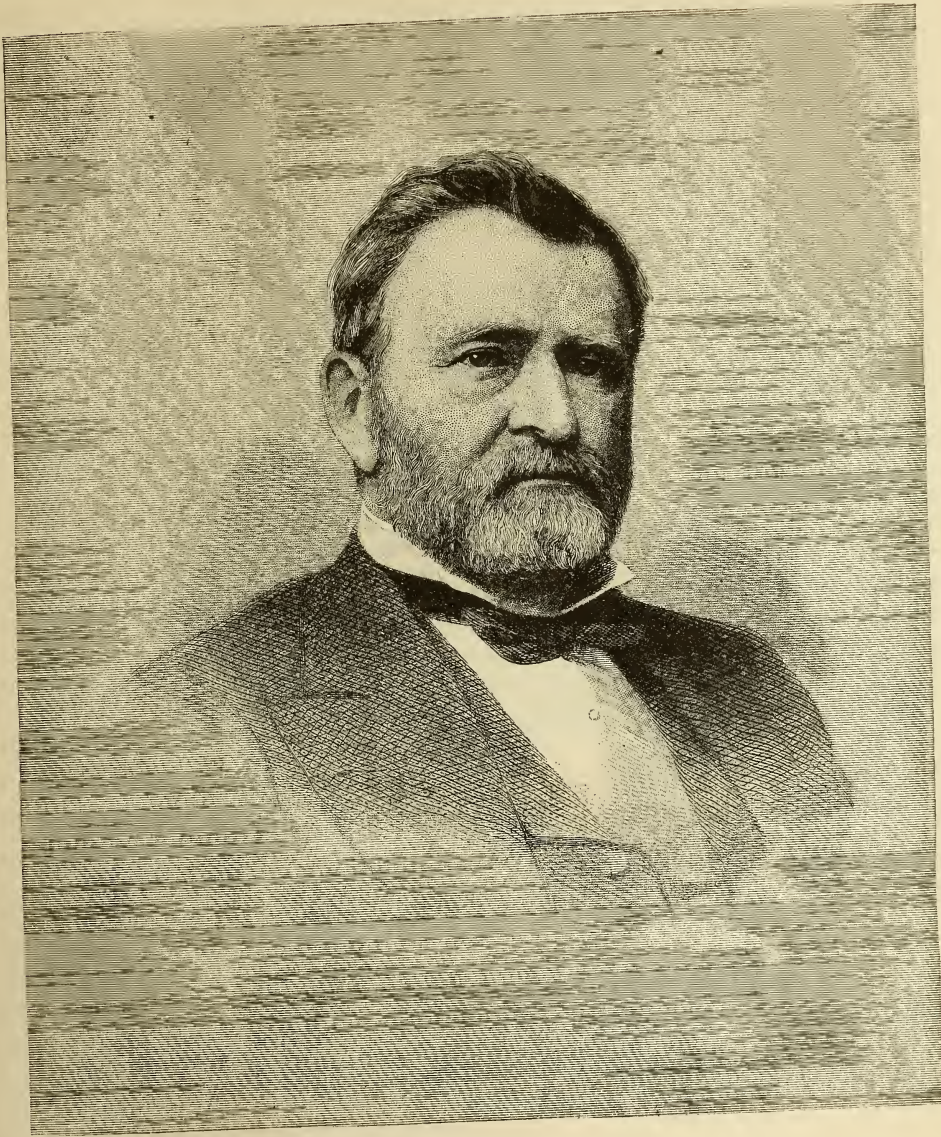
In the election, Buchanan received the electoral votes of five Northern States and of every Southern State except Maryland, which voted for Fillmore. Fremont carried the rest of the Northern States, receiving 114 electoral votes, against 174 for Buchanan and 8 for Fillmore.

Buchanan had been one of the most prominent Democratic leaders for a long period. He was held in high respect by his associates, and had long been regarded as a probable candidate for the Presidency. In early life he had been a Federalist, but, in common with the great majority of the adherents of that party, he changed his political relations after the war of 1812, in which he served as a volunteer. From that time until his death—more than half a century later—he remained a Democrat, and was nearly always in public life. He served five terms in the House of Representatives; was sent as Minister to Russia by Jackson; was elected to the Senate in 1833, and continued a Senator until 1844, when he left the Senate to accept the office of Secretary of State under Polk; he was Minister to England under Pierce, and finally became president. Next to Harrison, he was the oldest of the presidents at the time of his election.

The political history of Mr. Buchanan's administration is that of the continued growth of the excitement over the slavery question. The Dred Scott decision and the Harper's Ferry raid greatly intensified the feeling upon both sides, and there was no longer a hope, even in the minds of the most hopeful, of avoiding a direct political conflict upon this single issue. The Democratic party itself could no longer maintain its unity. It was divided into two parts, representing radically different policies, each of which nominated its own candidate for the succession, while a part of what would otherwise have been its strength was drawn off by still another nomination—that of Mr. Bell—which was made in the hope that it might serve as a means of reuniting the opposition to the Republican party. That party, notwithstanding its rapid growth in numbers, had not yet secured the allegiance of a majority of the people. In the election there were 4,645,390 votes cast, of which Mr. Lincoln received only 1,857,610, while the votes against him numbered 2,787,780, divided among the other three candidates. His electoral majority, however, was the decisive one of 180 against 123. The division between the two sections was sharply drawn; the electoral votes of every free State were cast for Mr. Lincoln; those of every slave State against him.

The campaign which resulted in this way has sometimes been likened to that in which Harrison was elected, but the resemblance is rather

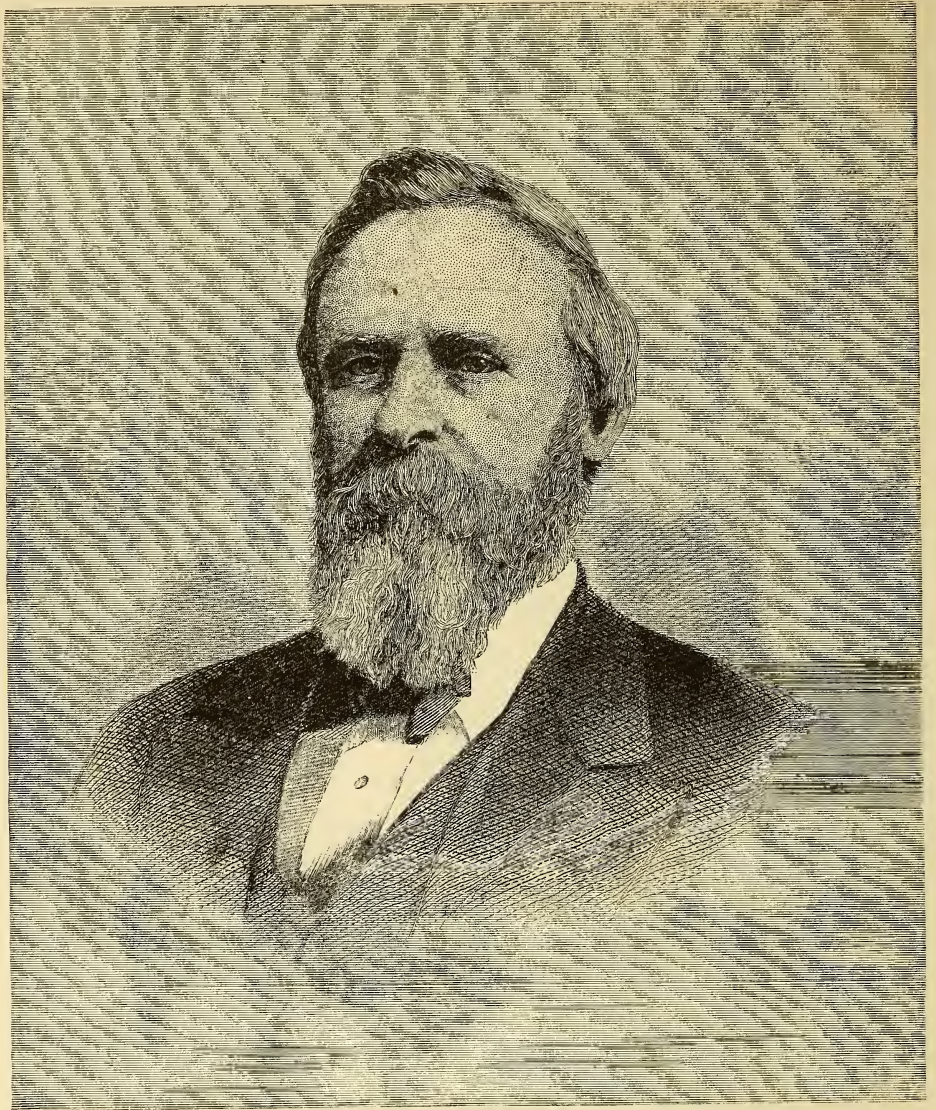




*U. S. Grant.*

1869-1877.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]



*R. B. Hayes*

1877-1881.

[From an engraving by H. Wright Smith.]

fancied than real. The humble plainness of Mr. Lincoln's early life on the frontier was somewhat talked about during the canvass, but the election turned upon a great question of national politics, in which every voter on both sides was deeply and even passionately interested. Mr. Lincoln's early experiences were accidents, merely, in his career. He was not nominated because of them, nor were they factors in his election. To discover a resemblance between the two campaigns is to trifle with fancies, losing sight of the deeply significant facts of history.

Mr. Lincoln had grown up in the West when the West was new, and, in common with all others so placed, he had been engaged in youth and early manhood in various occupations involving hard manual labor. His education was meager only as that of his neighbors was, and he repaired its deficiencies by every means in his power. Long before his nomination for the presidency he was prominent at the bar of a State where the lawyers were men of learning in their profession, and where something more than untrained ability was requisite to such success as he had achieved. He had made his mark in politics, too, and, especially in his contests with Douglas, had won recognition as a man of large capacity in statesmanship. It was as a statesman of known ability, and as one of the foremost representatives of his party's principles that he was nominated; certainly the homely surroundings of his boyhood and the rude labors of his early manhood had nothing whatever to do with the result. It was not the rail-splitter nor the flat-boatman that was nominated, but the statesman who had met Douglas in debate and had aptly formulated the doctrines of the Republicans in phrases which had become the party's watchwords. Neither was it as a compromise candidate, too obscure to have excited the enmity of factions, that he received the nomination. On the first ballot in convention his vote stood second only to that of Seward. On the second ballot the two leaders received almost an equal number of votes, and on the third Lincoln was nominated.

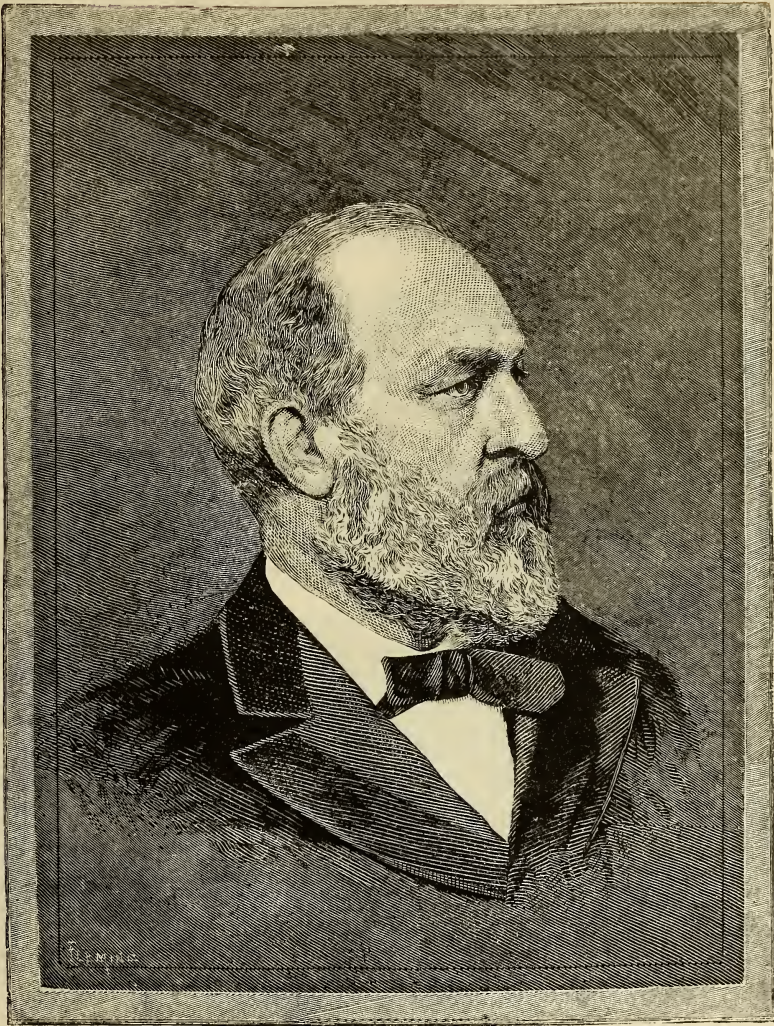
It is necessary to mention these facts, because in the popular understanding of the matter, and still more in the foreign conception of it, historic truth is perverted and the significance of historic facts is misinterpreted.

Mr. Lincoln's administration exactly covered the period of the civil war, and with its history we have nothing to do in this particular connection. The conflict was substantially at an end when President Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin, creeping stealthily from behind, while sitting with his family and friends in his box at the theater, on the evening of the fourteenth of April, 1865.

With the accession of Johnson in 1865, we reach the end of what may be called the historical period of American politics. The civil war overturned the old order of things, and reconstituted the republic upon a new basis. All that has since occurred in public affairs belongs to the politics of the present, with which it is not yet time to deal historically. In writing of the presidents who have succeeded Mr. Lincoln, therefore, we must confine our attention strictly to a brief mention of matters of biographical interest unconnected with the political events of their several elections and the conduct of their administrations.

Several of the presidents began life with meager educational advantages, but President Johnson alone began with none at all. He was not taught even to read, but was earning his living as a tailor's apprentice when the desire to master that art first seized him. It was not until after his marriage that he took his first lessons in writing and the elements of arithmetic, his wife being his teacher. He seems always to have been interested in the affairs of state and to have relished debate and public oratory. It was from hearing another read the oratorical selections in the "American Speaker" that he first caught the desire to read, and when he was living in Greenville, Tennessee, in a house only ten feet square, which served the double purpose of home and shop, he was an active member of a local debating society. A little later he took part in an election, and was made alderman, and then mayor. He was a presidential elector in 1840, and canvassed a large part of the State, meeting upon the stump several of the leading Whig orators. From that time forward he became steadily more prominent in politics, serving in the legislature, in both houses of Congress, and as governor of Tennessee—some four years—before the war. He opposed secession, and was active in the service of the Union throughout the war. Mr. Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee, and in 1864 he was elected vice-president. He was a man of robust intellect, great tenacity of purpose, and unbounded courage. His industry and his quickness of perception enabled him, without much of systematic study, to make good his lack of education, especially in those directions in which his ambition created the need of information.

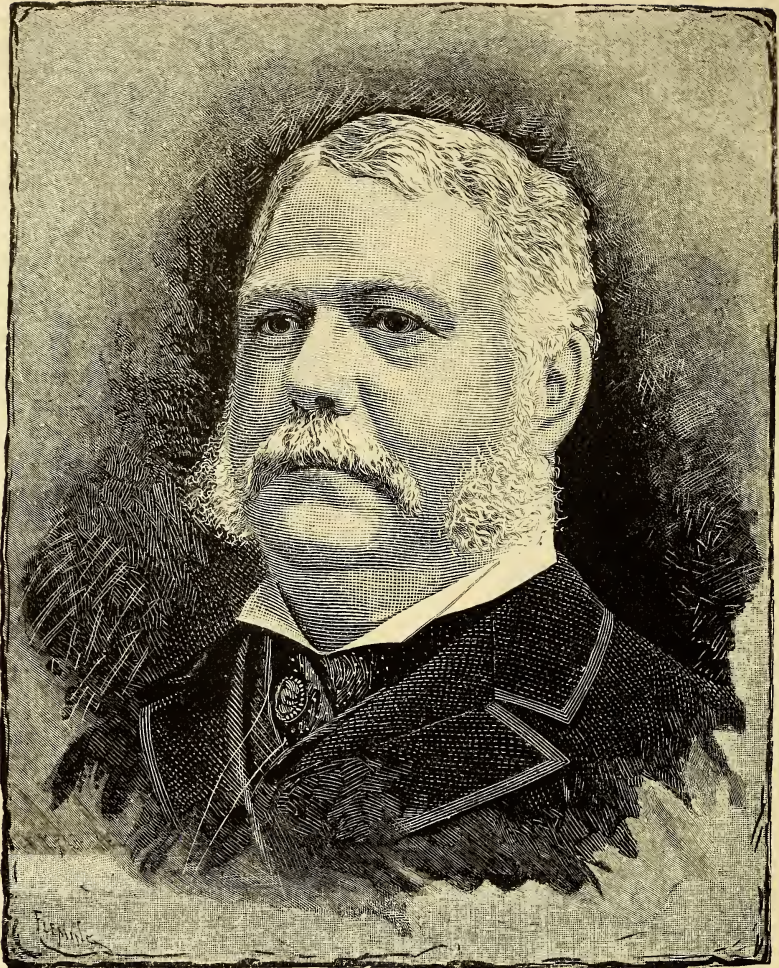
Of the four presidents who have held office since Johnson's term ended—viz., Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur—General Grant is the only one whose election was the direct result of his military achievements. When the army of General Lee surrendered to him, his ultimate elevation to the highest office in the nation depended solely upon his willingness to accept it. He alone of the four was educated as a soldier, but all four were well educated in youth.



*J. A. Garfield*

1881.

*[From the original photograph.]*



*C. A. Arthur*

1881-1885.

[From a late photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D. C.]

Three of these are living, and for the other the country has scarcely yet put off its mourning. To write of their public life now, would be incongruous in a magazine of the character of this. Their portraits have a proper place in our gallery, but the events of their lives, however interesting to the world, have not yet become history.

*George Cary Eggleston*

[THE reader will be interested in learning that the eight uniform portraits which accompany Mr. Eggleston's article, after engravings by H. Wright Smith, were never before published. The steel plates, from which only a few prints had been made, were destroyed in the Boston fire. A series of nineteen Presidential Portraits—Washington to Hayes—had been completed for a magnificent volume containing Biographical Sketches and an Introductory Essay by John Fiske, A.M., LL.B., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University, author of "Myths and Myth-Makers," "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," and other works, and was to have been shortly issued from the press of Elisha F. Thayer & Co., but for the calamity above mentioned. "No pains have been spared," wrote the author in his Introductory Essay, "to secure a perfect likeness of each President, or to have the work performed in the highest style of the art. The engravings have all been executed by H. Wright Smith, who is admitted to be without an equal in his profession; and a single hand gives unity as well as thoroughness to the work. The likenesses have in every case been taken from the best portraits—by Stuart, Healy, and other eminent artists—in possession of friends or of public bodies, and their perfect correctness attested by the ablest authorities. . . . To the visitor at Edinburgh there is nothing more interesting, even in that grandest and most picturesque of cities, than the long array of portraits of Scottish Kings which adorn the walls of one of the venerable rooms in Holyrood Palace. Nor in a journey through France is one likely to meet with any thing more impressive than the marble group of national heroes—the doughty Du Guesclin, the peerless Bayard, the generous Lannes, and a score of others—who stand as perpetual sentinels, watchful of their country's fortunes, in the court of the great palace at Versailles. It is a good thing to have the past thus made real to us and kept before us, and to become familiar with the faces of the men who have been associated, in one way or another, with the labors and struggles through which our modern civilization has been wrought. In a certain true sense the faces and characters of our Presidents are more intimately correlated with some of the phases of national life than in the case of hereditary sovereigns such as those whose portraits are to be seen in Holyrood; and this series illustrates in many ways the changes that have come over our social life since the time of the Revolution. Our own country has no Versailles or Holyrood, but there is no reason why a national portrait gallery in book form, may not be a valued companion at every fireside in the land."—EDITOR.]

## THE BARONY OF NAZARETH \*

In the heart of Northampton County, one of the original counties of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, there is a charming tract of rolling country, rich in springs and watercourses, and in grain-growing capacities, consisting of five thousand acres. This tract once formed "The Barony of Nazareth."

The story of all the formalities of the old "Court Baron," with its peculiar dispensation of domestic justice, the record of all the ceremonious services which the tenants owed by reason of their feudal tenure to the Lord or Lady of the Barony, all these golden threads of history's romance have no monument save in the frail recollections of memory, no means of reaching future ages except through the indistinctness of tradition.

Lady Letitia, the daughter of "William Penn, of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, Eng.," was the first ruler of the Barony. From the grantor she had the privilege of holding "Court Baron" and views of frank pledge for the conservation of the peace. It was held in trust for her sole use and behoof by the good friend of her father, Sir John Fagg. But her title to the Barony became more secure by the deed, dated the twenty-fifth day of September, A.D. 1731, when her half brothers, John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, released to her all their rights, title, and interest in the Barony. However, there was a consideration in this deed which called for the yearly payment of *One Red Rose* by the Lady Letitia to the grantors. I have before me, as I write, a copy of that deed, from which I quote the following: "RELEASED AND CONFIRMED unto the said Letitia Aubrey, her heirs and assigns for evermore—but TO BE HOLDEN of John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs and assigns, in free and common socage, as of the seigniority of Windsor, on YIELDING AND PAYING therefor to the said John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs and assigns, '*One Red Rose*' on the twenty-fourth day of June yearly, if the same shall be demanded, in full for all SERVICES, CUSTOMS, AND RENTS."

Although there is no positive or reliable record of the manner of the payment of this *One Red Rose*, still tradition gives us a pleasing account of the picturesque formalities observed on the 24th day of June, when the

\* The author gathered the facts for this article from the papers of the late Maurice C. Jones, of Bethlehem, Pa.



payment of this rent fell due; but the account is of such an unreliable nature, that only the poet's pen would be privileged to preserve it.

The old customs of the Barony were of not a long life, for in the summer of 1741 the tract was sold to the Moravians. The Moravian Church is well known by its early and noble work in the widely distant centers in Greenland, Labrador, Canada, West Indies, Australia; in fact, its ministers have shown almost the heroic perseverance and wonderful fortitude of the Catholic missionaries in carrying the word of God to distant lands. There is many a place in America which founds its prosperity of to-day on the industry and economy of the Moravians of the forgotten past. Many fields of rich soil have been rescued from the overgrowing forests by the Moravian forefathers, and through their toil many a wilderness has been made to blossom as the rose. The American Moravian Church is an integral part of the Moravian Unity, whose organic center is at Herrnhut, Saxony. It was this Church that purchased the Barony and colonized the Borough of Nazareth, situated about the center of the large tract of land. They lived here somewhat after the manner of the primitive Christians—in an Economy. Happy years and halcyon days rolled on, until 1751, when orders came from the head Church in Saxony to lay out a village within the limits of this princely domain, like unto the Moravian villages of the old country. This village was accordingly laid out by the Bishop so delegated, preparations were made for the erection of dwellings, and the name of Gnadenstadt was given to this projected town. Thither the inhabitants of Nazareth were requested to go, but they could not be prevailed upon to exchange the poetry of an Economy for the prose life and restrictions of a municipium. The Economy which had been established in the Barony had no communistic movements. The aggrandizement of things temporal, either for the individual or for the quasi-corporation, was utterly foreign to its design and spirit; the support of a Gospel ministry and missions were its sole aims. Although the surrender of personal property into a common treasury was no unusual occurrence, still it was not a requirement for admission into the Economy. The artisans and husbandmen contributed their individual labor for the common good, and the necessaries of life were supplied to them in return. The mutual obligation ended here. To aid the work of the Moravian Church was the object of the Economy, and when the spirit which animated its founders began to decline, it ceased being of help to the Church, and soon therefore was dissolved, in the year 1762.

Previous to this, however, and in accordance with the orders from the Mother Church in Saxony, a large frame caravansary was built in the Barony. It stood, like a beacon-light, on the very confines of barbarism.

Its presence was hailed with delight by the horsemen and packers journeying along the king's highway to the settlements that dotted both shores of the Delaware beyond. Such rest did this ancient caravansary give from the toils of the way, such refreshment to the weary traveler, that it grew in great favor, and its achievements were heralded far and near. A noble inn it was, and wore, as it was entitled to wear, a coat-of-arms, which consisted of a full-blown scarlet rose. And hence the inn was known as "*Die Rose*." This floral emblem was not bestowed on the lonely hospice because of its resemblance to the queen of flowers, amidst the scrub oaks of the surrounding wilderness; it was commemorative of the rent of *One Red Rose*, due and payable on the 24th day of every June for all services, customs, and rents, in accordance with the provisions of the deed to Lady Letitia.

It is duly recorded in the archives of the Moravian Church that on the night of the 18th of November, A.D. 1755, the Barony was shaken to its foundations, and, although the sky overhead was star-lit, still an awful rushing of the wind was experienced, and the distant sound as of booming cannons was heard; this pandemonium was at its height, when lo! the doors of The Rose swung on their hinges and stood open, and the sleepers at the inn were rocked in their beds like mariners in hammocks at sea. It will be remembered that it was during the first part of this very month of November sixty thousand persons perished violently in the city of Lisbon, the result of that frightful Lisbon earthquake. Was there a connection between the Lisbon earthquake and those frightful occurrences in the Barony of Nazareth, although unlike in degree, still nearly synchronous and similar in character? I leave the question to the physicist.

This was the first incident to disturb the peaceful harmony of the Barony, and it was an ominous foreboding of near calamities, for word was brought within a week therefrom of the Indian surprise and massacre on the Mahoning, and on the evening of the seventh day sixty or seventy men, women, and children, terrified beyond measure, came from the wilderness lying north of the Barony, clamorous for protection from the murdering Indians. Such was the beginning of a precipitate evacuation of the frontiers, and ere long the Barony was filled with refugees, who formed a promiscuous assemblage of men of diverse nationalities, creeds, and tongues. The Indian troubles of the frontiers changed the Barony into a place of refuge, and the dangerousness of the times gave it a martial air. Grain continued, however, to be raised, and the trees hung full of fruit. But this ripening was in lawless times, and positive means appear to have been taken to stop the depredations committed on these Hesperian gardens, for we

find the following caution, dated September, 1757: "This is to notify whom it may concern, that, in these uncertain times, the watch will set their dogs on, or, if need be, fire upon, all persons, whether white or Indian, who shall be found trespassing in the orchards at Nazareth." It does not appear by what authority this ordinance was put up.

There is a waif of Provincial history, which is deserving of attention, bearing upon the time of which I write. In September, 1757, while Joseph Keller was assisting his neighbor in plowing, three Indians surprised his farm-house, situated in the northern part of the Barony, and carried off his wife and two little boys. This outrage being communicated to Tadenspundt, the Delaware king, he immediately despatched three of his Indians and two whites to Keller's, to ascertain whether any of his subjects had been concerned in the outrage. The records I have do not show the result of this embassy; it demonstrates, however, the kindly feeling existing between the King of the Delawares and the Moravians. After 1757 to a comparative late date, the Barony enjoyed peace.

In 1783, *The Rose* was plucked from its ancestral stem, for it was sold by the Moravian Society to Dorst Alleman, but I find before it had faded entirely, it was honored by a week's visit of Governor John Penn, who came hither no doubt to relax his mind from the cares of state, by shooting grouse on the neighboring barrens. The description of the Governor, which we have in our history of Pennsylvania, tells us that he "was in person of the middle size, reserved in manners, and *very near-sighted*," from which I infer that the grouse suffered but little from his attacks.

From 1830, large and frequent sales of lots and tracts of land have been made by the Moravian Society from the larger tract once comprising the Barony of Nazareth. These sales and the rough and ever-active hand of time have almost obliterated the courses of the old Barony. The old *Red Rose*, once the pride of the Barony, has long since ceased to bloom—even its withered leaves have been scattered by the storms of commerce.

The Moravian Society still own a small portion of the old Barony, but most of the old landmarks have been laid low by the iron hand of ruthless corporations. In the fierce flood of the coal and iron trade which sweeps down the Lehigh Valley, through Northampton County, the romantic historical facts which cluster around this section of the country are almost swept away. It is a pleasure, therefore, to chronicle them, even briefly, ere they are forgotten.

*David Prochhead*

February, 1884.

## RUFUS KING AND THE DUEL BETWEEN GEN. HAMILTON AND COL. BURR

Among the interesting and readable books which have recently been published is the autobiography of Charles Biddle, covering a period from the middle of the last to the first quarter of the present century. He was of an influential family in Philadelphia, that has furnished many men of note to the country, and was himself the immediate ancestor of those of the name who have during the last fifty years been prominent in public affairs. He was a man of decided character, straightforward and manly, warm in his friendships, but stern in action toward those who crossed his purposes. Among the public men of his time whom he held in high regard was Aaron Burr—a fact clearly evinced in this autobiography—while, on the other hand, he had few kind words to say of Burr's political opponent, Alexander Hamilton, except as to his great abilities. After giving some account of the duel which took place between these two, and which resulted in the death of Hamilton, Biddle writes: \* “If General Hamilton had not opposed Colonel Burr I have very little doubt he would have been elected Governor of New York, and if he had it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the country, as well as for themselves and their families. In this unfortunate affair Mr. Rufus King was blamed, I think deservedly, for not endeavoring to prevent this fatal duel. He is the moderate, judicious friend General Hamilton alluded to in the paper enclosed in his will.”

It must be remembered that this was not written at the period of the occurrence of that sad event, but some years afterward, when to a certain extent time had softened bitter feelings, and it therefore manifests that in the minds of some well-meaning men there had been and then was existing an impression such as that recorded here, in reference to the power of Rufus King to have prevented the duel—that he did not exert that influence with General Hamilton, and that he suffered in the minds of honorable men in consequence.

As this is, I believe, the first time in which this has been publicly charged in a work of acknowledged character, it seems but right and fitting that so erroneous a statement should be met at once and corrected. That Rufus King was the warm and faithful friend of Gen. Hamilton, and that he prized too highly the services and worth of that distinguished man to

\* Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 309. Philadelphia, 1883.

leave unused any means in his power, short of dishonor, to avert the calamity which he anticipated as the possible result of a hostile meeting, was well known, as was also the fact that Gen. Hamilton had counseled with him. The result of that interview has only been recorded in the paper left by Gen. Hamilton. Happily among the papers of Rufus King is a statement in his handwriting and signed by him, which will be found below, giving his account of his agency in the matter, and showing how shocked he was that the opinion existed at that time, 1819—and of which he seems never before to have heard—that he might have prevented the duel. The letters are as follows:

“Jamaica L. I. April 2 1819

Dear Sir

To my surprise and regret I have been informed that Doctor Mason\* in a late conversation at a dinner Table, stated in reference to the Duel between Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton and Col. Burr, in which the former was mortally wounded, that it was in my power to have prevented the Duel and that evidence of this Fact could be produced; a statement which had the effect of creating the belief that I approved of, and promoted the Duel.

I request that you will take an early opportunity of calling on Doctor Mason, and in my behalf, assuring him that the reverse of the alleged Fact is the Truth; and that so far from approving and promoting the Duel, I disapproved of it and endeavoured to prevail on General Hamilton not to meet Col. Burr.

Ask Doctor Mason to furnish you with the evidence to which he referred, and upon which he thought himself justified in making the foregoing statement; say to him moreover on my part, that I willingly believe, after receiving this communication, that he will take greater pleasure in correcting, than he could have experienced in stating a charge, which is so wholly unfounded.

With affectionate regards

I am faithfully yours

Rufus King”

M<sup>r</sup> Charles King

On the margin of the rough copy of this letter are the following remarks, evidently instructions by which his son, Mr. Charles King, was to be guided in his conversation with Dr. Mason:

“Remark M<sup>r</sup> Bogert † gave me this information w<sup>h</sup> he rec<sup>d</sup> from a Gen-

\* John Mitchell Mason, D.D.

† Cornelius J. Bogert, a friend and neighbor at Jamaica.

tleman present at this dinner, who was impressed by D<sup>r</sup> M's statement that I encouraged the Duel. M<sup>r</sup> Bogert more than once conferred with this person in order accurately to understand the tenor of D<sup>r</sup> M's charge and the impression upon the person in question. Mr. Bogert has seen and approved of this letter as correct in its recital of wh. was communicated to him.

R. K."

On the reverse side of the letter above quoted and in the handwriting of Charles King is the following statement :

I received this letter on the 5<sup>th</sup> April, and in the course of that day called at D<sup>r</sup> Mason's house, and was informed by M<sup>rs</sup> Mason that the D<sup>r</sup> was in the country arranging his library. Being engaged on the 6<sup>th</sup> I deferred repeating the call 'till this afternoon (the 7<sup>th</sup>), when I saw D<sup>r</sup> Mason, and informing him that I called on the part of my father, who had heard a report which was very unpleasant to him, I presented him with this letter as the best mode of explaining the object of my visit. He read it attentively and returned it to me with the observation, "that there was no truth at all in the report to which it referred." He then went on to explain that at the dinner table of M<sup>rs</sup> Richards, M<sup>r</sup> H. W. Warner, alluding to the duel of Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton & Col. Burr, mentioned M<sup>r</sup> Pendleton as the *calm and judicious friend*, to whom Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton referred, as having taken his advice, previous to the duel. D<sup>r</sup> Mason remarked hereupon that he understood that friend, to be M<sup>r</sup> King—but that this remark was unaccompanied with any other or any comment. That M<sup>r</sup> Warner had within a day or two called upon him in much agitation, that they had talked over this subject, and M<sup>r</sup> Warner had left him prepared to give M<sup>r</sup> Bogert such an explanation of what really passed at the dinner already alluded to, as would do away the unjust inferences that appeared to have been drawn from it. I expressed the pleasure I felt at this statement and then entered into a detail of what really took place between my father and Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton at their interview on the subject of this unfortunate duel, specifying particularly, that the *only point* upon which Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton asked my father's opinion was whether he, Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton, was bound to give a definite answer to Burr's inquiry as to whether he, Hamilton, had at any time or in any place expressed opinions unfavorable or derogatory to Col. Burr. To which he answered decidedly No—That if M<sup>r</sup> Burr would specify any particular fact, then and then only it would be proper for Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton to deny or affirm it ; That such should be the tenor of Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton's reply to Burr : That preparatory to and during the discussion of this question, the main one arose of whether Gen. Hamilton should under any

circumstances accept a challenge from M<sup>r</sup> Burr arose, and that my father *decidedly advised that he should not*. But that Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton having stated that his mind was made up on this subject, as also to throw away his fire, if they should meet, my father then endeavored to prove to him, that if he, M<sup>r</sup> H., would persist in fighting, he owed it to his family & the rights of self defence, to fire at his antagonist. D<sup>r</sup> Mason replied, that these circumstances were new to him; but that the letter I had then shown to him, communicated what he did not know, but what he was rejoiced to find, that my father dissuaded Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton from fighting—as his letter stated he did. I hereupon rose to take my leave, expressing the pleasure I felt, that a report which could not but be disagreeable to my father, & unjust to Dr. Mason, had been so satisfactorily explained; to which D<sup>r</sup> Mason rejoined that he was also well pleased at it, and that no man in the country would rejoice more than himself to see my father occupying that station in the country which was justly due to him.

I immediately returned home (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock P.M.) and committed the result of this interview to writing.

Wednesday Evg 7<sup>th</sup> April 1819.

Chas King "

The above letters would suffice to show that at the solemn moment when friendship could speak with such powerful voice Rufus King was not wanting in the advice he gave, and should put an end to any repetition of a calumny to which he should never have been exposed. But as I have in my possession some other letters bearing upon the duel, I have thought their publication might be of interest in this connection.

In Gen. Hamilton's letter to Sedgwick, July 10, 1804, speaking of the "*Dismemberment of our Empire*" (then talked of) as a sacrifice without countervailing good, he says at the close: "King is on his way to Boston, where you may chance to see him and learn from himself his sentiments." This will account for the fact of Mr. K.'s being absent from New York, when the duel took place.

"Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup> July

My dear Sir

This morn'g we were all alarmed at a report of Col. Hamilton's being killed in a duel with Col. Burr. Knowing that such a report would interest you, I seize the present opportunity to say 'A meeting took place between those gentlemen this morn'g, the cause said to be political, the consequence a wound (supposed to be mortal) on Col. Hamilton. He received the shot of his antagonist, it is said with the determination of not returning the first

fire. He was brought to M<sup>r</sup>: Bayard's at Greenwich, where M<sup>r</sup>: Low & I were at 12 o'clock. He was still alive, but I conceive there is nothing further than a possibility of his recovery. We have not heard of him since that time. A general sense of regret prevails. We have nothing else since your departure.

Rufus King Esq.  
Hartford Connecticut.

With esteem yours &c &c  
W<sup>m</sup> Wallace."

"New York July 1804

Thursday 8 o'clock A.M.

My dear Sir

Before you receive this our dear and excellent friend Hamilton will be no more. He and Col. Burr met yesterday morning at 7 o'clock on the Jersey shore. Gen<sup>l</sup> H. persisted in the resolution he had taken before you left us to receive and not return the first shot. Unhappily M<sup>r</sup>: Burr's first shot was fatal. It passed between the two lower ribs of the right side and lodged near the spine, and in its passage, the surgeons say, must have passed through the lungs or the liver. He was brought over to M<sup>r</sup>: Bayard's, where he continues. I have just left him and the Doctors say he cannot outlive this day.

I have not time now to communicate any of the reflections that crowd upon my mind on this most extensive public and private calamity. It has occasioned a strong public Sensation, which will be much increased when he is dead.

I am, my dear Sir with esteem

Rufus King Esq  
Boston.

Your obedient Servant  
Nath<sup>l</sup> Pendleton."

It will be remarked, that Mr. Pendleton in this letter makes the statement, which was denied by Col. Burr's friends, that "Gen. H. persisted in the resolution he had taken before you left us to receive and not return the first shot." In addition to these there is the rough draft of a letter written to Gen. Clarkson, relative to a conversation with him before the duel took place. It is in Rufus King's hand-writing and signed by him.

"Waltham near Boston

My dear Sir

August 24 1804

I lose no time in replying to your letter of the 20 which I rec<sup>d</sup> last evening; considering the reserve that I have observed upon this subject of national affliction, I am truly surprised that any such Rumour as that you mention sh<sup>d</sup> have got into circulation upon my authority. No person can be



justified by any observation that you ever made to me, or that I ever made to another, in reporting that you had given an opinion that a duel between our lamented friend & Col. Burr was unavoidable.

It was not until the challenge had been given and accepted, that I mentioned the affair to you, and that under injunction of secrecy, knowing our friend's determination to be passive. My mind was agitated with strong forebodings of wh. has happened, and tho' the correspondence was closed by an agreement of the parties to meet each other, I nevertheless mentioned the subject to you and asked if you could perceive any mode of interference. Yr. answer, expressive of much sorrow, was in the negative. I did, however, not infer from this answer that in yr. opinion our friend might not have declined a meeting with Col. Burr, but merely by the acceptance of his adversary's challenge, that the interference of third persons was precluded.

With Sentiments of Respect & Esteem

Gen. Clarkson.

Signed

R. King."

On the back of this copy of a letter is part of another, which was either sent or proposed to be sent to some intimate correspondent. It is in these words:

"You cannot, my dear Sir, hold in greater abhorrence than I do the Practice of Duelling. Our lamented friend was not unacquainted with my opinions on this subject, but with the most sagacious and discriminating mind that I ever knew, he had laid certain rules for the government of himself upon the subj. of duels, the fallacy of wh. w<sup>d</sup> not fail to be seen by any man of ordinary understanding, and with these guides, it is my deliberate opinion, that he could not have avoided a meeting with Col. Burr, had he even declined the first challenge."

On the same page is one other remark in the hand writing of R. K., as follows:

"I regard it as a violation of our civil, our moral, and our religious duty: I go farther, and do not consider it as even 'proof of courage.'"

With these corroborative evidences of the views and feelings of Rufus King on the subject of dueling, and especially of his agency in this particular case, there can be no doubt that he has been unjustly charged with withholding his influence to prevent the occurrence of the duel.

ANDALUSIA, PENN., *Feb'y* 11, 1884.

*Charles R. King,*

## THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT \*

### WITH PEDIGREE

#### II

MATTHEW, the eldest child of John and Hannah (Lee) Griswold, was born Mar. 25, 1714; married, Nov. 10, 1743, Ursula, daughter of Gov. Roger Wolcott,† of Windsor, Conn.; and died April 28, 1799. She died Apr. 5, 1788. He is usually distinguished as Governor Matthew Griswold, from the last public office which he held. What preparation he had for public life other than his own native ability, and the prestige of family, we are not told. So early as 1739 his "loyalty, courage, and good conduct" were rewarded by Governor Talcott with the appointment of Captain to the South Train Band of Lyme; and in 1766 Governor Pitkin made him Major of the Third Regiment of Horse and Foot in the service of the Colony. But long before this latter date he had become devoted to civil affairs, more especially to such as involved applications of law to private interests; in respect to which he acquired an extensive reputation, and was consulted from distant places. He appears to have been counsel for John Winthrop of New London, son of the last Governor Winthrop, in a suit brought by him against the Colony for services of his ancestors and moneys due to them. ‡ In 1751 he was chosen a Representative to the General Assembly; § in 1757, as "Matthew Griswold, Esq., of Lyme," he was appointed by the Colonial Government to "sue for, levy and recover" debts, "in the name, behalf and for the use of the Governor and Company;" in 1759 he was elected to the Council of the Governor. || He was again a member of the Council in 1765, when Fitch was Governor, whose councillors were summoned to administer to him an oath to support the requirements of the Stamp Act. An historian has described the scene in glowing words, and tells us that Matthew Griswold was one of those who followed the lead of Trumbull in refusing to "witness a ceremony which so degraded liberty, and degraded the Colony," and retired from the council-chamber. ¶ To February 11 of this year belongs a letter from Jared

† Memorial of Henry Wolcott . . . ut supra, p. 77.

‡ I derive this fact from a manuscript letter of Dr. Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven to the Governor, dated Oct. 28, 1793. Comp. Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut . . . New Haven, 1818, ii. 54-55.

§ Hollister's Hist. of Conn., ut supra, ii. 640. || Id., *ibid.*

¶ Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senr. . . . By I. M. Stuart. Boston, 1859, pp. 85-92.

\* Copyright, 1884, by Edward Elbridge Salisbury.

Ingersoll, then in London, preserved among the family-papers, in which, after reporting the purchase of some law-books, he says:

“The very interesting Stamp Bill *for taming Americans* passed the House of Commons last Wednesday. I was present and heard all the Debate, Some of which was truly Noble, and *the whole very Entertaining*, at the same time Very Affecting, Especially to an American.”

In 1766, Jonathan Trumbull being Chief Justice, he was made a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. On the death of Governor Pitkin, in 1769, when Trumbull became Governor, he took the highest seat on the bench as Chief Justice, which office he held during fifteen years. Meanwhile for thirteen of those years—from 1771 till 1784—he was Deputy-Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, of the Colony and newly formed State. In 1770 he was chosen one of the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America, Andrew Oliver, of Boston, being the Secretary. The very efficient Council of Safety, formed in 1775 to aid the Governor through the struggles of the Revolution, whenever the Legislature should not be sitting, was headed by him from the first. The list of original members is given thus: “Matthew Griswold, William Pitkin, Roger Sherman, Abraham Davenport, William Williams, Titus Hosmer, Benjamin Payne, Gen. James Wadsworth, Benjamin Huntington, William Hillhouse, Thaddeus Burr, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Daniel Sherman and Andrew Adams.”\* From 1784 to 1786 he was the Chief Magistrate of Connecticut, taking part, as such, in establishing the so-called continental policy in the State, by conceding to Congress the power of impost—an all-important first step in the formation of a National Government. His elevation to the chief magistracy is thus spoken of by the author of the Life of Jonathan Trumbull:

“But he [Trumbull] persisted in declining the proposed office, and the people therefore found another candidate for the gubernatorial chair in Honorable Matthew Griswold, a gentleman who now, for thirteen consecutive years, side by side with the veteran Trumbull, of his political faith, like him of tried conduct, high-minded and patriotic, had occupied the post of Lieutenant Governor of the State.”†

In 1788 he presided over the Convention for the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States, to which, as Bancroft says in his latest historical work, “were chosen the retired and the present highest officers of its [the State’s] Government, the judges of its courts, ‘ministers of the Gospel,’ and nearly sixty who had fought for independence.”‡

\* Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senr. . . . By I. M. Stuart. Boston, 1859, p. 203, note.

† Id., p. 641.

‡ History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America. By George Bancroft. New York, 1882, ii. 256; and comp. Hollister’s Hist. of Conn., ut supra, ii. 456–62.

The foregoing sketch may be properly supplemented by extracts from Governor Griswold's correspondence—letters both to him and from him—which will serve to set him in fuller light, while at the same time they bring some of the great public events of his time more vividly before us, thus grouped, as it were, around an individual life. I first give, nearly entire, so far as its tattered condition allows, a significant letter from Roger Sherman, dated January 11, 1766:

“Sir,

“I hope you will excuse the freedom which I take of mentioning, for your consideration, some things which appear to me a little extraordinary, and which I fear (if persisted in) may be prejudicial to the Interests of the Colony—more especially the late practice of great numbers of people Assembling and Assuming a kind of Legislative Authority, passing & publishing resolves &c.—will not the frequent Assembling such large Bodies of people, without any Laws to regulate or Govern their proceedings, tend to weaken the Authority of the Government, and naturally possess the minds of the people with such lax notions of Civil Authority as may lead to such disorders & confusions as will not be easily suppress'd or reformed? especially in such a popular Government as ours, for the well ordering of which good rules, and a wise, Steady Administration are necessary.—I esteem our present form of Government to be one of the happiest & best in the world: it secures the civil & religious rights and privileges of the people, and by a due administration has the best tendency to preserve and promote publick virtue, which is absolutely necessary to publick happiness. . . . There are doubtless some who envy us the enjoyment of these . . . privileges, and would be glad of any plausible excuse to deprive . . . therefore behoove . . . to conduct with prudence and caution at this critical juncture, when Arbitrary principles & measures, with regard to the colonies, are so much in vogue; and is it not of great importance that peace & harmony be preserved & promoted among ourselves; and that everything which may tend to weaken publick Government, or give the enemies of our happy constitution any advantage against us, be carefully avoided? I have no doubt of the upright intentions of those gentlemen who have promoted the late meetings in several parts of Colony, which I suppose were principally Intended to concert measures to prevent the Introduction of the Stamp papers, and not in the least to oppose the Laws or authority of the Government; but is there not danger of proceeding too far, in such measures, so as to involve the people in divisions and animosities among themselves, and . . . endanger our Charter-privileges? May not . . . being informed of these things view them in such a light . . . our present Democratical State of Government will not be Sufficient to Secure the people from falling into a State of Anarchy, and therefore determine a change to be necessary for that end, especially if they should have a previous Disposition for such a change?—Perhaps the continuing Such Assemblies will now be thought needless, as Mr Ingersoll has this week declared under Oath that he will not execute the office of Distributor of Stamps in this Colony, which declaration is published in the New Haven Gazette. I hope we shall now have his influence & Assistance in endeavoring to get rid of the Stamp Duties. . . .

“I hear one piece of News from the East which a little Surprizes me, that is, the publication of some exceptionable passages extracted from Mr Ingersoll's letters, after all the pains taken by the Sons of Liberty to prevent their being sent home to England. I was

glad when those letters were recalled, and that Mr. Ingersoll was free to retrench all those passages which were thought likely to be of disservice to the Government, and to agree for the future, during the present critical situation of affairs, not to write home anything but what should be inspected & approved by persons that the people of the Government would confide in ; but by means of the publication of those passages in the Newspapers they will likely arrive in England near as soon as if the original Letters had been sent, and perhaps will not appear in a more favourable point of light.—

“Sir, I hint these things for your consideration, being sensible that, from your situation, known abilities and interest in the Affections and esteem of the people, you will be under the best advantage to advise & influence them to such a conduct as shall be most likely to conduce to the publick Good of the Colony. I am, Sir, with great esteem, your Obedient, Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Roger Sherman.”

“New Haven, Jan. 11, 1766.”

The following letter is from the Rev. Stephen Johnson, “the sincere and fervid pastor of the First Church of Lyme,” who had left his parish in May 1775, to serve as Chaplain to the Regiment of Col. Parsons, afterwards present at the battle of Bunker Hill :

“Camp at Roxbury, 5<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1775.

“Hon<sup>l</sup> Sir,

“Have not forgot our parting Conversation respecting writing to you—defer’d it a while, waiting for something important—the time of the Circuit drew on, in which I suppos’d the Conveyance would be lengthy & uncertain—but will defer no longer—Several vessels bound to Boston with Valuable Cargoes have fallen into our hands—one from New Providence, with Tortoise & fruit—one from Canada with Cattle, hogs, sheep & Poultry—one from Europe of 300 Tuns in Portsmouth, with 2200 Barrels of flour &c.—one that went out of Boston the Beginning of this week for wood &c : the Majority of the hands, being in our Favor, Brought her into our Port—a Capt<sup>n</sup> in her, who had been taken & carried into Boston about ten weeks ago, informs : Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage Recalled, & this day to sail for Britain—Gen<sup>l</sup> How succeeds, & was proclaimed Gov<sup>r</sup> Last Tuesday—Commands & Resides in Boston—Clinton on Bunker’s Hill : a Dissenter had informed that Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoin was gone to Congress in Philadelphia—this Capt<sup>n</sup> was inquired of about it, who says some in Boston affirmed it, others denyed it—all he Could say was that he used to see him often, but had not seen him for three days, &c.—he further says, 3 men of war, one of 64 guns, were going out, 2 or 3 mortars were put on board, and that it was said 2 Regiments were to go on board them, of which 49<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> was one—their destination a secret. Some suppose they are to make attacks on Seaports nigh us—some that they are going to Philadelphia—others to Charlestown, South Carolina—others to Quebeck, &c ; if Burgoin is gone to Philadelphia, I fear an insidious purpose, am more afraid of their gaining some important advantage against us by art & Corruption than by their arms ; perhaps the Colonies will find it expedient to Change their Delegates often to Congress—this I believe sooner or later will be found a Measure highly important to the General Safety and welfare—& that Strict probity & incorruptability, Joyn’d with some prudence and Judgement, will be safer to trust to than more shining abilities, Joyn’d with an ambitious, avaritious & designing turn of mind : the Camp more healthy—have lost by Sickness

but 6 men out of our Regiment. My Best Regards to your Hon<sup>r</sup> & Mrs Griswold. Dear Love to my Children—affectionate Regards to Friends and Parishoners. I am in haste  
Affectionately Yours &c.

Stephen Johnson."

A few days later, in the same month, Deputy Gov. Griswold himself wrote from Cambridge to Gov. Trumbull, as follows :

" Cambridge, 20<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1775.

" Sir,

" I have to acquaint your Hon<sup>r</sup> that an Express is arriv'd at Head Quarters from Portsmouth, Informing that on Monday last two or three Arm'd Vessels arriv'd at Falmouth in Casco Bay from Boston (being part of the Ministerial Force—They were attended with Sundry Transports all full of men), with orders to Destroy that and the Town of Portsmouth, in Case the Inhabitants Refus'd to Deliver up their Arms, give Hostages &c.—That on a Truce the People gave up Eight Musquets, and had time till nine of the Clock next Morning to Consider—That y<sup>e</sup> Post came away about half after Eight—Just about nine he heard a heavy firing towards that place, Suppos'd the Terms were Rejected, & that the Cruel orders were Carrying into Execution. Gov<sup>t</sup> Cook also has advice from Mr. Malebone, who was an Eye & Ear Witness (and is now here Present), that Capt<sup>m</sup> Wallace has orders to do the same to the Towns in Rhode Island & Connec<sup>t</sup>, where any arm'd Force appears to oppose the Ministerial Troops : what Precaution is Necessary to be taken for the Protection of our Colony your Hon<sup>r</sup> & the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly will Consider. Some of our Connecticut officers are very Desirous some further Provision might be made for Those of the People in the army belonging to our Colony that are or may be Sick.—

" It's Suppos'd not Expedient at present to Communicate any of the Matters Transacted by the Com<sup>tee</sup> &c. Conven'd here, without Special Leave.

" I am with great Respect

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold."

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1778, Gov. Griswold wrote a letter to Roger Sherman of which the following is an incomplete draft :

" Woodstock, June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1778.

" Sir,

" You have undoubtedly been advis'd of the Measures taken by the General Assembly of this State Relative to the Paper Currency : That upon a Motion made in our lower House of Assembly it was Resolv'd not to Suspend or Repeal the Act Regulating prices, that a letter [be] sent by our Assembly to the other New England States, Remonstrating against their Delaying to make provision for Regulating prices, accompanied by two Gen<sup>l</sup>, sent from our Assembly to Providence & Boston, to Enforce the Matter Contain'd in the Letter : who Returning without Success, our Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly Directed an Address to Congress, Requesting them to take up the Matter, and advise to Some Salutary Measures to prevent the Threatening Mischief of Sinking the Credit of the paper Currency ; pointing out in Some Measure the Dangerous Consequences to the army, and great advantage Sharpers and Disaffected Persons might take to oppress the People and Embarras the Common Cause : That, while the Copies were preparing, the Resolve of Congress came

to hand Advising a Repeal or Suspension of the Act ; which Induced the Assembly to suspend it till the Rising of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly in Oct<sup>r</sup> next, apprehending it wou<sup>d</sup> not be in the power of this State alone to Effect a Matter of that kind : That in Consequence of Such Suspension the price of Indian Corn Started to about 10/ and 12/ pr bushell, and Wheat is 18/ and 20/ pr bushell, and Some Demand more : Cattle and Sheep are sold, I believe between £20. and £30. pr cent. higher than Ever : Sharpers Sez'd the opportunity before the People were advis<sup>d</sup> of the Suspension, & bought Cattle and Sheep for near £30. pr cent. Cheaper than y<sup>e</sup> same might have been sold for 3 or 4 Days afterwards—I apprehend the Body of our People are much in fav<sup>r</sup> of a Regulating act to Restraine the Licentiousness of the People, but Despair of being able, alone, to carry such a Measure into Execution ; That they wou<sup>d</sup> have been greatly Dissatisfied with the Conduct of our Assembly in the Suspension, had it not been for the Resolve of Congress Relative thereto, but now acquiesce in what the Assembly did :—The Aversion many of our People have to Receive the Bills for outstanding Debts, or Indeed to have any Concern with them, has, I apprehend, Reduc'd their Credit to a lower State here than it was ever before, Tho' it seems the Demand for the Bills to pay Taxes, & the prospect of their final Redemption with Silver and Gold, may prevent their sinking much lower.—I Imagine our People will very much go into a Gen<sup>l</sup> Barter to carry on their private affairs—what the Consequence will be I know not,—hope the Congress will Devise some proper Measures to Support the Army.—Our Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly have laid 1/ Tax on the List of 1777, to be paid y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> next, and also Directed the Treasurer to borrow one hundred Thousand pounds on Loan ; but that will not be an adequate Supply of the Treasury.

“Our People are pursuing their Husbandry with great Zeal and vigour. The Fruits of the Earth at present appear in a flourishing State, afford a hopeful prospect of Supplies for the Current year.—The Military preparations go on Slow. The Six Battallions order'd to be Rais'd for Defence are Reduced to two, Tho' I believe, if the State Sho'd be Immediately Invaded, the People would Run to arms with Spirit and vigour.

“These Threatening overtures call aloud for Reformation—the Event is known to him alone who Sitts at the helm, and Controuls all Events with Infinite Power & Unerring Wisdom.”

The following letter was written by Deputy Gov. Griswold to Gov. Trumbull :

“Lyme, August 3<sup>d</sup>, 1779.

“Sir,

“Intelligence is Just Rec'd that I apprehend may be Relied on, that the Enemy are preparing a large Fleet at New York, said to be Design'd on an Expedition Eastward: That another lesser Fleet are now fittin<sup>g</sup> out at Huntington : That a great Premium & Wages are offered to such as will Inlist, with the whole of the Plunder they may take—as this latter Fleet is principally mann<sup>d</sup> with Tories, whose Rage and Malice seems to have no bounds, it is Suppos'd their Design is to Ravage the Coast of this State ; it's Conjectured that the large Fleet have New London for their object, while that in the Sound plunder & burn the Towns lying on the Seashore. Such an Armament must presume the Enemy have some very Important object in view : what More Probable than to pursue the above Plan, I submit. Upon the Present appearances, your Exilency and other Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Council will undoubtedly be of opinion that nessasary precaution ought to be taken to

prevent the bad Consequence of such an operation of the Enemy—would Recommend to Consideration whether it wou'd not be adviseable Rather to Increase the Guards on the Sea Coast, and that the Malitia on the Sea Shore sho'd not be drawn off to Distant places in Case of Alarm : Perhaps the State are in great Danger from a Tory Fleet in the Sound : Tho' their force is not sufficient to Conquer the State, yet, if the men were call'd off, the Families & Property wou'd be Expos'd to be Ravag'd by a Number of Savage Mortals, whose Tender Mercies are Cruelty : whether it wou'd not be Expedient that Beacons be provided to give Notice, and that the Malitia be arrang'd under their proper officers, with Signals to Direct them where to Repair, and to Run to the Relief of the place attack'd : That Immediate care be taken to provide a Competent Number of Cartridges, and Deposited in the Most Convenient places : and that orders be Issu'd for a view of Arms once in a few Days, that So they be Kept in Constant Repair.—I take the Freedom to mention these Matters as Worthy of the greatest attention in this alarming Situation of affairs.—Sho'd wait on your Excellency were it not for attending the Circuit.

“ I am with great Respect & Esteem Your Excellencies Most obed<sup>t</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
 Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold ”

“ His Exc<sup>v</sup> Gov. Trumbull. ”

The next letter in the series selected for this paper is from Gov. Trumbull:

“ Lebanon, Aug. 17, 1780.

“ Gent.

“ I inclose a Copy of the Doings of a Convention lately held in Boston, for your perusal, Consideration & opinion, and very especially with respect to the Embargo.\* I have sent out for the attendance of all the Council of Safety on Wednesday the 23<sup>d</sup> of Augt inst. with a particular view to take up & conclude upon that matter, and, as I presume your Engagem<sup>ts</sup> will not permit your attendance, wish your attention & opinion on that Subject before the meeting : in an affair of so much Consequence I choose to act with all the advise & assistance which can be obtained.

“ I am with Esteem & Consideration,  
 Gentlemen, your most Obed<sup>t</sup>  
 and very h'ble Servant

Jon<sup>th</sup> Trumbull.”

“ Hon<sup>ble</sup> Matthew Griswold,  
 Eliph<sup>a</sup> Dyer & Wm Pitkin Esquires ”

\* One of the resolutions of this Convention was : “ That it be recommended to the several States that have Acts laying an Embargo on the Transportation of Articles by Land from one State to another, to repeal them as being unnecessary, and tending rather to injure than serve the Common Cause we are engaged to support and maintain ; to continue Embargos on Provisions by Water, and that particular Care be taken to prevent all illicit Trade with the Enemy.” The Acts here recommended to be repealed were intended to prevent scarcity, and keep down prices—their utility had been perceived. But the attention of this Convention was not given solely, or chiefly, to economical questions : “ They urged the adoption of the Articles of Confederation,” which is “ regarded as the first public Expression of Opinion, by a deliberative Body, in Favor of such a Measure.” See Proceedings of a Conv. of Delegates . . . held at Boston August 3-9, 1780 . . . By Franklin B. Hough. Albany, 1867, pp. 43-44, & Preface p. v. ; and comp. Bancroft's Hist. of U. States . . . Rev. ed., Boston, 1876, vi. 343.



Next follows a letter from Samuel Huntington, touching an important crisis in the campaign of the South, which was followed, within about seven months, by the siege of Yorktown and the close of the war : \*

“ Philadelphia, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1781.

“ Gentlemen,

“ My situation deprives me of the pleasure of communicating to you from time to time many occurrences to which Inclination would lead did time permit. †

“ The situation of the Southern States hath been critical for some time ; after the battle at the Cowpens where Col. Tarlton was totally defeated, & upwards of five hundred of his Corps made prisoners by Gen'l Morgan, L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis, enraged, as it seems, at that Event, burnt and destroy'd his wagons and heavy baggage, & with his whole force, consisting of about three thousand, pursued Gen'l Morgan, his first object being suppos'd to be to retake the prisoners ; his pursuit was rapid for upwards of two hundred miles, until he arriv'd on the Southern borders of Virginia. Gen'l Morgan, by his Activity & prudence, with the assistance of a kind Providence, brought off his Troops & prisoners.

“ This rapid movement of Cornwallis must have thrown the Country into consternation through which he marched, and met with no resistance until he arriv'd at Dan river on the borders of Virginia.

“ Gen'l Greene, with his little army, consisting of but two thousand, was obliged to retreat over the river ; which was done without any loss of Troops or baggage.

“ By a letter come to hand from Gov<sup>r</sup> Jefferson, copy of which is enclos'd, it appears that the militia of the Country are rallied to that degree that Cornwallis is retreating, in his turn, towards Hillsborough, North Carolina, & Gen'l Greene in pursuit of him.

“ The army under Cornwallis are such a distance from the protection of their shipping, nothing seems wanting but the spirited exertions of the Country in aid of Gen'l Greene to make them all prisoners ; but we must wait tho' with anxiety to know the Event.

“ I have the Honour to be with the highest respect Your Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Sam : Huntington.”

“ T<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
Judges of the Sup<sup>r</sup> Court in Connecticut.”

The next two letters which I give are from Roger Sherman :

“ Philadelphia, Aug. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1781.

“ Sir,

“ A ship arrived here last Sabbath day from Cadiz, and brought Letters from our Minister and his Secretary at the Court of Spain : they mention that about 8000 Troops are ready to Embark on a Secret expedition, and confirm the accounts we have had from the London Papers of the resignation of Mr. Neckar, Financier of France, Occasioned by some Discontent.—The President received a Letter last Saturday from Gen'l Green, dated July 17<sup>th</sup>, giving account of the operations of his Army for about a month—he mentions the evacuation of Ninety Six by the Enemy, that they retired to Orangeburgh, about 80

\* Comp. History of the United States of America. By Richard Hildreth. New York, 1856, iii. 343-48 ; and Bancroft's United States . . . Rev. ed., ut supra, vi. 380-94.

† The writer was at this time a Member of Congress.

miles from Charlestown ; that they also occupied a Post at Monk's Corner, about 26 miles from Charlestown ; that they have no Post in Georgia except Savannah ; that Georgia has resumed civil Government ; That a party of our men took three waggons & stores from the Enemy on a march from Charlestown toward Orangeburgh—that Col. Lee had taken a party of horse consisting of one Captain, one Lt & one Cornet, and 45 privates, with their horses and Accoutrements. It is expected that civil Government will soon be re-established in South Carolina. Mr. Jay wrote that he expected a Safe conveyance in about a fortnight from the time he wrote (May 29<sup>th</sup>), when he should send a long letter—I enclose a Copy of resolutions respecting the State of Vermont, which will prepare the way for a settlement of that controversy, they passed very unanimously.—

"The enclosed papers contain the news of the day. . . . Should be glad to be informed whether any provision of money is made for support of Government, I have about £100. due for service in the Sup<sup>r</sup> Court which I should be glad to receive.—I wrote some time ago to the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council of Safety for some money to be sent to bear my expences here : *if I don't have some soon, I shall be totally destitute*, it is very expensive living here, *and no money can be obtained but from the State*. There are many refugees here from South Carolina & Georgia, lately redeemed from Captivity : Congress have recommended a loan & a Contribution for their relief.

"I am, Sir, with great Regard

Your Honor's obedient & humble servant

Roger Sherman."

"The honorable

Mathew Griswold, Esq<sup>r</sup>."

"New Haven, July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1784.

"Sir,

"I received your Excellency's Letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant, with the papers inclosed. The public service requires that the men should be furnished as soon as possible to take possession of the western Posts, which are expected soon to be evacuated by the British Garrisons, as also to Aid the Commissioners in treating with the Indians. The Secretary in the war office ought to have Informed Your Excellency what number & kinds of officers besides the Major are to be furnished by this State ; as the States are not to be at any expence in raising the men, I should think it would be most for the Interest of this State that your Excellency, with such advice as you may think proper to take, should appoint the officers, & order the men to be inlisted. I should think it would be well for your Excellency to take the opinion of the Hon. Oliver Wolcot who is one of the Commissioners to treat with the Indians : there seems to be a defect in the Laws as to the powers of the Supreme Executive authority in the State, or they are not sufficiently explicit in all cases.

"I have no doubt but that the Assembly would have desired your Excellency to have executed this requisition if they had known it would have been made.

"Your Excellency will be best able to Judge what will be expedient.

"I am with Great respect

Your Excellency's humble Servant

Roger Sherman."

"His Excellency Governor Griswold"

I give one more of Governor Griswold's own letters :

"Lyme, August 1, 1784

"Sir,

"I understand that *our Delagate is Detain'd from Congress only for want of money*: how far the want of Representation in that Important Body may affect the Interest & Safety of this State I know not—it is Certainly a very Dangerous Threatening Situation for this State to be in—I Inform'd you before that the Assembly had order'd Drafts to be made on the Sheriffs for that purpose, that those Drafts were made accordingly, and *Directed you to lay by the first money for that use you cou'd Collect*. I now Repeat the same Requi'sition in the Most Pressing manner, & Desire you will push the Collection with all Possible Dispatch, till you receive your part of the £200; and what money, more or less, you can obtain send forthwith to Stephen M. Mitchel, Esq<sup>r</sup> at Weathersfield, who has the order, and is appointed one of the Delagates—It's but a small sum that is Required of Each of the Sheriffs—The Delay may be more Injurious than ten times the value of the Money—

"From S'r your most obedient  
humble Servt

"Elijah Abel Esq"

Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold"

The last letter to be given here, from Oliver Wolcott, Governor Griswold's brother-in-law, though partly private, closes this series appropriately, by its reference to the retirement of the governor from public life:

"Litchfield, Nov<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1788

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's Favour inclosing Mr Worthington's Sermon on the Death of my Sister has been rec<sup>d</sup> The Object of this Sermon (without Partiality) most certainly deserved all the Eulogium which the Preacher has bestowed upon her personal Virtues.—By her Death I am sensible you have lost a most Valuable Companion, and her other Relations and Acquaintance, a Person who was most dear to them.—

"But such is the Will of God, and it becomes us to Acquiesce in the Divine Dispensation. May we be prepared to meet her in that State of Happiness which will admit of no Separation!—All our Injoyments are fleeting and insecure, that which you mentioned relative to your discontinuance in publick Office evinces the Truth of the Observation.—But this event, tho' disagreeable, was not effected by false and insidious Insinuations to the Injury of your moral Character (which others have most unjustly supposed), but from an Apprehension that your want of Health would render the office very burdensome to yourself, and less beneficial to the State, than your former Administration had been, however ill-founded this Opinion might be. Yet the Consciousness of your own Integrity, and the Universal Opinion of the State in this respect, must render the event far less disagreeable than it would otherwise have been.—That you may finally be Approved of by that Being who cannot err is the Devout wish of, Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble  
Serv<sup>t</sup>

Oliver Wolcott."

"Mrs. Wolcott presents  
to you her sincere Respects."

Other letters have been preserved, from William Samuel Johnson, Col. William Ledyard, Roger Sherman, Stephen Mix Mitchell, Charles Thomson (Secretary of Congress), Oliver Wolcott, Samuel Huntington, Governor Treadwell, Jonathan Sturgis, James Wadsworth and Erastus Wolcott.

Here we pause to speak of Lyme and its position and influence in Revolutionary times. It was on the great route between Boston and New York. Old men still remember the heavily laden coaches, as their horses dashed up to the door of the old Parsons Tavern, which stood unfenced upon the wide, open green, horns blowing, dogs barking, boys running, neighbors gathering, while the passengers descended. Many persons of note trod "the dry, smooth-shaven green," and shook off the dust of travel. The landlord, Marshfield Parsons, had not removed to Newburyport with his father, the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, and his Griswold mother. His tavern and the ball-room over the back part of it were the resort of the neighbors for all assemblies, social and political. For religious purposes they climbed to the site of the meeting-house on the Meeting-House Hills. Near the green lived the pastor, Rev. Stephen Johnson, son of Mr. Nathaniel Johnson and Sarah Ogden, his wife, of Newark, N. J. The spirit of "good old John Ogden," the pioneer, seemed to have descended to him, and in this small, quiet village he had "scented the battle afar off," and ten years before the Revolution had published and disseminated fiery articles in opposition to the Stamp Act, which led to the banding together of the Sons of Liberty. Bancroft says: "Thus the Calvinist ministers nursed the flame of piety and of civil freedom. Of that venerable band, none did better service than the American-born Stephen Johnson, pastor of the First Church of Lyme." \* Doubtless his zeal was increased by the ardor of his next neighbor, Mr. John McCurdy, a Scotch-Irish gentleman who had lived to early manhood amid the oppressions of the English Government in Ireland, and who eagerly assumed the expense of the publication and dissemination of the incendiary papers. Young Samuel Holden Parsons had been brought up under Johnson's teachings. When he led his command to Bunker Hill, Mr. Johnson, the spirit of "the church militant" stirring within him, left his pulpit, and accompanied Parsons's regiment as Chaplain. Matthew Griswold, under the same influences, fulfilled the patriotic duties of his lifetime. All these men were in constant communication, personal and by letter, with the leading men of the period. To them others would come. No

\* History of the United States of America . . . By George Bancroft. The Author's last Revision. New York, 1883, iii. 141.

doubt many political meetings, both proposed and accidental, were convened on the arrival of the coach.

In other parts of the town lived Dr. John Noyes, a distinguished surgeon in the Revolutionary army, whose wife was a granddaughter of the first governor Wolcott of Connecticut, and a niece of Mrs. Gov. Matthew Griswold; Col. David Fithin Sill; Col. Samuel Selden; and other brave officers and soldiers of the Revolution, among whom was Capt. Ezra Lee, who was selected by Gen. Parsons, under directions from Washington, for the daring attempt, which proved unsuccessful, to blow up a British man-of-war in the harbor of New York.

When on the 9th of April, 1776, Gen. Washington slept at the house of Mr. McCurdy,\* as he traveled from Boston to New York, after taking command of the American army, all the prominent men within reach gathered to take counsel with him. Again, when on the 27th of July, 1778, the young Gen. Lafayette marched through Lyme with his troops, and staid at the house of Mr. McCurdy on the green,† while they rested in a field nearly

\* This house, built early in the eighteenth century, still stands in good condition, and is occupied by Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy, of the third generation of its occupants of the family. When, in 1824, General Lafayette made his triumphal journey through the country, he and his party breakfasted with Mr. Richard McCurdy of the second generation.

† The Professor of American History in Yale College, Professor Dexter, has favored me with the following notes:

“General Washington set out from Cambridge for New York Thursday, April 4, 1776.

“His first recorded stopping-place is Providence, which he left on Sunday, April 7.

“At Norwich, Governor Trumbull met him by appointment, and dined with him; and ‘in the evening’ (i. e. Monday afternoon, it would seem) the General started for New London [where he passed one night only, and breakfasted, as is known, on Tuesday at Caulkins’s tavern, between New London and Lyme].

“The next fixed date is his arrival in New Haven on Thursday morning, April 11 (according to the New Haven newspaper of the next week); and after a few hours’ tarry he pushed on towards New York, which he entered on Saturday.

“If tradition is good for anything, it can certainly be relied on to prove that General Washington slept in Lyme on Tuesday night, April 9th. He was accompanied by General Gates and other officers. Mrs. Washington came by way of Hartford, a few days later.”

“In reply to your inquiry . . . I send the following extract from the Diary kept at New Haven by President Stiles:

“‘1778, July 26. Lord’s Day. The 2 Brigades &c. lodged at Milford last night & travelled hither with their Baggage this Morning . . . The Troops began to enter the Town a little before vii o’clock . . .

“‘At ix the Marquis de la Fayette, aet. 22, and Gen. Varnum, with Col. Sherburn & Col. Fleury visited me . . . At iv P. M., just at the finishing of meetings, the whole Corps began their March and left the Town by iv½; at which Time the Marquis & his suite came up to Dr Daggett & myself just from Chapel, & took Leave. They proceed by 2 Roads, Gen. Varnum’s & Col. Philips’s viâ Middletown, Hartford, &c., Gen. Glover’s (in which the Marquis) viâ Seaside.’

opposite, all the surrounding country poured forth its inhabitants to do him honor.

In this connection it may not be amiss to mention that, about the year 1753, Benjamin Franklin, having then been appointed joint Postmaster-General for the colonies, and making a journey into New England on that business,\* passed through Lyme in his chaise, measuring distances (as is said by some mechanical contrivance connected with the revolution of his wheels), at which mile-stones were set up by men who followed after him. One of those stones may still be seen on the Meeting-House Hills.

On his retirement from public life in 1788 Gov. Griswold devoted much time to farming operations, which indeed seem to have always interested him. Prof. Dexter has kindly called my attention to the following curious entries in the manuscript "Itinerary" of a journey from New London to New Haven in October, 1790, by Pres. Stiles :

"Gov<sup>r</sup> Griswold now æt. 76, born at Lyme 1710,† fitted for College, settled a Farmer : studied law proprio Marte, bo't him the first considera<sup>l</sup> Law Library in Connect<sup>t</sup>, took Att<sup>o</sup> oath & began practice 1743—a great Reader of Law.

"Has a fine Library of well chosen Books, 140 Fol. & 400 other Volumes, or about 550 Volumes, now left in his Study, besides a part of his Libr<sup>y</sup> given to his Son in Norwich—about 200 Law Books, the rest Hist<sup>y</sup> & Divinity.

"On leaving the chair of Gov<sup>r</sup> he went to Farming. He has a Farm of 400 acres, stock 100 Head of Cattle, cuts 100 Loads Hay, Eng. besides Salt, 22 acres Ind<sup>n</sup> corn & 80 Bush<sup>s</sup> Wheat & 400 Bush<sup>s</sup> oats Raised this year. Hires 6 or 7 men; 38 & 40 cows, Dairy 3<sup>m</sup>.<sup>lb</sup> cheese, 400<sup>lb</sup> Butter Fall Sales. In perfect Health of Body & Mind. Lame yet vigorous. Cart<sup>g</sup> 400 Loads Dung, sea weed &c., last year. At close of Gov<sup>r</sup> had 40 Head Cattle & cut 40 or 50 Loads Hay only. Has 50 acres Salt Marsh; 18 or 20 stacks Hay now round his Barn, 3 or 4 Tons each."

On a subsequent leaf is the following Memorandum :

"Gov<sup>r</sup> Griswolds Farm Stock 1790

23 Hogs, 8 yoke Oxen, 17 Fat Cattle, 25 Cows, 3000<sup>lb</sup> cheese, 400<sup>lb</sup> Butter, 8000<sup>lb</sup> Beef sale or 17 Fat Cattle, 400 Bush<sup>s</sup> Oats, 500 do. Ind. corn, 100 Loads Eng. Hay, 80 do. salt do., 500<sup>lb</sup> Flax, 45 Bush<sup>s</sup> Wheat, 120 do. Rye, 105 sheep."

The Griswold family-archives also contain a paper entitled "Remarks on Liberty and the African Trade," by Governor Griswold, dated July 1<sup>st</sup> 1795, and apparently intended for publication. Domestic slaves appear to

"I suppose this fixes the date of Lafayette's visit at Lyme as Monday, July 27, 1778. I learn from Sparks's Letters of Washington that Lafayette reached Providence on Wednesday, July 29."

\* See Life of Benjamin Franklin. . . By Jared Sparks . . . Boston, 1844, p. 174.

† A slip of the pen for 1714—the true date—as he gives his age as 76.

have been owned in the Griswold family from the earliest times, as was the case in most New England families of the higher class. But the opportunity is a rare one to know by his own words, in a somewhat lengthy argument, how the subject was viewed by one of the Revolutionary patriots of New England. There are several drafts of this paper, differing slightly; I use that which seems the most finished. The whole course of thought will be made clear by the following abstract and quotations :

Man was created in absolute dependence upon the Almighty, and, for his good, was originally placed under laws, obedience to which "fixes the subject in the highest Liberty." But he willfully disobeyed, whereupon, instead of exacting the full penalty, God allowed "fallen man to Incorporate into a state of Civil Government . . . as the Circumstances of Each Common Wealth sho'd Require . . ." the power of the State being limited to temporal rights and properties, exclusive of "matters of Conscience & a Superintending Power . . ."

"So that upon the ground of Creation, Preservation and Redemption every man is Born under the most Inviolable Subjection of obedience to the Divine Law and also under Subjection to the Civil Laws of the Common Wealth where he happens to be, that are not Contrary to the Divine Law . . . Nothing is more injurious to Civil Society than using a Licentious Liberty . . ."

*Natural right to absolute liberty is a fallacy.* "In regard to the African Trade, to set the matter in its true light, it is necessary to Consider the state of those People in their Native Country, constantly at war with one another, and liable to be put to the sword by the victor . . ."

"The question arises whether Transporting those Captives from their Native Country can be warrantable. Any suppos'd wrong must arise from one of two things : either from a Tortious Entry into the Territories of a foreign State, trampling upon their Laws, Disturbing the Peace ; or from Personal Wrong done to the Individuals Remov'd. In Regard to the first, as the Captives, by the Laws of that Country, are made an Article of Commerce, to Enter for Trade cannot be Tortious ; Respecting the Latter, it's nessasary to Compare the state of those Persons before and after their Removal ;"

being in their native country in heathenish darkness, and under despotism, whereas in Connecticut they become

"plac'd under the Government of a master who is bound to Provide nessasaries sufficient for their Comfort in Life, are Protected by Law from Cruelty and oppression, if abused have their Remedy . . . against their own master . . ."

"*The notion of some that Slavery is worse than Death is a most Capital Error.* For, as a State of Trial & Probation for Happiness thro' an Endless Eternity is the greatest

favor that was ever Granted to a fallen Creature, as Death puts a final End to that State of Trial, so Life must be of more Importance than any other Enjoyment can be in this world . . .

“Those held in service may be Divided into five Classes: The aggressor in War seems to take the first Rank: he, by taking a part in a Bloody War forfeits both Life & Liberty together, may be slain; as Liberty is only a part of the Forfeiture, the Captor, by taking a part for the whole, does the Captive no Injustice: the Instance of the Gibeonites is a voucher for” holding such to service . . . “The next Class to be Considered is the Innocent Captives who have taken no active part in the war . . . to purchase those Captives, and bring them away, is to Save their lives, is a meritorious act, Entitules the Purchaser, by the Laws of Salvage, to the Purchase-Money by the Labor of the Captive . . . The next Class . . . those sold for Adultery or other Atrocious Crimes . . . there can be no Doubt but they ought to be Punished,” and by the Laws of Moses were punished even by death. “. . . The next class is those Kidnapped by Gangs of Private Robbers: . . . many of those Poor Children are bro’t many hundred miles, and if they were Releas’d on the Sea Coast there is no Chance they wou’d ever arrive at the places of their Nativity . . . if the Purchase was Refus’d, those Abandoned Villains who Committed the fact wou’d probably put all to the Sword—what then sho’d hinder the Laws of Salvage from taking place in such case of Life & Death, but that the Purchaser ought to Step in, & Redeem the Poor Prisoners, take the part of a kind Guardian to them, hold them in Reasonable service till they have paid the Purchase-money, then Release them if they behave well? . . . As to those Born here, tho’ some hold that the Son must be Considered in the likeness of the Father, that, if the Father be in Bondage, the Son must be so too . . . that seems carrying the point too far; but it seems those Children cannot be considered entitled to the Priviledges of free Denizens, for, as the Father was an Alien, and that Disability not Remov’d, the Son must be so too . . . *Political Priviledges are Hereditary* . . . Therefore, upon the Ground of Debt, the Son may be Rightfully held till he has paid that Debt for his Support, Education, Schooling, etc. . . .

*“By a Sovereign Act to set them all free at one blow, and Dissolve the Legal Right of the Masters to their Service, which the Masters Purchased with their own money, under the Sanction of the Law, wou’d be Rather using the Law as a Snare to Deceive the People . . .*

“The master ought to learn his servant to Read and understand the Bible . . . Supply him with the nessaries of Life in a Reasonable Manner, in Sickness and health, speak kindly to him, Encourage him in his Business, give him the Praise when he does well, Chear his Spirits, *but not with fondness or Familiarity*; let him know his Proper Distance, at the same time give him Moral Evidence of Sensere Friendship, frown upon vice . . . Govern him with a steady hand, not with Undue Severity . . . If those measures were Properly Pursued, it wou’d be laying the ax at the Root of the Tree, and I sho’d hope for better times . . .

“I am sensible that the Idea of being Commanded at the will of another is Disagreeable to the feelings of the Humane mind under its Present Depravity: but *that Impression is merely Imaginary*. . . Those Servants in Connecticut under the care & Guardianship of kind masters, and contented where they are well Provided for, without any care or anxiety of their own, are some of the Happiest People in the State . . . but such is the Misery of the fallen Race that many of them cannot bear Prosperity: Preferment, Wealth, Respect and kindness Inflames their Pride and Haughtiness. . . . I wish that every Per-



son was Possess'd of the Virtue, Industry and Prudence that Quallifies a Person for Freedom, and Proper Measures were taken to make all free; But to set such free as ought to be Restrain'd wou'd tend to sap the foundations of Civil Government. . . . I wou'd Query whether the same Principles which Induced the . . . Society [for emancipation] to undertake to Relieve against the Tyranny & oppression of Cruel Masters does not Equally oblige to Endeavour, if Possible, to Relieve these Poor People against the Soul-Ruining advise of some bad People, and also against the Excess of their own Misconduct. . . .

"I hope for wise Reasons the future Importation of Slaves into this State will be Effectually Prevented—it seems the foundation for it is laid already. No Common Wealth can hardly be more hurt than by bringing bad People into it, or making them so that are in it already. Some men of Sensibility seem to hold that holding those People in Service is one of the Crying Sins of the Land, while others Congratulate them upon their Deliverance from Heathenish Darkness: many appear Ignorant of the True Principles upon which natural Liberty is founded, which can consist in Nothing Else than in a Spirit of Obedience to the Divine Law . . . July 1st, 1795."

To the foregoing a few sentences should be added with respect to Governor Griswold's personal character. I quote from a funeral sermon preached on his death, by the Rev. Lathrop Rockwell of Lyme:

"In this, & in all the offices which he sustained, he distinguished himself as a faithful servant of the public; and the whole tenor of his conduct was happily designated with fidelity, integrity, uprightness and a high regard for the good of his constituents.

"But, if we descend to the more private walks of life, and view his character as a private citizen, we shall find the social sweetly blended with the Christian virtues. He possessed a benevolent disposition, which rendered his deportment truly engaging in all the domestic relations. Having a frank and open heart, he was sincere in all his professions of friendship . . . He was truly hospitable, and abounded in acts of charity"\* . . .

Conspicuous as Governor Griswold became in public life, and accustomed as he was from early days to express his opinions on important subjects, he was yet naturally diffident and shy. He had some time desired to marry a lady in Durham, Conn., of a family since distinguished in Western New York. She, however, preferred to marry a physician, and kept Matthew Griswold in waiting, ready to accept him in case the doctor did not come forward. With some intimation of this state of affairs, and aroused by it, Matthew Griswold at last pressed the lady for a decision. She answered hesitatingly that she "wished for more time." "Madam," said he, rising with decision, "I give you your *lifetime*," and withdrew. She *took* her lifetime, and never married. Naturally diffident as he was, and rendered by this discomfiture still more self-distrustful, he might

\* A Sermon delivered at the funeral of his Excellency Matthew Griswold Esq . . . By Lathrop Rockwell . . . New London, 1802, pp. 14-15.

have never approached a lady again. His second cousin Ursula Wolcott and he had exchanged visits at the houses of their parents from childhood, till a confiding affection had grown up between them. His feelings were understood, but not declared. Time passed ; it might be that he would take *his* lifetime. At last, Ursula, with the resolution, energy and good sense which characterized her, seeing the situation, rose to its control. Meeting him about the house, she occasionally asked him : "What did you say, cousin Matthew?" "Nothing," he answered. Finally, meeting him on the stairs, she asked : "What did you *say*, cousin Matthew?" "Nothing," he answered. "It's *time* you *did*," said she. Then he *did*, and the result was a long and happy marriage, in which his wife shared his anxieties, counsels and successes, brought up a superior family of children, and in his frequent absences, and when he was overburthened with cares, administered the concerns of a large farm, and controlled a numerous household of negro servants and laborers.

The marriage of Ursula Wolcott and Matthew Griswold re-united two of the leading families of Connecticut, by the new bond of a singular identity of official position ; for the lady was both daughter, sister, wife, aunt, and, as we shall presently see, mother, too, of a governor of the State. This singular coincidence led a living descendant of hers\* to discover the still more remarkable fact that around the name of this lady could be grouped, as all belonging in a sense to her family-circle, twelve Governors of States, thirty-six high Judges (most of them distinct persons from any of the governors), and many other eminent men. The particulars have been briefly stated in a very interesting paper, which on every account deserves a place in this memorial record :

" Family Circle  
of  
Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold. †

"Ursula Wolcott was born in Windsor (now South Windsor), Connecticut, Oct. 30, 1724 ; married Matthew Griswold of Lyme, Connecticut, Nov. 11, 1743 ; and died April 5, 1788.

" I. GOVERNORS.

- "1. *Roger Wolcott*, her father, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "2. *Oliver Wolcott, Sen.*, her brother, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Signer of the Declaration of Independence.
- "3. *Oliver Wolcott, Jr.*, her nephew, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Secretary of the Treasury under Washington.

\* Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury.

† From New Engl. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1879, xxxiii. 223-25, with additions.

- "4. *Matthew Griswold, Sen.*, her husband, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "5. *Roger Griswold*, her son, was Governor of Connecticut ; also was offered by the elder President Adams, but declined, the post of Secretary of War.
- "6. *William Wolcott Ellsworth*, her first cousin's grandson, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "7. *William Pitkin, 3d*, her second cousin, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "8. *William Woodbridge*, her grandnephew through her husband, was Governor of Michigan.
- "9. *Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, her third cousin through the Drakes, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "10. *Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.*, fourth cousin of her children, was Governor of Connecticut ; also Speaker of the United States House of Representatives ; also United States Senator.
- "11. *Joseph Trumbull*, her remoter cousin, was Governor of Connecticut.
- "12. *Frederick W. Pitkin*, of the same Pitkin blood as herself, was lately Governor of Colorado.

## "II. JUDGES.

- "1. *Roger Wolcott*, her father (I. 1), was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "2. *Roger Wolcott, Jr.*, her brother, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "3. *Erastus Wolcott*, her brother, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.
- "4. *Oliver Wolcott*, her brother (I. 2), was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Connecticut.
- "5. *Oliver Wolcott*, her nephew (I. 3), was Judge of the United States Circuit Court.
- "6. *Josiah Wolcott*, her second cousin, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Massachusetts.
- "7. *Matthew Griswold, Sen.*, her husband (I. 4), was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "8. *Matthew Griswold, Jr.*, her son, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "9. *Roger Griswold*, her son (I. 5), was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "10. *Oliver Ellsworth*, who married her first cousin's daughter Abigail Wolcott, was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court ; also United States Senator ; also United States Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of France.
- "11. *William Wolcott Ellsworth* (I. 6), son of Abigail (Wolcott) Ellsworth, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "12. *Samuel Holden Parsons*, her nephew through her husband, was appointed by Washington the first Chief Justice of the Northwest Territory.
- "13. *Stephen Titus Hosmer*, who married her grandniece Lucia Parsons, was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "14. *Thomas Scott Williams*, who married Delia Ellsworth, granddaughter of Abigail (Wolcott) Ellsworth, was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "15. *William Pitkin, 2d*, first cousin of her father, was Judge of the Superior Court, and Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "16. *William Pitkin, 3d*, her second cousin (I. 7), was Chief Justice of Connecticut.
- "17. *William Pitkin, 4th*, third cousin of her children, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- "18. *Matthew Allyn*, who married her second cousin Elizabeth Wolcott, was Judge of the Superior Court, Connecticut.

- " 19. *Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, her third cousin (I. 9), was Chief Justice of Conn.
- " 20. *John Trumbull*, of the same descent, was Judge of the Superior Court, Conn.
- " 21. *James Lanman*, who married her granddaughter Marian Chandler, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut.
- " 22. *Lafayette S. Fosier*, who married her great-granddaughter Joanna Lanman, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut ; also United States Senator, and Acting Vice-President of the United States.
- " 23. *Nathaniel Pope*, who married her grandniece Lucretia Backus, was Judge of the United States Court of Illinois.
- " 24. *Henry T. Backus*, her grandnephew, who married her grandniece Juliana Trumbull Woodbridge, was Judge of the United States Court of Arizona.
- " 25. *William Woodbridge*, her grandnephew (I. 8), was Judge of the Supreme Court, Michigan.
- " 26. *Ebenezer Lane*, her grandson, who married her granddaughter Frances Griswold, was Chief Justice of Ohio.
- " 27. *William Griswold Lane*, her great-grandson, who married her great-granddaughter Elizabeth Diodate Griswold, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Ohio.
- " 28. *Charles Johnson McCurdy*, her great-grandson, was Judge of the Supreme Court, Connecticut ; also United States Chargé d'Affaires in Austria ; also Member of the Peace Congress of 1861.
- " 29. *Sherlock J. Andrews*, who married her great-granddaughter Ursula McCurdy Allen, was Judge of the Superior Court, Ohio.
- " 30. *John Henry Boalt*, her great-grandson, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Nevada.
- " 31. *Charles Allen*, late Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, was of the same Pitkin blood as herself.
- " 32. *Aaron Hackley*, who married Sophia Griswold, her great-great-grandniece (a descendant of her brother Oliver), was Judge of the Supreme Court of New York.
- " 33. *Josiah Hawes*, descended from her brother Roger, was Circuit Judge, Michigan.
- " 34. *Henry Baldwin*, son of her second cousin Theodora Wolcott, was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.
- " 35. *Henry Matson Waite*, Chief Justice of Connecticut, and
- " 36. *Morrison Remick Waite*, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, descended from her own and her husband's ancestor Henry Wolcott, the first of the name in this country, and from her husband's ancestor the first Matthew Griswold.

" Notes.

"Most of those above named as Governors and Judges held, also, other high offices. All those mentioned as connected with Mrs. Griswold through her husband were also related to her by Wolcott blood, her husband and herself having been second cousins.

"Dr. Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, i. 227, note, says : 'Some of the [Wolcott] family have been Members of the Assembly, Judges of the Superior Court, or Magistrates, from the first settlement of the colony to this time—A.D. 1797—during the term of more than a century and a half.' According to Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., Gov. William Pitkin 'belonged to a family in which the honors of office seemed to have become hereditary. A Pitkin sat at the Council-board for three-quarters of a century, six or seven

years only excepted.' A similar remark might be applied to the public life of the Griswolds and Trumbulls.

"Among the connections of Mrs. Griswold, not mentioned, have been many men eminent in the learned professions, judges of other courts, members of both Houses of Congress, eminent merchants, military officers of high rank, etc.

"*Professor Simon Greenleaf*, the distinguished professor of law in Harvard University, was her grandnephew through her husband. *Mr. George Griffin*, the eminent lawyer of New York, and the famous *Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin*, were of the same Wolcott and Griswold lineage as herself and her husband.

"*Christopher P. Wolcott* of Ohio, who was Attorney-General of Ohio, afterwards Judge-Advocate-General, and died when Assistant Secretary of War, was her great-grandnephew.

"*Lyman Trumbull*, Justice of the Supreme Court, Illinois, also United States Senator, is of the same Drake descent as the Trumbulls named in the lists.

"Gov. Roger Wolcott, Mrs. Griswold's father (I. 1), was Major-General in command of the Connecticut troops in the expedition to Cape Breton, and in the siege and capture of Louisburg, in 1745. Judge Erastus Wolcott (II. 3) and Gov. Oliver Wolcott (I. 2), her brother, were Brigadier-Generals in the Revolution. Judge Parsons (II. 12) was Major-General in the Revolution, and was a member of the Court Martial selected by Washington for the trial of Major André.

"*Major-General John Pope*, U. S. A., son of Judge Pope (II. 23), was distinguished in the late civil war; as were many of her young descendants, one of whom, the heroic Captain John Griswold, gave his life at Antietam.

"*General James S. Wadsworth*, of Geneseo, N. Y., killed in the battle of the Wilderness, was descended from several branches of her Wolcott family. Gen. Wadsworth's sister Elizabeth married the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, son of the Earl of Dunmore.

"Her great-great-granddaughter Eleanora Lorillard, daughter of Lorillard Spencer and of her great-granddaughter Sarah Griswold, is the wife of Prince Virginio Cenci of Vicovaro, etc., Chamberlain to the reigning King of Italy. Princess Cenci is now one of the Ladies of Honor to the Queen."

Governor Matthew Griswold and his wife both lie buried in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme.

The following are their epitaphs:

"This monument is erected to the memory of Matthew Griswold Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut, who died on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of April in the year 1799—aged 85 years and 28 days.

"Sic transit gloria mundi."

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"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Ursula Griswold, the amiable consort of Matthew Griswold Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut. She departed this life on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1788, in the 64<sup>th</sup> year of her age."

Their children were:

I. JOHN (see next page).

2. *Matthew*, born April 17, 1760; graduated at Yale College in 1780; who married, September 4, 1788, Lydia, daughter of Deacon Seth Ely of Lyme; and, having settled in Lyme, died there, June 10, 1842, s. p. A letter from his father to him while in college, now lying before me, is too characteristic of the times to be left out of this record:

“Lyme, Nov. 18<sup>th</sup> 1779.

“Dear Son,

“Thro’ Divine Goodness wee are all in usual health—I have herewith Sent You a Thirty Dollar bill to purchase a Ticket in the Continental Lottery in the Third Class: *I suppose they are to be had in New Haven of Deacon Austin; I wish you good Success with it. If they are not to be had in New Haven, you will Enquire & purchase one Elsewhere*—If there be no Chance to purchase one, lay up your Money, and keep it safe.—I hope you will pursue your Studies with Dilligence & Industry—But above all keep Holy the Sabbath Day & *pay all Possible Regard to Religion: a vertuous Life is the only Foundation upon which you can Depend to be Comfortable here & Happy in the Coming World*—the Joy of your Friends and a Blessing to the world.

“From your affectionate Father

Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold”

“Matth<sup>w</sup> Griswold Junr”

He learnt the science and practice of law from his father; became, in time, Chief Judge of the County Court of New London; and some of the men of later times most eminent in the legal profession studied law under his direction, together with that of his more distinguished brother Roger, including Judge James Gould, afterwards at the head of the famous law-school of Litchfield, Conn., Chief Justice Henry Matson Waite and Judge Hungerford.

*Edwin Elbridge Salisbury*

## THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF LONG ISLAND

Long Island, at least its central and eastern parts, has been slow to share in the general prosperity of the State at large. Its development, until late years, has been by fits and starts, never advancing much at a time. The natural advantages of Long Island—fine climate, picturesque scenery, and a fertile and varied soil—for a long while were not appreciated by the people as means to an end. While other parts of the State became active and prosperous, Long Island stood still. Its inhabitants lived in the same quiet way as their ancestors, caring little for any change or closer union with the outside world.

The story of the settlement and early government of Long Island, particularly of Suffolk County, is a curious one. A succession of political events took place in the latter half of the 17th century, far-reaching in their effects upon the future of Long Island. These events, with other circumstances, gave rise to certain characteristics in the people, namely, an indifference to the rest of the colony, a disposition to live to themselves, and a lack of energy in furthering their own interests. To a considerable extent, these traits were handed down to their descendants. But the present generation are shaking off the mental peculiarities of the old Long Islanders, sensible of what they ought to do to promote the general welfare, and of the right steps to be taken.

It cannot be certainly said who discovered Long Island. Cabot and Verrazano, in their voyages along the eastern coast of North America, may have seen it ; it is known that Hudson landed on Coney Island. But it was a *terra incognita* until Adriaen Block, in a little craft called the *Restless*, built at New Amsterdam, sailed along its whole length in 1614, and found that it really was an island. The Dutch West India Trading Company, under whose control New Netherland was placed by the States General, soon afterward published a map on which the position and size of Long Island seem to have been accurately determined. Its present and prospective value quickly became known, and settlements were made on its western end. A Dutch traveler, in 1640, speaks of Long Island as the "Crown of the Netherlands." The settlements stretched as far east as Oyster Bay, in what was later called by the English Queens County, and these were chiefly English communities. To the eastward were also several, the first of which was established on Gardi-

ner's Island, in 1639, by Lion Gardiner, who was indeed the first English settler within the bounds of what is now New York State.

Charles I granted the whole of Long Island to the Earl of Stirling; and this grant was confirmed by the Plymouth Company, which claimed under a patent from James I all the land between 40° and 48° north latitude, and from "sea to sea." Lord Stirling, in 1639, granted that part of the island lying easterly of the Peconic river to Edward Howell, Daniel How, and Job Sayer, in trust for themselves and associates. Lord Stirling's heir surrendered the grant of Long Island, and it was afterward included in the patent of the Duke of York, in 1664. For several years after the abandonment of the grant, no power claimed eastern Long Island. The New Englanders had made settlements at Southold, East Hampton, and South Hampton, and other places, which were independent, and had undisputed control over their own affairs. The English pushed themselves close up to the Dutch on the west, and, as a matter of course, there were bitter disputes between the people of the border settlements. East Hampton, South Hampton, Brook Haven, and Huntington soon applied to be annexed to the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, afterward known as Connecticut; and they were annexed, or, rather, taken under their protection.

The charter which Charles II. gave to the Connecticut colony, was a liberal one; and this was due, chiefly, to the personal efforts and influence of John Winthrop, whose father had been of great service to Charles I. Under a clause in the charter, taking in "the islands adjacent," Connecticut claimed Long Island. The towns at the east were willing enough to become a part of a political body in which the people had a voice in the making of the laws and election of rulers. Each was given a deputy in the Colonial Assembly and each paid its share of taxes for the general expenses of the colony. Even the inhabitants of Oyster Bay, who had been neutral in the quarrels of the Dutch and English, voluntarily put themselves under the control of Connecticut.

Under this government, the people were living in 1664, when the expedition fitted out by the Duke of York snatched New Netherland from the Dutch. It is hard to find an excuse for this taking of territory from those who had held undisputed possession of it for half a century. The two nations were at peace, and the conquest was simply an exhibition of brute force—a practical demonstration of the proposition that might makes right. When New Amsterdam was given up, the question of the boundary lines between New York and Connecticut arose. Long negotiations ensued, and it was finally agreed by the representatives of the two col-



onies that New York should have the whole of Long Island, Connecticut taking in exchange for that part over which it had jurisdiction, a strip of territory which brought its boundary line about twenty miles from the Hudson River. Naturally the Long Islanders were not consulted. They remonstrated, but too late, and in vain. Connecticut gained by the bargain, but the people of Long Island lost that which had made them what they were and which promised for them a bright future. Instead of members of a free government, they became subjects of a despot. The Duke of York was arbitrary and dissolute. Nominally a Protestant, he was at heart a bigoted Romanist. With such a ruler the result could not have been other than it was. Connecticut grew and prospered; settlers came to it in numbers, but the progress of Long Island was at once stayed. No one would leave the main-shore of New England, where there was freedom of action and speech, to live under and obey laws such as a man like the Duke of York saw fit to make. The people of the settlements felt that they had been wronged and cheated out of their liberties. Charges of fraud were brought against the Commissioners who fixed the dividing line between the colony and province. A century later Smith, the historian, said that the settlement of the boundary was made in ignorance and fraud.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to picture what Long Island would have been had it remained in the Connecticut government. Thriving settlements would have sprung up everywhere, to become in the course of time populous and active towns; the abundant supply of water would have been sure to develop manufactures; and, in a word, it would have been a second New England, with all the prosperity and energy for which the name stands.

At the retaking of New Netherland, all the towns on Long Island submitted to the Dutch except East Hampton, South Hampton, and Southold, which asked aid from Connecticut to beat off a Dutch force sent against them. The colony actually declared war against the Dutch; but news of the treaty of peace came before hostilities began and Long Island was restored to the English. These three towns still determined to become again, if possible, a part of Connecticut. A petition, asking that they be allowed to join the colony, was sent to the king, but, as might have been supposed, it was denied. On the arrival of Governor Andros, the deputies of the towns, John Mulford of East Hampton, John Howell of South Hampton, and John Youngs of Southold, signed a memorial declaring the settlements to be under the government of Connecticut, and that they would remain so. The deputies were summoned before the

council, but it does not appear that they were punished for their so-called rebellion.

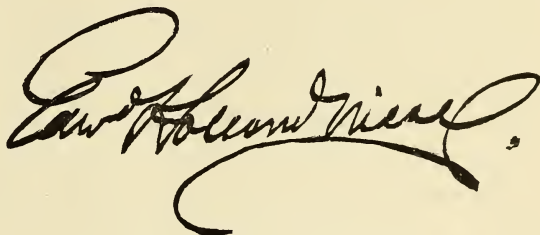
Under all of the Duke of York's governors the Long Islanders had to suffer much. The laws were oppressive, and they were heavily taxed for the benefit of the rest of the province. Governor Lovelace, in a letter to a friend, wrote that he "thought to keep them in submission by imposing such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts." At the restoration of the English the harsh and arbitrary rule of Governor Andros revived with full force the complaints of the people, who began to hate equally the man and the office. The Duke of York saw that he must do something to take away the great discontent and give the inhabitants the representation they demanded. In 1683, he instructed Governor Dongan to call a general assembly of the province, and it met on the 17th of October in the same year. It declared, among other things, that the supreme authority under the duke should thereafter be in a governor, council, and the people represented in general assembly; and some of the more obnoxious laws were repealed. The three "ridings" on Long Island were done away with, and the counties of Kings, Queens and Suffolk organized. The assembly met again in 1684 and 1685, and then not until the arrival of Governor Sloughter, in 1691, though Leisler called one during his usurpation. It is probable that the Duke of York, on becoming James II., determined to govern the province according to his own will, and so ordered Governor Dongan not to call any more assemblies of the people.

The fact that most of the Long Islanders were Dissenters added to their troubles. The Church of England seized the opportunity to pay off some of their old scores against the Puritans by humiliating them in every possible way.

Treated with indifference and contempt, their rights and welfare disregarded, the people of Long Island keenly felt their situation. The older settlers sadly contrasted the present with the past, and the burdens and wrongs now put upon them, with the privileges they had enjoyed as members of a free government, while the younger men saw but little hope of happiness and prosperity for the future. Nursing and brooding over their just grievances, they became isolated and interested in nothing which related to the rest of the province; moreover, they lost much of the natural ambition which had spurred them on to success in their undertakings. Governor Dongan wrote to England of them that they were of an unfriendly disposition—"of the same stamp as the New Englanders, refractory and loth to have any communication with this place (New York)."

The large uninhabited districts on Long Island being crown lands had been granted by the governors to individuals who could not till them; nor would the settlers become their tenants, for they had known in their old homes across the sea the oppression of landlords. Speaking of the province, including Long Island, Cadwallader Colden, at one time surveyor-general, said that "these grants had been most injurious to the country." These estates, for several generations, descended from father to son, but as the land became more valuable and there were those who would cultivate it, they were in several instances divided and sold.

Whatever else happened, the early settlers of eastern Long Island never lost their love for liberty and hatred for oppression; they bequeathed them to their children and grandchildren. While at the time of the Revolution, the people on the west end of the island were generally Tories, the inhabitants of Suffolk county, almost to a man, were patriots who gave their lives and their money to aid in the overthrow of what seemed to them the greatest of tyrannies. That they fought and died in support of their sentiment, and that when the nation was born, they, as much as any others, helped to tide it over the years of its infancy and start it safely on the path to future greatness, are facts of history known to all.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Cadwallader Colden". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

## BRISSOT DE WARVILLE

HIS NOTES ON AMERICA IN 1788

The unique frontispiece of the Magazine for this month, the portrait in antique setting of the spirited young Frenchman who drew a pen picture of our country nearly a century ago, possesses a fresh charm at the present period in our national history. He landed at Boston on a July day in 1788, having crossed the ocean with the avowed object of examining the effects of liberty on the character of man. He was at heart a reformer, had already been instrumental in establishing an institution in France for the abolition of the slave trade, and entered upon his studies of our forming society with the vigor of an enthusiast. He was young, only thirty-four, handsome, and captivating. He brought numerous letters of introduction to eminent Americans, by whom he was cordially welcomed. Lafayette wrote to Washington pronouncing him "clever, intelligent, and discreet," and said it was his intention to embody the result of his observations and researches in a history of America.

Looking through his eyes, we, of this generation, find the Boston of 1788 almost as interesting as the Boston of 1884. His first impressions of it were recorded in the following terse language: "With what pleasure did I contemplate this town which first shook off the English yoke! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street, whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent I have quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors!"

Then, after a comfortable night's rest and opportunity to explore the city more in detail, he added: "Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable with her. Boston is just rising from the devastation of war, and her commerce is flourishing, as also her manufactures, productions, arts and sciences. \* \* \* You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking, which forbade traveling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. Music which their teachers formally proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the *porte-piano*. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the melody of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expense of the domestic virtues."

But, however much our traveler disapproved of musical women, he was evidently well pleased with educated men. He wrote: "Boston has the glory of having given the first College or University to the New World. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions essential to a seat of education. The regulation of the course of studies here is nearly the same as that at the University of Oxford. The library and the cabinet of philosophy do honor to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The Bostonians have no brilliant monuments, but they have neat and commodious churches, good houses, superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night, while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness. The greatest monuments of industry are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Essex. An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in the State is the profession of the law. They preserve still the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense and the love of order ought to teach them to suppress. They have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But notwithstanding the abuses of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Those with whom I am acquainted appear to enjoy great reputation for integrity; such as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, and Sullivan. They had great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negotiation. To recall this memorable period is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American Bar, the celebrated Adams, who, from the humble station of a school-master, has raised himself to the first dignities; whose name is as much respected in Europe as in his own country, for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. Simplicity characterizes almost all the men of this State who have acted distinguished parts in the Revolution; such among others as Samuel Adams and Mr. Hancock, the present governor. A great generosity united to a vast ambition, forms the character of the former. He will have no capitulation with abuses; he fears as much the despotism of virtue and talents, as the despotism of vice. He is an idolater of Republicanism. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always choose it. He has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems to disdain the sciences. But he is beloved by the people. When I compare our legislators, with their airs of import-

ance, always fearing they shall not make noise enough, that they shall not be sufficiently praised, to those modest republicans, I fear for the success of our Revolution. The vain man can never be far from slavery."

It would be delightful and profitable, if space permitted, to make the entire tour of America with the French author. When he reached New Rochelle, he wrote:—"This place will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the most distinguished men of the last Revolution—a Republican remarkable for his firmness and his coolness, a writer eminent for his nervous style, and his close logic, Mr. John Jay, present minister of Foreign Affairs. The following anecdote will give an idea of the firmness of this Republican: At the time of laying the foundation of the peace of 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by secret motives, wished to engage the ambassadors of Congress to confine their demands to the fisheries, and to renounce the western territory; that is, the vast and fertile country beyond the Alegany Mountains. This minister (Vergennes) required particularly that the independence of America should not be considered as the basis of the peace: but simply that it should be conditional. To succeed in this project it was necessary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes that he would sooner lose his life than sign such a treaty; that the Americans sought for independence; that they would never lay down their arms till it should be fully consecrated; that the court of France had recognized it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct if she should deviate from that point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring Mr. Adams to this determination; and M. de Vergennes could never shake his firmness. Consider here the strange concurrence of events. The American who forced the Court of France, and gave laws to the English minister, was the grandson of a French refugee of the last century who fled to New Rochelle. Thus the descendant of a man whom Louis XIV. had persecuted with a foolish rage, imposed his decisions on the descendant of that sovereign, in his own palace, a hundred years after the banishment of the ancestor. Mr. Jay was equally immovable by all the efforts of the English minister, whom M. de Vergennes had gained to his party. And his reasoning determined the Court of St. James. \* \* \* When Mr. Jay passed through England to return to America, Lord Shelburne desired to see him. Accused by the nation of having granted too much to the Americans, the English Statesman desired to know, in case he had persisted not to accord to the Americans the western territory, if they would have continued the war? Mr. Jay answered that he believed it and that he should have advised it."

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 167, Vol. XI.)*

8<sup>th</sup> June 1781.

*Ebenezer Hathaway*, who has been for some time a prisoner in Cimberry Mines,\* says that one Nathaniel Ruggles who lives at Setalket sends over intelligence once every fortnight by Brewster † who comes from Connecticut and lands at the Old Man's. Ruggles comes to New York frequently. One Clarke, who used to trade to Long Island and who has frequently come over with Brewster told him this. Clarke is now a prisoner in the mines.—

Hathaway ‡ landed at Oyster Ponds and on his way to this place met Major

\* Simsbury Mines. See note to Ebenezer Hathaway—*post*.

† Capt. Caleb Brewster, a secret agent of Washington, referred to in the cypher letter from Connecticut, *ante*, Feb. 4, 1781. "Nathaniel Ruggles" of "Setalket" above mentioned, was one of Col. Talmadge's agents to get secret intelligence from New York for the American Commander-in-chief. "Old Man's," where Brewster usually landed to meet Talmadge's agents, later known as Woodville, and now called by the strange old testament name "Mt. Sinai," is on the north shore of Long Island, about three miles east of "Setauket," as that place is now spelled. Clarke was one of the many Connecticut and Long Island people, whose only idea was to make money from both sides.

‡ "Ebenezer Hathaway" was the captain of the privateer *Adventure*, captured on the 7th of April, 1781, who, with his crew, was imprisoned in the terrible subterranean prison of Connecticut, "Cimberry," meaning "Simsbury" Mines, or "Newgate of Connecticut," as it was often styled. In the Political Magazine, vol. 2, p. 444, is the following account of his capture, the prison, and his escape therefrom, dated two days prior to the information here given by him. "*New York, June 8.* This day arrived here Ebenezer Hathaway and Thomas Smith, who on the 18th of May last made their escape from Simsbury Mines after a most gallant struggle for their liberty. These men declare that they were two of eight belonging to the privateer boat *Adventure* duly commissioned, &c.; that they were taken in Huntington Bay off Long Island on the 7th of April, by seven rebel whaleboats manned by 73 men, and that night carried across the Sound to Stamford in Connecticut; that the next day they were carried to what they called headquarters before General Waterbury, who with the air of a demagogue ordered them to Hartford gaol, and told the guard they had liberty to strip them of their cloaths remaining on their backs, but the captors had already stripped them; there they lay on the 27th following, when their trial came on before the Superior Court; that they were brought before the court and directed to plead not guilty; but aware of their knavish tricks, they declared themselves British subjects, and refused to plead either 'guilty' or 'not guilty;' therefore they were ordered to Newgate gaol, or rather to that inquisition Simsbury Mines, which from the following description, exceeds anything among their allies in

Talmadge and another officer belonging to the rebels at South-hold—he stop'd at a publick house there and was told by a widow woman who keeps it, that Tal-

France or Spain. These poor unfortunate victims relate that they were taken from Hartford gaol, and marched under a strong guard to Simsbury, distant about 74 miles. In approaching that horrid dungeon they were first conducted through the apartments of the guard, then through a trap-door down stairs into a room half underground, from thence into another on the same floor called the kitchen, which was divided by a very strong partition door. In the corner of this outer room and near the foot of the stair, opened another large trap-door covered with bars and bolts of iron, which they called Hell; they there descended by means of a ladder about six feet more, which led to a large iron grate or hatchway locked down over a shaft of about three feet diameter sunk through the solid rock, and which they were told led to the bottomless pit. Finding it not possible to evade this hard fate, they bid adieu to the world and descended the ladder about 38 feet more, when they came to what is called the landing; then descending about 30 or 40 feet more they came to a platform of boards laid under foot. Here, say they, we found the inhabitants of this woeful mansion, who were exceedingly anxious to know what was going on above. We told them Lord Cornwallis had beat the rebel army, with which they seemed satisfied, and rejoiced at the good news. They were obliged to make use of pots of charcoal to dispel the foul air, which in some degree is drawn off by a ventilator or auger hole, which is bored from the surface through at this spot, said to be 70 feet perpendicular. Here they continued 20 days and nights, resolved however to avail themselves of the first opportunity to get out, although they should lose their lives in the attempt. Accordingly on the 18th aforesaid, 18 of them being let up into the kitchen to cook, they found means to break the lock of the door which kept them from the foot of the ladder leading up to the guard room; they now doubly resolved to make a push should the door be opened, which fortunately was the case about ten o'clock at night to let down a prisoner's wife who had come there and was permitted to see him. Immediately they seized the fortunate moment and rushed up, but before any one had got out the door was closed down on the rest, and he the brave Captain Hathaway scuffled with the whole of them for a few minutes and was wounded in three different places, when he was nobly seconded by his friend Thomas Smith, and afterward by the others. They then advanced upon the guard consisting of 24 in number and took the whole prisoners, which was no sooner accomplished than they brought their companions out of the bottomless pit and put the guard down in their room; then marched off with their arms and ammunition but were soon afterwards obliged to disperse. This we the subscribers declare to be the way the King's loyal subjects, vulgarly called Tories, are treated in Connecticut.

EBENEZER HATHAWAY,  
THOMAS SMITH."

Noah A. Phelps, in his History of Simsbury, p. 143, thus tells the story: "On the 18th of May, 1781, the prisoners, amounting to twenty-eight persons, most of whom were tories, rose upon the guard, seized their arms, and made good their escape, carrying the captured arms with them. \* \* \* About ten o'clock at night when all the guard but two had retired to rest a wife of one of the prisoners appeared, to whom permission was given to visit her husband in the caverns. Upon the hatches being opened, the prisoners, who were at the door prepared for the encounter, rushed up, seized the guns of the sentry on duty, who made little or no resistance, and became masters of the guard room before those who were asleep could be aroused and prepared to make defence. One brave fellow by name of Sheldon, who was an officer of the guard, fought valiantly, and was killed upon the spot, having been pierced by a bayonet through his body. \* \* \* The guard was easily overcome. A few sought safety in flight but the greater number were disarmed by the prisoners and locked up in the caverns. The prisoners having equipped themselves with the capt-



madge came over to purchase clothing for the rebel army. Three waggons had sett off that morning for Brooklyn to carry down goods for Talmadge,\* and the day before three boats loaded had been sent over to Connecticut.

There is a man whose name is Johnson, who passes for a Refugee and lives at Lloyd's Neck. He is employed by Congress to get intelligence. A Captain Fitch who commands all the rebel whale boats sends over to Johnston and receives the intelligence required.†

The informant says the day he was taken by seven rebel whale-boats, one boat went ashore at a place called the Ships Garden and received intelligence from some person who met them. He supposed it to be Johnson.

A M<sup>rs</sup> Sacket ‡ whose husband is now in the Mines, told the informant that Capt<sup>n</sup> Fitch told her that he could have any intelligence he wanted from Johnson—That some time ago one Baldwin who was sent out from there on private business was taken up on suspicion of being a Spy and that the rebels sent over to Johnson to know whether he was so or not.—That Johnson said that he had been

ured arms, escaped, and with few exceptions had the adroitness or good luck to avoid a recapture.”

The following extract from the report of a Legislative committee of investigation, explains the success: “Abigail the wife of John Young, alias Mattick, says that the first night she came to the prison, she gave to her husband 52 *silver dollars*. Her husband told her after he came out that he had given Sergt. Lilly 50 of them in order that he may suffer the prisoners to escape. That he told her the Sergt. purposely left the door of the south jail unlocked, that Sergt. Lilly was not hurt,—that she borrowed the money of a pedlar,—that she heard Lilly say it was a great pity that such likely men should live and die in such a place.” Cited in Rich. H. Phelps's “Newgate of Connecticut,” p. 11. The same writer says: “Most of those confined were persons of character, property, and great influence, they being the ones to do harm, rather than those who were mere weathercocks in principle, and vacillating in practice. Their first keeper was Capt. John Viets who resided near by and who supplied them daily with food and necessaries which were required.” *Ib.*, 7. This John Viets, strange to say, was the maternal grandfather of the late Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, Bishop of the former “Eastern Diocese,” and father of the Rev. Roger Viets, the Church of England Rector of Simsbury church, who at the close of the war went to Nova Scotia, and died Rector of Digby in that province in 1811.

Simsbury Mines were copper mines, first worked in the reign of Queen Anne in 1707, and subsequently down to 1773 by various parties, associations, and companies. In that year Connecticut bought a lease of them, and converted them into its State prison for malefactors of all sorts. When the Revolution occurred the State authorities directed that courts and courts martial should imprison tories there with the criminals, which continued till the end of the war. A most cruel outrage, but illustrative of the savageness of civil war. It is believed that this was the only instance, on either side, of crime and opinion being considered synonymous, and punished alike.

\* From Brooklyn to Setauket, or “Old Man's,” whence they were sent over the Sound to Talmadge.

† “Capt. Fitch” was John Fitch, a Connecticut man, commissioned by Gov. Trumbull, long engaged in the whaleboat plunder and intelligence business—bold, brave, and very successful. Johnson was one of Col. Talmadge's conduits of information.

‡ “Mrs. Sacket” was the wife of Capt. Peter Sackett, one of the prisoners who escaped from the Simsbury mines on the 18th of May.

employed for that purpose, upon which Baldwin was immediately sent to the mines, where the informant saw him and heard the above from himself also—M<sup>rs</sup> Sackett is daughter to Colo<sup>l</sup> Palmer who lives with Gen<sup>l</sup> Waterbury at Stamford. She is intimately acquainted with Fitch and has often heard him speak of Johnson.

*June 8<sup>th</sup> 1781.*

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col: Hill of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment \* says he saw the Pennsylvania troops at Fredericksburg about ten days ago, † that they amounted to about 800 men.—They seemed much dissatisfied and tho they were well armed, they were not trusted with any ammunition. ‡ He saw Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne with them.—On their march they tailed above twenty miles and many of them deserted.

The militia of Virginia were very averse to turning out and most of the young men had retired to the mountains. Some had even resisted with arms those who attempted to force them. §

N: B: Copies of the above were sent to Lord Cornwallis. &c. &c.

*Captain Beckwith to Major De Lancey 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1781.*

Dear Sir

You have probably been informed by Colonel Robinson that some people sent out on the East side of the Hudson's River, were returned. I have now seen four of them and they uniformly agree that no movement has taken place from West Point or New Windsor. With all possible deference to my friend Marquard, I must therefore still be of opinion, that he has got to the wrong side of the River.

Yours &c (signed)

G. Beckwith.

*13<sup>th</sup> June 1781.*

M<sup>r</sup> Robert Gilmore || left Point Judith, Rhode Island, last Wednesday morning,

\* The same who led that regiment against Port Anne in Burgoyne's campaign, was sent to Virginia with the other "Convention troops," and was now on his return to New York.

† On their way to join Lafayette, having marched on the 26th May from York, Pa., the day after Wayne had so promptly and severely quelled their mutiny. They were not able to join Lafayette till June 7th on the north side of the Rapidan, near Raccoon Ford.

‡ This shows Wayne's great good sense and caution.

§ Lafayette confirms this, in his letter of 24th May to Washington, saying, "Government in this State has no energy and laws have no force." III. Sparks's Corr., 322; and Col. Henry Lee, describing Virginia of this time, says, "the great body of the inhabitants below the mountains, flying from their homes with their wives, their children, and the most valuable of their personal property, to seek protection in the mountains. The State authorities, executive and legislative, like the flying inhabitants, driven from the seat of government, chased from Charlottesville; and at length interposing the Blue Ridge between themselves and the enemy to secure a resting place at Stanton." Memoirs, vol. II., p. 232.

|| Probably Robert Gilmour of New Hampshire, a loyalist who was attainted, banished, and

came in a boat to Block Island, from thence to Montauk Point. He saw the French fleet the day before he left,—twelve sail including Frigates—seven of the line, besides the *Fantasque*. He saw them the Thursday following from Block Island. He does not think there was any alteration that day. The whole of the troops were about three thousand from the best accounts. Col S—s and Mr Stephen Hassard told him the evening he came away that ten men out of each company had embarked on board ship and were ready to sail. The rest of the French troops were to march the same day to Washington's Headquarters. They were particularly industrious in fixing flying booms and other tackling to gain a superiority in sailing to the British fleet. There is not a single piece of cannon left on the batteries of Rose Island, the Dumplings, Brenton's Point, and North Battery. Part of them were embarked in the fleet that sailed some time ago. The rest are now embarked in the fleet intended to sail. Five hundred militia are to take the duties of the Island. He does not know who commands them. Col: Potter of Little — (unintelligible) was to assemble them.

He had from undoubted authority that a 50 gun ship, two frigates and a fleet of transports with clothing, money and every kind of necessary stores, was daily expected from France. They are in the utmost fear lest their ships should be intercepted.

The last time Admiral Arbuthnot appeared off Rhode Island, three ships were going out to reconnoitre and gain intelligence, but on his appearance were prevented. It is imagined the French fleet is certainly going out with intent of meeting and convoying the ships expected into the harbour. It is certain, that the evacuation of the Island is determined on. It is currently reported, that Washington, with his and the French army, intends coming down to the neighborhood of White Plains, &c. &c. A Mr. Goldsbury,\* who was employed by the admiral to get intelligence from Rhode Island, and was ordered to meet him at Martha's Vineyard is gone there with this information expecting to meet his excellency.

N: B: The above was sent to Commodore Affleck † with the following letter, dated Head Qr<sup>s</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> June. 1781.

“Sir. I have the honor to inclose you the deposition of the bearer Mr Robert Gilmour. The Commander in Chief submits it to you, Sir, whether he should not be sent to Admiral Arbuthnot. I have the honor to be

Yours  
(Signed) Ol. De Lancey.”

Commodore Affleck, &c. &c.”

his estate confiscated, under an act of that State passed in 1778. Sabine, 1st ed., 324. The route via Block Island and Long Island to New York was used more or less during the war by New England people.

\* Samuel Goldsbury of Wrentham, Massachusetts, who was proscribed and banished in 1778, Sabine, 1st ed., 328, is believed to be the person here mentioned.

† Edmund Affleck of Colchester, Essex, a commodore in the navy, at this time in command of the Bedford 74. He was made a baronet, for his gallantry in leading the center division of Sir

17<sup>th</sup> June 1781.*Copy of a letter from M<sup>r</sup>. W——n of Newark.*

Sir

I wrote to you last Sunday inclosing you the latest papers from Philadelphia and a private letter from a friend of mine there giving an account of an action between Green and Lord Rawdon. The person was taken and the packet sunk in the creek as Captain Johnson will inform.

Having had no expectation of being called on in this way I was, and still am no way prepared to answer your queries. I shall never presume to obtrude anything on you without having examined it myself or having it from others on whose veracity I can depend. I shall therefore carefully distinguish what I know, or have seen : what I think by good information, what by report or flying stories. As Captain Johnson is responsible for my fidelity I expect that no exception will be taken at any part of my behavior, nor enquiry made about my conduct to any person but himself. If he explains what I have enjoined, my reasons are sufficient. To him I leave the matter of conveyance for I shall not leave myself at any other person's mercy. The danger I have already escaped has redoubled that caution in me, which is necessary in every affair of this kind. I do not know at present nor have I any reason to suppose I can ever render any material service. Like every other chance of War it will depend upon the opportunity I have. I can promise nothing more but fidelity and industry. These shall not be wanting. The reward may therefore be in proportion to the trouble or the good fortune I may have of being serviceable.

*Answers to Queries sent out to him by Major De Lancey.*

1<sup>st</sup>—I am totally unacquainted with the state of the Jersey brigade any further than common report, 200 with the Marquis \*—300 at the huts near Morristown. Recruits to the number of 60 have lately joined them. I had not time to enquire this week or could have come nigh[er] the mark.

2<sup>nd</sup>—The hopes for next campaign I know nothing of at present any further than public report.

3<sup>rd</sup>—Reinforcement to the French—nothing more than report—expected by some—doubted of by others.

4<sup>th</sup>—The Jersey troops are to all appearances satisfied, nor is there the least symptom of revolt among them. The jealousy of such an event by the officers, must render it unsuccessful if it is attempted.

5<sup>th</sup>—Col: Dayton lives at Chatham with his family and pays occasional visits to camp—Col: Dehart commands in his absence.

George Rodney's fleet in the great battle of the 12th April, 1782, in which Rodney defeated the French fleet under de Grasse with the French army on board, and captured him and his flag ship.

\* With Lafayette in Virginia.

6<sup>th</sup>—I know of no reason to conclude the militia would not turn out as usual. The affair of the Back Shad, as they are called, and the inhabitants of Newark is purely personal.\* If an attempt was made in this quarter it is more likely they would vie with each other in repulsing the attack, than that anything would favour it, by their disunion. I must beg excuses for the freedom of my opinion in this matter. 'Tis very probable it differs from others.

7<sup>th</sup>—Inclosed is the list of the Governor, Council and members of Assembly. The Governor, Council and members are at Princeton.

8<sup>th</sup>—It is impossible without a great deal of trouble to get any account of the State Regiment. Numbers of the officers have refused to serve—others who have accepted cannot find their Quota. They are (particularly those at Newark) in a state of revolt. I mean without any discipline and no opposition may be expected from them more than the common militia.†

9<sup>th</sup>—I know of no persons in the city who send intelligence. It is generally supposed the traders play a double game but it would be unjust in me to point out any person in particular having nothing more than my own suspicions to offer.

Captain Johnson will apologize for me as I have wrote in a hurry. The strictest attention shall be paid to your future instructions. I think it would be proper for

\* This "Back Shad" and "inhabitants of Newark" difficulty, occurred at the end of May, 1781. It is thus described in Rivington's paper of 2d June: "We learn from Newark, in New Jersey, that a few days since, a number of persons who live near the mountains and from their wickedness and poverty have properly acquired the appellation of the Back Shad, in consequence of a resolution of the pious Reverend Commissary Caldwell and his associates who were lately convened at Chatham, repaired to the learned and renowned Justice Campbell, and there, according to a late law made by the humane William Livingston, swore that a number of the inhabitants of the township of Newark were dangerous to the liberties of the State and ought to be removed back into the country, whereon this great magistrate issued his warrant for their removal, and gave them till this day to prepare for their departure. This will probably create some disturbance, as our informant tells us that the obnoxious inhabitants refuse to go unless compelled by force." Reprinted also in *Moore's Diary*, Vol. II., p. 434. The term "Back Shad" is derived from the thin, weak, and poor condition of shad when going back to the sea after spawning in April and May. At present "June Shad" is used. "As poor as a June Shad," is by no means an uncommon expression in the river regions of New Jersey and New York now, as a term of description. These "Back Shad" of 1781 seem to have been whigs, and the "inhabitants of Newark" tories, and their difficulty a sort of Jersey faction fight, and not a military one.

† Eight days after the date of the entry of this letter from "Mr W—n of Newark," the Legislature of New Jersey, finding the bounty of "one thousand dollars exclusive of the Continental bounty and emoluments" to the recruit, and "two hundred dollars premium" to the officer procuring him, authorized by it on the 11th March, 1780, totally inadequate to get the men, on the 25th June, 1781, had to adopt still more effectual means of completing the quota, and then appointed a recruiting officer for each county, and authorized a bounty of *twelve pounds in gold or silver to be paid to each recruit, a shilling a day in specie* till he was mustered in, and *thirty shillings in coin to the recruiting officer* for every man able to pass muster. *Stryker's N. Jersey Register*, 46-7-8. It was to these difficulties in obtaining "volunteers" for the war that the above 8th answer refers.

you to send me a Cypher not that I mean to use it only in cases where it is absolutely necessary

Y<sup>rs</sup> with great respect—&c.

Major D.

*Hiram to Major DeLancey.  
New York, Sunday 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1781.*

Sir.

Being somewhat recovered from the fatiguing riding last night till 12 o'clock, I sit down to give you the heads only (to avoid prolixity) of such matters as have fallen within my observation since I had the pleasure of seeing you last.

Soon after my return home, I prepared dispatches for you and left them at the appointed place, and I find they are taken away, but whether by Bulkley, or any other person, I know not. They contained amongst other matters an account of the intended route of the French troops, the place of their destination and the ground on which they were to encamp. Likewise an account of the state of West Point and its dependencies: This early notice I had from G——I P:——s, who had it from the French officers who had been viewing the place of encampment. A few days afterwards (i. e.) the 8<sup>th</sup> ult: I set out for Hartford where I attended the Assembly, and left it the week before last, in order to give you the earliest account of those matters, which deserve attention. Letters of G——I Washington of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> ult: addressed to the Governor and Assembly, were laid before the house on the 14<sup>th</sup>\* same month, setting forth the deplorable state of the troops at West Point and its dependencies, for want of Provisions; subsisting several days on half allowance, and at last reduced to a quarter allowance. The daily issues to the army and its followers, were 8000 Rations. Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath, who brought the dispatches, and was sent to the Eastern States in order to urge them to a sense of their danger, declared before the Assembly, the Garrison at West Point must inevitably fall. At that critical moment, Sir, I found myself in need of a Confidential friend out of doors who could be improved for the purpose of conveying hither this state of facts; but it being early in the session, I dare not leave my Post. The Assembly ordered a scanty supply of Provisions immediately and I believe they have but a bare supply from day to day ever since.†

\* 14th of May.

† Washington's letter to Mesheck Weare, President of New Hampshire, which he sent as a circular to the New England governors and legislatures by Gen. Heath, was written on the 10th of May at New Windsor, and is in VIII. Sparks, 36. Heron in this report makes a very good resumé of it. Washington wrote generally, and referred the recipients to Gen. Heath for particulars, as a matter of caution. Heron here gives us some of the details stated by Heath verbally. "I am sending General Heath purposely to the eastern States to represent our distresses, and to endeavour to fix a plan for our regular supply in future. I refer you to him for particulars which I do not choose to trust to paper," wrote Washington to Lincoln on the 11th of May. VIII. Sparks, 39. It is most interesting to read the above report of the reception of Washington's despatches by the

You doubtless know that Washington and the French officers from Newport hold a Convention at Wethersfield on the 19<sup>th</sup> ult.\* for the purpose of settling the plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign. On the 24<sup>th</sup> when the Convention † arose, we had a long letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington read in the House, containing the result of their deliberations at Wethersfield, the substance of which is this :— The French troops he says are to march from Newport to Hudson's River as soon as circumstances will admit (meaning the article of forrage; Land Carriage, &c.) and begs that the French agent may be assisted in making the necessary preparations for their accommodation in the several towns through which they were to march. He adds that it is the opinion of the most experienced French and American officers that this is the time for availing themselves of the weakness of the enemy at New York. The constant draining of troops from that garrison to the Southern States invites us (he says) to improve the critical moment. Our allies here expect our most vigorous exertions in cooperating with them, and our allies in

Connecticut Legislature in secret session by one of its members. General Heath's own account, written the next day, the 15<sup>th</sup>, to Washington from Hartford, is in these words: "Dear General— I arrived here yesterday afternoon, found the General Assembly sitting, and presented your letter to Governor Trumbull, together with a representation, containing the spirit of my instructions. This morning I attended the Governor, Council, and the Representatives in the Council chamber, when the papers were read, and I had an opportunity to speak on them. I have the pleasure to acquaint your excellency they had that attention paid to them which their interesting importance required. A resolution was passed to send on immediately one hundred and sixty head of beef cattle, which it is supposed will amount to five thousand rations per day to the 1<sup>st</sup> of June. One thousand barrels of salted meat are also to be forwarded with the greatest despatch with a quantity of rum." After referring to a proposed future supply for the campaign, he closes thus: "Their resolutions on this head I think will equal your expectations. I shall proceed to Rhode Island to-morrow." *III. Sparks's Rev. Corr.*, 312. How completely mistaken Heath was, and how tremendously Connecticut failed to meet Washington's expectations, the General himself proves. In a letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, 1781, he says: "From the 12<sup>th</sup> of May (the date of his circular above mentioned) to this day, we have received only 312 head of cattle, from New Hampshire 30, Massachusetts, 230, and *Connecticut* 52. Unless more strenuous exertions are made to feed the few troops in the field, we must not only relinquish our intended operation (the projected attack on New York City), but shall disband for want of subsistence; or which is almost equally to be lamented, the troops will be obliged to seek it for themselves where it can be found." *IV. Gordon's Hist.*, 122. This letter Sparks did not print. The above remark of Heron, "I believe they have had but a bare supply from day to day ever since," was really truer than he, perhaps, thought when he wrote it.

\* The capture, by the noted St. James Moody, of the mail containing all Washington's despatches and letters of the 27<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> of May, containing the accounts of the interview and plan agreed upon with Rochambeau at Weathersfield on the 23<sup>d</sup> of May, gave Sir Henry Clinton full information on this subject, about the first of June. The plans were real, but Clinton thought they were false and sent out to be intercepted, in order to deceive him, and acted accordingly. He thus laid the foundation for the clever stratagem, which Washington and Rochambeau practiced upon him, after the former in the succeeding July, finding he could not carry out his projected attack on New York, determined to throw his army into Virginia, which led to the brilliant capture of Cornwallis's army, and practically closed in glory the American Revolution.

† "Convention," as used here by Heron, means Conference.

Europe will be astonished at our supineness and inactivity should we not improve this favorable opportunity.

Therefore in order to carry our plan of operations \* into complete execution it is agreed that a number not less than the quota of troops of every State from New Hampshire to New Jersey inclusive will answer any good purpose ; (the Quotas here referred to, are those which Congress apportioned to the several States for the continental establishment, the exact number of which I have formerly sent by Pa——n) and that they must be completed by the 1<sup>st</sup> day of July, independent of the militia, 1500 of which is demanded of Connecticut, and to be held in readiness to join the main army within a week after they are called for.

That every assistance must be afforded the Q<sup>r</sup> Mas<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> in order to enable him to forward stores, &c.—That a quantity of Powder must be immediately furnished—That the raising of Volunteers must be encouraged—That if the Continental line cannot be filled up by the 1<sup>st</sup> July with three years men, peremptory detachments † from the militia must be made to serve till December next. Finally, should he not be properly supported, the consequences must prove fatal, as in that case the Enemy will overrun the Northern States—and by that means draw resources from thence to garrison New York, which will enable them to baffle all our future attempts : therefore he insists upon an explicit answer, and wishes to know what he may depend on. Should his requisitions be not complied with, he must act on the defensive only. He complains loudly of their want of energy, of their tardiness in filling up their respective quotas of troops, and of their backwardness in paying the army : they (meaning the States) being eighteen months in arrears with them.‡

The foregoing matters were taken up by the Assembly and several days spent in debate and never was an Assembly in Connecticut since the commencement of the Rebellion so embarrassed as the present, owing to their loss of public credit, the want of means to carry on the war, and the depreciation of the paper currency, this last being the source whence proceeded every public evil : Nevertheless, it was violently urged by a powerful party to emit a new bank of paper currency and to make it a tender,§ without which they thought it impossible to carry on the war ; All their prospects of loaning specie having failed. However this was overruled by a majority, and they finally passed a Vote to tax in specie, and in specific

\* The projected attack on New York city.

† Drafts.

‡ This is a very full and correct abstract of Washington's despatch of the 24th May, 1781, which he also sent as a circular to all the New England States. It is given in VIII. Sparks, 51, in full. It was written at "Weathersfield 24 May 1781," and sent immediately in to the Connecticut Legislature at Hartford, three or four miles distant, so as to insure action before they could adjourn. The General's promptness was one cause, perhaps, why the Assembly was "so embarrassed." He did not even write the result of the conference to the President of Congress till the 27th, two days after his return to his "dreary headquarters at New Windsor," as he styled them in a letter to Gordon the historian on the 9th of the preceding March. VII. Sparks, 449.

§ A legal tender in payment of all debts.



articles of produce, so that paper money is totally done with. I have at home an estimate of the expenses of the current year, which is about 19,000,000 dollars in specie. This I dare not bring with me but shall forward at a more safe opportunity.\* The French troops are now on their march and will reach Crumpond † (where they are to encamp) in about ten days. G——I P——s assisted me in coming here now. We concerted measures for our future conduct with regard to conveying such intelligence as may come to his knowledge, I find him disposed to go some lengths (as the phrase is) to serve you, and even going thus far is gaining a great deal. But I who am ever jealous of intriguing persons, especially in *this cause*, fearing the measures calculated to promote the interest of Government may be frustrated or thwarted by them, and myself made an instrument of fraud in a cause for the support of which I have hazarded everything, have therefore exerted all the perspicacity I am Master of, to annalize (so in the MS.) the Gentleman in Question and find he will not at present explicitly say that he will go such lengths as I could wish. I know the scruples he has to struggle with, those of education, family connections and military ideas of honor. But interest, together with the prejudices now subsisting between the army and State, rather than principle, may overcome these. Thus have I dealt with you with faithfulness and sincerity (as I think it my duty) and leave the improvement of the foregoing hints to your own superior judgment. Meantime I remain, Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup>: most Ob<sup>t</sup> & Very H<sup>bl</sup>

Serv<sup>t</sup> W. H. †

Major De Lancey, &c.

\* This was the remarkable report and estimate of "The Committee consisting of Mr. Duane, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Wolcott, appointed to estimate and state the amount of the debts due from the United States, with the necessary estimates for the current year, as near as can be done, in order that the same may be laid before the respective legislatures," made to, and adopted by Congress in secret session, April 18, 1781, just a month before the date of this letter of Heron. The precise amount of estimated expenses was \$19,407,457 $\frac{3}{4}$ . It is the only full and complete report on the finances ever made by a committee of the Continental Congress, and fills nineteen pages of the Secret Journal (*Vol. I., pp. 189-210*). Of course Heron made his copy from the official copy transmitted to the Connecticut Legislature. It would be interesting to know the date that body received it. Their journals have never been printed in full.

† Crumpond, in the northern part of Westchester Co., N. Y. Mentioned before.

‡ As the heading of this letter of Heron shows that it was written in New York city, and as the writer states that he arrived there on horseback at midnight between Saturday the 16th and Sunday the 17th of May, and that he was assisted to come to that city by General Parsons, it is clear that he had been to the American camp, where he had visited Parsons, and with him "concerted measures" for the furnishing of secret intelligence to the British. It shows, also, great caution on both sides.

(To be Continued).

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON  
TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

FROM THE COLLECTION OF WILLIAM ALEXANDER SMITH

[These letters were written prior to the Revolution, and are of special interest. The first relates to the death of Washington's step-daughter, Martha Custis.—EDITOR.]

*Washington to Colonel Burwell Bassett.*

Mount Vernon, June 20<sup>th</sup> 1773

Dear Sir,

It is an easier matter to conceive, than to describe the distress of this Family: especially that of the unhappy Parent of our Dear Patsy Custis, when I inform you that yesterday removed the Sweet Innocent Girl Entered into a more happy & peaceful abode than any she has met with in the afflicted Path she hitherto has trod.

She rose from Dinner about four o'clock in better health and spirits than she appeared to have been in for some time; soon after which she was seized with one of her usual Fits, & expired in it, in less than two minutes without uttering a word, a groan, or scarce a sigh.—this Sudden, and unexpected blow, I scarce need add has almost reduced my poor Wife to the lowest ebb of Misery; which is encreas'd by the absence of her son (whom I have just fixed at the College in New York, from whence I returned the 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>) and want of the balmy consolation of her Relations: which leads me more than ever to wish she could see them, and that I was Master of Arguments powerful enough to prevail upon M<sup>rs</sup> Dandridge to make this place her entire & absolute home. I should think as she lives a lonesome life (Betsey being married) it might suit her well, & be agreeable, both to herself & my Wife, to me most assuredly it would.

I do not purpose to add more at present, the end of my writing being only to inform you of this unhappy change.—

Our Sincere Affections are offered to M<sup>rs</sup> Bassett, M<sup>rs</sup> Dandridge, & all other Friends, & I am very sincerely,

Y<sup>r</sup> Obed<sup>t</sup> & Affect<sup>d</sup> Hbl<sup>e</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

*Washington to Colonel Burwell Bassett.*Mount Vernon Feb<sup>y</sup> 12. 1774

Dear Sir,

I find there will go some matters from this country, which will make my attendance at the Assembly necessary; this I cannot possibly do and go over the Mountains this Spring. I have therefore determined, much against my Inclination & Interest, to postpone my Trip to the Ohio till after Harvest (as I cannot well be absent from home at that Season.) As March therefore (at least the first of it) is a disagreeable Season to travel our Roads In, and as I am obliged (illegible——) to run land about the 20<sup>th</sup> of the month of March and from thence proceed into Frederick and Berkeley I hope it will be agreeable and convenient to M<sup>rs</sup> Bassett and you to give us the pleasure of seeing you here after that time: the Roads and Weather will be then good; our Fisheries will be then come on, and I think you will have more satisfaction than in an earlier visit.

The Letter herewith Inclosed for M<sup>r</sup> Dandridge contains Black's Bond which M<sup>r</sup> Wythe has advised me to lodge in some safe hands to be tendered to that pritty (sic) Gentleman upon his complying with the Conditions of it.—As the care of it is a thing of the utmost Importance, I should be obliged to you (if Capt<sup>n</sup> Crawford should not go to M<sup>r</sup> Dandridge's himself) to send the Letter by Abram, or some careful Person, least the Bond should get lost.

As I am very much hurried just now, by business of different kinds, and as I presume my Wife has informed M<sup>rs</sup> Bassett of Jack's Marriage, and all the other little occurrances she can think of, I shall only request you to make my affect<sup>e</sup> Compliments to her, and the rest of the Family, and believe me to be with great truth

D<sup>r</sup> SirY<sup>r</sup> Obed<sup>t</sup> & Affect<sup>e</sup> Hbl<sup>e</sup> Sv<sup>t</sup>G<sup>o</sup> Washington



Mr. Nash was born in Weymouth, in 1736, and resided there until his death in 1818. He was well known to persons now living, who would not be disposed to doubt his word in a matter of this kind.

GILBERT NASH

OUR TWENTY - ONE PRESIDENTS—  
 “Some years since the writer was out sailing with a party of friends, one of whom was an English lady. In the course of conversation the subject of our memory for historical events came up and the English woman repeated—slowly, to be sure, and in a methodical, school-girl manner—the names of the kings and queens of Great Britain. When it came to repeating the names of our Presidents, however, there was not one in the party that could give the complete list perfectly, and the names of our chief magistrates were only recalled by the efforts of all; yet of the gentlemen in the party there were none who had not completed their course at some literary college and were either engaged in professional studies or in business. Since that time it has been a matter of interest to learn how many there were who could name the Presidents of this government in chronological order. It may be a curiosity to the reader to try among his acquaintances for himself, and before he has finished the search it will be apparent that there is no need of speaking of Vice-presidents. It is high time that the names of our chief rulers should be given in a convenient form and with sufficient annotation to act as a mnemonic. To this task Geo. Cary Eggleston has skillfully devoted himself in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, and his papers are written

without bias and sufficiently full for their purpose.”—*Rockland County Journal*.

MISS QUINCY—Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, eldest daughter of the late Josiah Quincy, died Thursday evening, January 17, 1884. She was born 15th March, 1798, in the mansion of her grandmother, the widow of Josiah Quincy, Sr., of Revolutionary memory, which stood in Pearl street, Boston, and she passed away in the ancestral home of her family and in the apartment whence her great-grandfather, Josiah Quincy, departed in 1784, a century having spanned the period between the two events. Miss Quincy was a descendant of Edmund Quincy, the fifth of the honored name to appear in the New World. He landed at Boston, 4th September, 1633, and three years later purchased from the Indians an estate, a portion of which, at Quincy, Massachusetts, still remains in the family, and is occupied by two unmarried sisters of the deceased. In Boston and Quincy the interests of Miss Quincy's long life centered, including the episode of seventeen years' residence at Cambridge while her father was President of Harvard University. During that time and through all his public life of half a century, Miss Quincy was his private secretary and assisted him in preparing many of his numerous publications. She cannot be said to have come before the public as an author, but she contributed many important papers to historical societies, maintained a correspondence with numerous distinguished personages, such as Lord Lyndhurst, ex-Chancellor of England, and since 1870 kept a diary from which her brothers Edmund and Josiah, Jr., both deceased,

drew much material for several of their published works. In 1861 Miss Quincy edited the autobiography of her mother, *née* Morton of New York, and in 1875 she prepared an enlarged and revised edition of her father's memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who was born in 1744 and died in 1775, only less mourned by his country than was his friend General Joseph Warren. A copy of this attractive work is now before me, the gift of the accomplished editor. Her letters are full of interest, and from her well-stored mind and remarkable memory the writer is indebted for much valuable information concerning by-gone days and doings of the present century. Miss Quincy, it is pleasant to know, retained her vigorous intellect and unflinching memory to the last :

“Of no distemper, of no blast she died,  
But fell like autumn fruit that mellow'd long;  
Even wondered at, because she fell no sooner.  
Fate seemed to wind her up for four-score  
years;  
Yet freshly ran she on six winters more,  
Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,  
The wheels of weary life at last stood still.”

JAS. GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK, *Jan'y*, 1884

HON. GILES BRYAN SLOCUM—One of Michigan's most prominent and public-spirited citizens, whose life has been intimately identified with the history of that State, has passed away, at the age of seventy-six. He was born in Saratoga township, New York, in 1808, and first saw Michigan in 1831. In the winter of that year he assisted in laying out the town and plot of Vistula, now the wealthy and enterprising city of Toledo, Ohio.

He owned the first store in Toledo, and was engaged in getting out timber for the first dock in that city. His pioneer experiences in Michigan would fill a volume. In the spring of 1834 he paddled a canoe from Jackson down Grand River to Grand Rapids, and in the summer of the same year he established a store and dock at Truaxton, now Trenton, on the Detroit River. In subsequent years he was instrumental in driving piles and building docks at Detroit, Windsor, Springwells, Trenton, Sandwich, Gibraltar, and Grosse Isle. In 1859 he, together with Charles Mears, of Chicago, laid out the present thriving village of Whitehall, Michigan, having previously purchased large tracts of land on White River and White Lake. He took an active interest in the politics of the country; was a member of the first Republican convention, held at Jackson in 1854; was also actively interested in the construction of the Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad, aiding in obtaining the right of way, which he donated through his own property; and he was a member of the first board of directors of the Chicago and Canada Southern Railway. At the time of his death he was a trustee of the Saratoga Monument Association, of which John H. Starin is president. His purse was never closed to public enterprises or private charities. He was one of those exceptional characters of whom it has been said he never did a wrong to any man. He married, in 1838, Sophia B. Truax, daughter of Major Abraham C. Truax, founder of the village of Trenton. He leaves a son and a daughter, Hon. Elliott Truax Slocum, and Mrs. J. B. Nichols.

THE BUILDING UP OF COLLEGES—Ellis H. Roberts, in his touching address at the recent funeral of ex-President Simeon North, of Hamilton College, said: "Yale College has contributed much to the building up of colleges in many States. Among its contributions to such institutions the gift of President North to Hamilton has been one of the most fruitful and beneficent. He brought hither as professor and as president the best qualities of the Yale training. He brought sincerity, accuracy, devotion to

learning for its own sake, the conviction that colleges are not for a day but for all time, that while they cling to the past they must look to the future for their harvests. He looked upon education in its higher phases not as a mere instrument to get wealth or promote ambition, but as the conservator of truth and the discipline of life. He regarded the duty of training the man more important than teaching the trade of the mechanic, or the vocation of the lawyer, the doctor, or the preacher."

QUERIES

VALENTINE ON WEAIVING—There is a tradition in the family that one of the Valentines of Hempstead, on Long Island, previous to the American Revolution, was the author of a printed work on the Art of Weaving Cloth. Booksellers are not familiar with such a work. Some reader of the Magazine may be able to furnish information in regard to it.

OYSTER BAY

ROGER'S ISLAND—Nearly opposite the steamboat landing at Catskill, in the Hudson River, is an island, commonly known at the present time by the name of Roger's Island. In early records it is called "Vastrick's Island," "Vastrix Island," "Fosterick Island," "Tien-pondts Island," and a portion of it "Poplar" or "Pople Island." Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY give any information respecting the derivation of these several names?

HUDSON, N. Y.

A. MUNGO

PATRICK HENRY'S SIGNATURE — In

some old documents the name of Patrick Henry—a delegate to the first Continental Congress—is given with a "Jr." added, and when his name is mentioned with the other members of that Congress, and purporting to be a *fac-simile* of their signatures, the name is signed P. Henry, "Junr." Will the Editor or some of the readers of the Magazine, please explain this, and oblige,

R. W. JUDSON

NEW YORK, Feb. 2, 1884.

COLONEL JACKSON—Moore's Diary of the Revolution, Vol. II. p. 66, in an extract from the Pennsylvania Evening Post of June 20, 1778 (referring to Sir Henry Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia), says, "Soon after the evacuation the Honorable Major General Arnold took possession of Philadelphia, with Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts regiment." Among the members of the Court Martial which met at Morristown, Dec. 23, 1779, for the trial of General Arnold on charges preferred by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and

directed by resolution of Congress passed April 3, of that year, was a *Colonel Jackson*. Now there were *two* Colonel Jacksons from Massachusetts in the Continental Army, viz., Colonel Henry, commander of the *sixteenth*, and Colonel Michael, commander of the *eighth* regiment of the Continental line. The former was the bosom friend of General Knox, and by him when he became first Secretary of war was appointed Naval agent at Boston. Colonel Michael had been a lieutenant in the French and Indian wars. In *Drake's Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 349, is the following notice of this officer: "Joining his company at the Lexington alarm, in the absence of commissioned officers, he was chosen to command for the day. He immediately stepped from his place in the ranks as private, and gave the order: *Shoulder arms, platoons right wheel, quick time, forward march!* When he got to Watertown meeting-house the officers of the

regiment were holding a consultation. Finding they were likely to consume valuable time in speeches, he led all that would follow him where they could strike the British, etc."—

Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* states that he was Major of Gardner's regiment from Middlesex which composed part of the defending force at Bunker Hill, where Jackson in a personal encounter with a British officer killed his antagonist (a former companion in arms), being himself wounded by a ball through his side,—was again wounded in 1776. His regiment (in which were five of his sons) was among the last four discharged from the service. Died in 1801. Among his pall bearers were Generals Brooks and Knox and Col. Ward.

QUERY—Which Col. Jackson served on the Court Martial the finding of which led to Arnold's memorable reprimand by the Commander in Chief?

O. W. SHAW

AUSTIN, MINN., Nov. 29, 1883

## REPLIES

COL. DAVID CROCKETT (xi. p. 177)—Captain Reuben M. Potter, in his criticism of my sketch of Col. David Crockett in the December number of the Magazine, takes issue with me on the statement that the garrison of the Alamo surrendered. I was fully aware at the time of writing the sketch that this had been a mooted question, but from the research that I gave the subject, I was satisfied that the weight of authority favored the affirmative view. Capt. Potter may be assured that no part of that article was written on the evidence of extravagant story tellers, by whom he

thinks the author may have been misled. The writer was born and passed the greater part of his life in the district of Tennessee which Col. Crockett represented in Congress, has known him, and heard him make stump speeches, and is familiar with many of his comrades, and his descendants now living. In the preparation of the article, all known authorities were consulted. It is true that in the work called "Texas and Texans," written and published in 1841, by Hon. Henry S. Foote, the author relies upon a newspaper article to contradict the theory of the surrender. Edwards, also,



in his History of Texas, evidently copying from Foote, asserts that there was no surrender.

Other authorities, and the tradition sustained by the survivors, go to prove to the contrary. The weight of authorities show, I think, that when the combined attack on the fort was made by the Mexicans on the morning of the 6th of March with 4,000 men—infantry and artillery—in which they were twice repulsed with heavy loss, that they at last succeeded in entering the fort, and after some desperate hand-to-hand fighting with the clubs of guns and bowie-knives, but six of the garrison remained alive. Being surrounded on all sides by overpowering numbers, and unable to load their guns, that they surrendered to General Castrillon under a solemn promise that they would be treated as prisoners of war. Santa Anna, however, ordered them put to death. This was evidently what the victorious army at San Jacinto believed of the affair of the Alamo, for their war cry in that memorable battle was, "Remember the Alamo!"

Captain Potter's comments on the statement "that there were around Crockett a complete barrier of about twenty Mexicans lying pell-mell, dead and dying," is to say the least of it, disingenuous. The claim is not made that Crockett slew or wounded all of these men, or that it was done in a "minute." On the entrance of the Mexicans into the fort, the six survivors fought with their knives and the butts of their guns in a body, and it is not only not unlikely

that they wounded and killed about twenty of the enemy, but it is probable that the number was far greater than stated. There is no evidence in any authentic account of this memorable engagement that there was any "group of skulkers" in the garrison, as stated by Captain Potter. It is told, but on somewhat doubtful authority, that one of the garrison, named Warner, asked for quarter, which was denied him.

There were, according to the best authorities, four persons who escaped: Mrs. Dickinson, wife of Lieutenant Dickinson, who fell fighting in the fort, her child and two negro servants—one the servant of Col. Travis and the other of Col. Bowre. It has been stated also that two Mexican women of Bexar escaped from the fort on the morning of the 6th of March. One of the known survivors, Mrs. Hanning, is now living in Austin, Texas. She was at the time of the siege of the Alamo about eighteen years old. During the siege she received a wound from a bullet which pierced one of her legs.

MARCUS J. WRIGHT

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 5, 1884

QUISQUISING [x. 519]—Is more commonly written Goschgoschünk. It was a town settled by Monseys from Machi-wihilusing and Tioga in 1765. The Rev. David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, came here in 1767, but Washington never saw the place.

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ALLEGHENY, PA., *Dec.* 5, 1883

## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting of the society, February 5, the recording secretary announced the death, since the last meeting, of the following members: George W. Thompson, John William Wallace, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, Rev. Edward Fontaine, Charles H. Russell, George De Hart Gillespie, Charles Burkhalter, and Oliver H. Palmer. The librarian reported numerous additions to the library, including valuable files of the *New York Gazette*, or, *The Weekly Post Boy*, 1768–1771, and of *The New York Daily Gazette* for the year 1791, presented by Edward S. Wilde, Esq., of Glen Ridge, N. J. The librarian also reported an interesting accession to the gallery of historic portraits, the gift of Miss Eugenia C. Pratt, of this city, consisting of the portraits in oil of Richard Hildreth, the historian, and of Nicholas P. Trist, United States Commissioner during the war with Mexico, painted from life by the late Robert M. Pratt, the father of the donor.

The paper of the evening, on "The Huguenots in Boston," was read by Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, author of the *History of Rye, N. Y.*, whose extended researches respecting the Huguenots in America, have constituted him an authority on the subject. The paper contained much new and interesting matter respecting the French exiles who settled in Boston, and was a most valuable contribution to American history.

The librarian submitted for the records a memorial notice of the late Charles H. Russell, for over 48 years a resident member of the society, and at various pe-

riods a member of its executive, building and nominating committees. Attention was called by the recording secretary to the desirability of recovering and publishing the missing papers of the Union Defence Committee, which performed such patriotic and efficient service during the late civil war. The following gentlemen were elected resident members of the society: John M. Mossman, William M. Chase, William St. J. Harper, John T. Lockman, Frank S. Belton, Charles Howland Russell, Robert Ray Hamilton, W. W. Pasko, and Abram S. Post.

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NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—The regular monthly meeting of this society was held February 6, at the society's house, 18 Somerset street, the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph. D., in the chair. A paper of exceptional interest was read by Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., on "The Method pursued by the Town of North Brookfield to replace its lost Records and to obtain Material for its History." He said: "The old town of Brookfield was not only one of the earliest settlements in this part of the State, but for many years one of the most important towns in wealth and population in the county of Worcester, which indeed it antedated by some twelve years, being originally a part of old Hampshire County, and although abounding from the beginning in historical incident, and later with a large amount of material 'lying round loose' in the form of town, parish and church records, historical sermons and addresses, yet no comprehensive, consec-

utive history had ever been written of the old town, or of either of the three towns into which it had been divided." To illustrate the importance of working the historic mines which abound in many of the New England hill-towns, he presented some curious local information concerning Brookfield, as for instance: "One cellar hole marks the residence, in her childhood and poverty, of the celebrated Mme. Jumel, afterwards the millionaire, and once the wife of Aaron Burr, a Vice-President of the United States. Another old house, nearly ruinous, is where Daniel Shays, the notorious leader of the 'Shays' rebellion,' once lived, and where he was married. Another cellar hole marks the birthplace of David Hinckley, who, by successive steps, became a prominent merchant of Boston and England; who built, in 1812, the large double granite house at the corner of Somerset and Beacon streets, for his own and his married daughter's residence, now the Congregational House. Another, the residence of Rufus Putnam, a celebrated general of the Revolution, highly spoken of by General Washington in his communications to the Government," etc., etc. At the close of his address remarks were made by the president, Rev. Drs. Tarbox, Cornell and Paige, Rev. H. A. Hazen, Col. Hoyt and William C. Todd, and thanks voted to Mr. Adams for his paper. Rev. Increase M. Tarbox, D.D., the historiographer, reported memorial sketches of two deceased members, Hon. Gerry Whitney Cochrane, who died in Chester, N. H., Jan. 1, 1884, in his seventy-sixth year, and Edward Sprague Rand, who was lost on the steamer City of Columbus off Gay Head on the morning of the 18th ult., in his seventy-fifth year.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting of this society was held at Wilkesbarre, Pa., Dec. 12, President Charles Ingham, M.D., in the chair. A long list of donations was acknowledged. In the absence of Hon. Steuben Jenkins, a very interesting paper prepared by him on "The Old Pittston Fort" was read by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., secretary. This fort was built in 1771. Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden read the preface of a work which he has nearly completed, entitled, "A Bibliography of the Wyoming Valley," and presented the manuscript to the society.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The officers of this society are F. P. Baker, President; D. R. Anthony and A. P. Riddle, Vice-Presidents; John Francis, Treasurer; F. G. Adams, Secretary. Its Board of Directors consists of forty-seven prominent gentlemen. Its library is the property of the State of Kansas, and is being made up in the State capitol for the use of the people. It contains 4,760 bound volumes, 2,928 bound newspaper files, 8,332 unbound volumes and pamphlets—total, 16,020 volumes. These are in much the larger part either of Kansas publications or those relating to the Western country, or are public documents and scientific publications of the government; and all contain historical, documentary, and scientific information of permanent value.

In the department of newspaper files the collection has grown more rapidly than that of any other library in the country.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A goodly number of ladies and gentle-

men encountered ice and slush on the evening of February 5, for the privilege of listening to a critical and scholarly paper from the distinguished professor of the Latin language in Brown University, on the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Thoroughly informed in regard to his subject and the philosophy that was the basis of the remarkable character portrayed, Professor Lincoln spoke *ex cathedra*. Aurelius was born in Rome, in the year A. D. 121, under the reign of Hadrian, who was drawn by the cords of affection towards the boy at the age of six years, and took measures to secure his elevation to the throne next after Antoninus Pius, whose propitious rule lasted from the year 138 to 161. Aurelius proved to be more man and philosopher than Emperor. His remarkable simplicity, honesty, gentleness, forbearance and fortitude were portrayed to the life. His trials were great. His ablest general arose in rebellion. His wife acted a worse part than Xantippe. His subjects gave him great trouble. Still he maintained peace of mind, abiding in the faith that prevailed in the early days of the world. Though Solomon had a clearer idea of the living God than Aurelius, he sinks out of sight when a comparison is instituted. Aurelius appears one of the finest specimens of manhood that heathendom has handed down. He was well-nigh Christian. And yet, good, just and generous as he was, he allowed persecutions even more bitter and cruel than prevailed under some vile rulers. Professor Lincoln's fine scholarship and nice discrimination were fully appreciated by his auditors.

On motion of Mr. Thomas Vernon, who paid a marked compliment to his

honored teacher, seconded by the Rev. Dr. J. G. Vose, who drew a nice distinction between heathen wisdom and Christian character, Professor Lincoln received a unanimous vote of thanks, and, after fitting remarks by President Gammell, the meeting was adjourned.

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THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held on Wednesday evening, February 6, and the following officers were elected: President, Elias Richards; Vice-President, John J. Loud; Recording Secretary, Gilbert Nash; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Anson Titus; Treasurer, Geo. S. Baker; Librarian, Miss Carrie A. Blanchard. This is the fifth year of the society's existence, and its principal object is the collection rather than the publication of local historical material, and the showing in that direction is very satisfactory.

The report of the Recording Secretary gives, with some detail, the work of the society during the past year; the most important of which is the action of the town in appropriating one thousand dollars for the purpose of collecting materials for its history, by request of the society. Attention is also called to the History of Norfolk County, Mass., now in process of publication, which will contain a sketch of Weymouth, prepared by a member of the society. This, although from the necessity of the case very brief, will be the most extended work upon the town thus far attempted, and may serve as the basis of a complete history.

Weymouth is the most ancient town in the Commonwealth excepting Plymouth, and its history is greatly to be

desired, as it will fill a vacant place in local history that has long been the regret of historical and genealogical students.

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THE WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

—The annual meeting of this society was held in the Old South Meeting House, Boston, on January 18, the one hundred and second anniversary of Daniel Webster's birth. A scholarly address upon John Adams was delivered by Judge Chamberlain, of Boston, who took the somewhat interesting and highly novel view that the primary cause of the American Revolution was a religious one. That the efforts of the Established Church to foist a lord bishop upon the colonies precipitated the quarrel. At the conclusion of the address reports were read, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. Joshua L. Chamberlain, of Maine; Vice-Presidents, Hon. George C. Richardson, Massachusetts, Hon. William M. Evarts, New York, Hon. John Wentworth, Illinois, Hon. Henry B. Anthony, Rhode Island, Hon. Hon. George F. Edmunds, Vermont; Historiographers, Rev. William C. Winslow, Hon. Edward F. Tobey, Hon. John S. Ladd; Treasurer, Thomas H. Cummings, Esq.; Recording Clerk, Nathaniel W. Ladd, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, Thomas H. Cummings. Governor Bell, of New Hampshire, the retiring President, welcomed the newly-elected President in a few courteous remarks, and ex-Governor Chamberlain, of Maine, on taking the chair, spoke earnestly of the future work proposed by the society. The meeting then adjourned.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—  
At a meeting of this society held on the evening of Feb. 11, in the Library Building at Utica, Ellis H. Roberts, First Vice-President, presiding, an interesting paper was read by Professor G. C. Sawyer on "Ancient Utica." The officers of the society for the present year are: ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, President; Ellis H. Roberts, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D.D., Daniel E. Wager, Vice-Presidents; Dr. M. M. Bagg, Recording Secretary; Gen. C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary; M. M. Jones, Librarian; R. S. Williams, Treasurer.

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THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY celebrated its forty-fifth anniversary on the evening of Feb. 12, in Hodgson Hall, Savannah, Gen. G. M. Sorrel, First Vice-President, presiding. After the various reports for the year had been read, officers were elected as follows: Gen. Henry R. Jackson, President; Gen. G. M. Sorrel, Gen. A. R. Lawton, Vice-Presidents; William Hampton Wade, Recording Secretary; Hon. Robert Falligant, Corresponding Secretary; Prof. W. S. Bogart, Treasurer; William Harden, Librarian. The seven Curators were re-elected. The anniversary address was delivered by Hon. P. W. Meldrim, whose subject was "The Trial of Charles I., Its Causes and Consequences." He gave a graphic account of the early history of the accomplished King, whose execution was a triumph for the people. To the influence of that event the speaker attributed the growth of the spirit of liberty subsequently in America under George III., and in Poland, Hungary, Sweden and France.

## BOOK NOTICES

CUBA PRIMITIVA. ORIGEN, LENGUAS, TRADICIONES E HISTORIA DE LOS INDIOS DE LAS ANTILLAS MAYORA Y LAS LUCAYAS. Por DON ANTONIO BACHILLER Y MORALES. Segunda edicion, corregida y aumentada. 8vo., pp. 300. Habana, 1883.

Señor Bachiller y Morales, well known as an earnest student of American history, especially of all relating to Cuba, presented this handsome volume as his contribution to the fourth meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, held at Madrid in 1881. It was inspired by the desire to give that body, in a comprehensive form, all that could be gathered as to the language, traditions and antiquities of the Indians who were found occupying the greater Antilles and the Bahama islands. Most unfortunately, no vocabulary has been preserved of this race, which has now disappeared. Though the Spaniards, after a time, studied with great zeal the various Indian languages, and have left countless works, the first American vocabulary now known is that collected by the French navigator Jacques Cartier, on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

After a summary of the old discussion as to the origin of the American Indians, the author shows that the language of the Antilles had no connection with the Maya, and that no known tribe in Florida spoke any dialect of the Lucayan; while the Caribs of the West Indies had congeners in South America, and affinities are claimed between the Lucayan and Arawak. Other scholars in Cuba and Santo Domingo are endeavoring to collect aboriginal terms and solve the problem. The eccentric Rafinesque led the way in collecting from the earliest Spanish authors all Indian words. He devotes a chapter to the collections of antiquities of the Antilles, still too limited for any extended study. This is followed by the curious account of the traditions and religious ideas of the Haytians which the Rev. Father Roman Pane prepared for Christopher Columbus. Señor Bachiller's notes add much new light.

A most important part of this work is a vocabulary of 170 pages, embracing names of persons, places and things in the language of the Cuban Indians (Tainos). In this he has rendered a service of the greatest value for a study of the language. A second vocabulary gives the words now in use among the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Cuba, with their meaning. Señor Bachiller's work cannot fail to stimulate others in Cuba to pursue the interesting studies for which Cuba affords so tempting a field; and with the soundly critical Captain Duro of the Academy of History we can compliment the author on his work.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OCTOGENARIAN. By HENRY HILL. 16mo, pp. 195. D. Lothrop & Co. Boston, 1884.

The author of this interesting little work was born in Newburgh, New York, January 10, 1795, his family removing to Catskill when he was about one year of age. Among his school-day companions were Edwin Crosswell and Thurlow Weed. Having traveled extensively in the course of his eventful career, he describes London, Liverpool, and Paris, in 1815-1816, and leads the reader on a rambling tour through Belgium and Holland. The French King, Louis the Eighteenth, went every forenoon to mass in the chapel in the palace of the Tuileries, returning through the glass gallery; and to the services in this chapel Mr. Hill was several times admitted. The following year he made a voyage to the West Indies, visited Buenos Ayres, Santiago, and other South American points, and gives pleasant information concerning the illustrious men of South America at that period. In 1821 he returned home, and in 1822 was made Treasurer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In the last chapter of the volume the venerable author states that he has (Jan. 10, 1884) just completed his eighty-ninth year.

FALLACIES. A VIEW OF LOGIC FROM THE PRACTICAL SIDE. (The International Scientific Series.) By ALFRED SIDGWICK. 12mo, pp. 375. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1884.

We have here the latest volume of this valuable series, intended, like its predecessors, for the general reader. The author informs us in his preface that no previous technical training is requisite for the understanding of the work, as it is written as much as possible from the unprofessional point of view. In his introductory chapter we are told that Logic holds what may well be called an uncomfortable position among the sciences. Some authorities deny that a body of accepted logical doctrines exist; while others consider that the facts and laws that form such doctrine are so perfectly undeniable that to state them is hardly to convey new or important information. After pointing out the difficulties that arise in the treatment of the subject, the author discourses upon the Practical Side of Logic, which may be viewed as a machine for combating Fallacy, and, like all machines, be ever capable of improvement. He then gives an outline of his work, and a preliminary survey of the nature of Proof in general. Speaking of "Inference," he calls it a highly ambiguous word, capable of being applied to Proof as well as to

Discovery. And he shows in clear, forcible language how misleading it is to attempt to find the modern meaning of a word by tracing its history. "If the historical inquiry be properly guarded, it may serve to throw light on the modern meaning, which would otherwise be lost or overlooked;" and yet, in many cases, to attempt to bind words down to their ancient meaning would lead to serious error. Among the most interesting chapters in the book are those entitled "The Employment of Guess-Work," which we especially commend to the notice of every enlightened reader.

ENGLISH COMIC DRAMATISTS. Edited by OSWALD CRAWFURD. (The Parchment Library.) pp. 233. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1884.

This charming collection of scenes from the English Comic Dramatists has not been made in any hap-hazard manner, simply to amuse and entertain the reader of them, but to give in a succinct form something which shall thoroughly represent English Comedy Literature. Each scene is preceded by a sketch of the plot sufficient to make it intelligible; and a short critical note upon each of the dramatists represented will be found in the body of the work, of which there are fourteen—from Shakspeare to Sheridan. Mr. Crawford's excellent introduction of fifteen pages prepares the reader for a thorough appreciation of the scenes which follow.

AMERICAN COLLEGES: THEIR STUDENTS AND WORK. By CHARLES F. THWING. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 213. (Second edition, revised and enlarged.) G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1883.

"The facilities for learning foreign languages in our colleges have vastly improved within a few years," writes the author of this volume. "Twenty years ago it was difficult to find a graduate who could read French with ease, or German at all. But now no one pretends to call himself thoroughly educated unless he reads, writes, and speaks these languages with fluency. It is only within a few years that our colleges have given any instruction in the fine arts. Ten years ago a professorship of the history of art was established at Harvard, and the department is now, by means of the seven elective courses, one of the most important and popular. Six elective courses in music are also provided, with fifteen recitations and lectures a week. Yale has a school of fine arts, whose aim is to provide thorough technical instruction in the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture; to furnish an acquaintance with all branches of learning relating to the history, theory and practice of art." The course covers three years, and, though it is dis-

tinct from the regular college course, it is open to all who wish to avail themselves of its advantages.

The book is well written, and to all who are interested in the history of college education in America is most agreeable and instructive reading. It treats of Instruction in Colleges, of Expenses, Morals, Religion, Health, Journalism, Fellowships, Choice of a College, Rank in College, a Test of Future Distinction, Wealth and Endowment; A National University; and Woman's Education. The three last-named subjects comprise the chief additional material prepared for this enlarged and revised edition.

THE VOYAGE OF THE JEANNETTE, THE SHIP AND ICE JOURNALS of George W. De Long, Lieutenant-Commander U. S. N. and Commander of the Polar Expedition of 1879-1881. Edited by his wife, EMMA DE LONG. With two steel portraits, maps and many illustrations on wood and stone. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 911. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1883.

The thrilling narrative of the voyage of the *Jeannette* is recited at length in these two beautiful volumes, edited by the wife of the lamented commander of the expedition, and full-page and other illustrations of great interest hold the reader spell-bound, while maps of singular interest enable one to trace the entire route of the ship from San Francisco to the spot where it disappeared beneath the waves—together with the route followed by the officers and crew on their perilous march over the ice to the Siberian coast. A circumpolar map also shows the highest point reached by different navigators at different dates; and the Lena Delta indicates, in a nearer view, the routes taken after landing, and by the search parties. The story of the voyage is told in the words of Commander De Long, who, in addition to the ship's log, kept a private journal which was to have been his record of the expedition. This last was continued after the ship was abandoned.

The *Jeannette* sailed from San Francisco on the 8th of July, 1879, and before the end of October was fast in the ice, off Herald Island. On the 30th of November De Long wrote: "We do not see the sun at all, and our noon is but the twilight of ordinary latitudes. Venus was visible at noon. The ice around us made a picture in its lights and shadows. The broken pack surrounds us in all directions, while, as if in the center of a frozen lake, the *Jeannette* is squeezed by slabs of ice eight and one-half inches thick, with humped-up and splintered floes, showing where she has proved her strength. Attempts to be poetical in the Arctic are praiseworthy, but I think I shall give them up. My sensations of

being in critical situations are too keen to allow me to write in cold blood about the beauties of ice scenery. I will simply remark, the pack is no place for a ship, and however beautiful it may be from an æsthetic point of view, I wish with all my heart that we were out of it. I take leave of the month of November without the slightest regret. It has been a month of gales, ice pressures, and discomforts mental and physical."

Then followed a long, tedious winter of night and a frozen summer. Over nine months had they been held fast and drifted here and there at the will of the winds. On the 21st of June (1880) De Long wrote: "All our books are read, our stories related; our games of chess, cards, and checkers long since discontinued. When we assemble in the morning at breakfast, we make daily a fresh start. Any dreams, amusing or peculiar, are related and laughed over. There can be no greater wear and tear on a man's mind and patience than this life in the pack. The absolute monotony; the unchanging round of hours; the awakening to the same things and the same conditions that one saw just before losing one's self in sleep; the same faces; the same dogs; the same ice; the same conviction that to-morrow will be exactly the same as to-day, if not more disagreeable; the absolute impotence to do anything, to go anywhere, or to change one's situation an iota."

Twelve weary, monotonous months rolled round after this ere the ship was finally crushed, and the brave men turned out upon the ice, with such provisions as could be carried from place to place, and commenced their tramp, tramp, tramp over the frozen ocean to its melancholy sequel. The work from beginning to end is one of singular fascination, and the admirable manner in which it has been edited and published will command for it wide circulation.

**LANGUAGE AND CONQUEST—A Retrospect and a Forecast.** By JOHN READE. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. I, sec. II.] Quarto pamphlet, pp. 33. Montreal, 1883. Dawson Brothers.

The thought embodied in this scholarly essay is worthy of careful attention. The inquiry as to what has been the share of the races of scattered and isolated tongues on the general forward movement of humanity may not be speedily answered with any degree of accuracy. But new light is breaking. "Only a century ago," says Mr. Reade, "no one dreamed that the Hindoo was the kinsman of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt, and the Slav, and who can tell what discoveries of equal import may be in store for the diligent student of languages?" The es-

sayist further tells us that English is now the mother-tongue of 95,000,000 of people, and that its use is daily spreading in all quarters of the globe. A forecast based on the populations and known rates of increase of those who speak the following languages results in the compilation—"At the end of 200 years, Italian will be spoken by 53,370,000; French, by 72,571,000; German, by 157,480,000; Spanish, by 505,286,242; and English, by 1,837,286,153."

**EARLY, NEW ENGLAND PEOPLE—Some account of the ELLIS, PEMBERTON, WILLARD, PRESCOTT, TITCOMB, SEWALL, LONGFELLOW, and allied families.** By SARAH ELIZABETH TITCOMB. 8vo, pp. 288. Boston: W. B. Clarke & Carruth. 1882.

This volume is admirably written, a treasury of genealogical lore indeed. Instead of following the usual methods of the writers of family history, Miss Titcomb has illuminated her pages with anecdotes and personal incidents, and has given life, animation and interest to the illustrious Puritans of early New England. We make the acquaintance in these pages of the ancestors of Harriet Prescott Spofford, and the discovery as well of the mine from which she has drawn many a remarkable plot with which to delight the reading public; also of the ancestors of Benjamin Perley Poore, the author and journalist, who were of the same family as Bishop Roger Poor, under whose decree Queen Victoria now occupies the British throne; of those of Henry W. Longfellow, and of many other eminent personages. Of one of the Titcombs (Pierson) we have a pleasant pen portrait from his niece. "My uncle Titcomb was an *exceedingly handsome* man—one whom people would turn and look at; dark hair, black eyes, a smooth, fair skin, with rich, brilliant color, a full, handsome mouth, and fine teeth, regular and not too large features, an Adonis face, with a good figure, above the average height and well-proportioned. He had the manners of a finished gentleman, and was a very popular man in society,—and society was very popular with him. I have heard my mother and others say, that the flatteries and attentions that he received from both old and young, were enough to turn the head of a young man with less principle. He wrote for the local papers, at times. In politics he was a Federalist. I think, but for this, he would have been prominent as a politician, he was so very popular a man; but office would not tempt him to deny his principles, and Democrats ruled in that day."

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**—Gen. George W. Cul-lum, U. S. A. will contribute the leading article (illustrated) to the April number of the Magazine.







Br. Gen. Montgomery

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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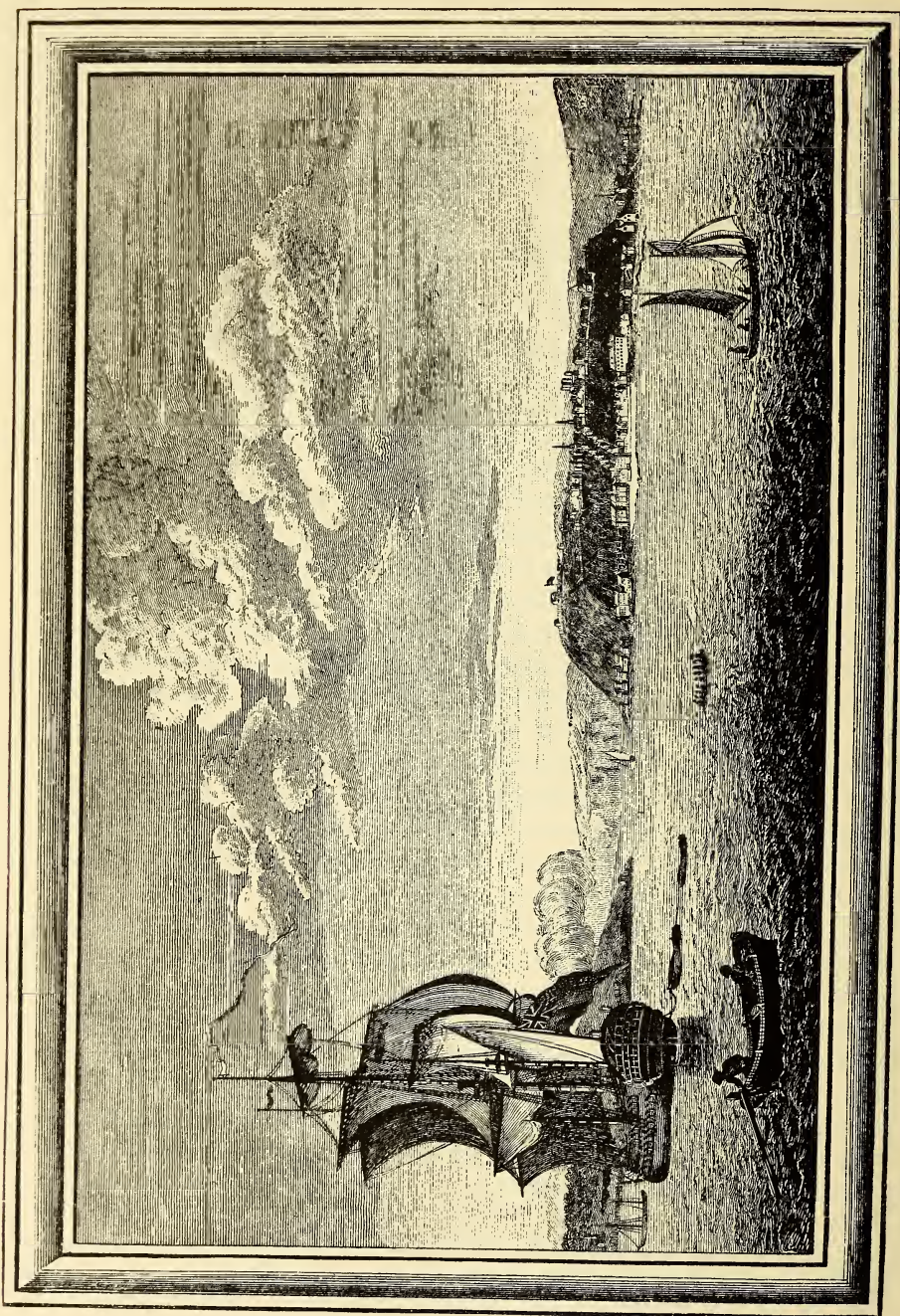
## MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

ON the last day of the year preceding that of our Declaration of Independence there fell one of the noblest martyrs to liberty—MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—whose death was mourned by friends and foes, and whose memory, after the lapse of a century, still lives in the grateful hearts of the millions of freemen of this giant Republic, whose foundation was sprinkled with his blood.

Richard Montgomery, the third son of an Irish baronet, was born December 2, 1738, at Convoy House, his father's country seat, near Raphoe, in the north of Ireland. The genealogy of the Montgomery family, originally from Neustria, goes beyond A.D. 912, when Rollo was made first Duke of Normandy; and later to that Comte de Montgomerie, who mortally wounded Henry II. of France, July 10, 1559, in a tournament in honor of the marriage of his daughter. Though, on his death-bed, the king forgave the Count, the queen-mother Catherine de Medicis did not, but pursued the brave Huguenot with implacable vengeance till she brought him to the scaffold, May 27, 1576.

After receiving a liberal education at Dublin College, Montgomery, in his eighteenth year, September 21, 1756, entered the British Army, as an Ensign of the Seventeenth Infantry, being soon after called to the field. Fortunately for America his career opened here, and not in the Seven Years War of Prussia. In 1757 his regiment was ordered to Halifax, and the next year took part, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, in the capture of Louisburg, the American Gibraltar, guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic. During the investment and siege of this great fortress—one of the most noted monuments of French power on this continent—young Montgomery showed such heroism and military capacity that he was promoted to be a Lieutenant, July 10, 1758.

The news of Montcalm's bloody repulse of the British attack upon



ANTIQUE VIEW OF QUEBEC.  
*After an Engraving by Royce.*

Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, having reached General Amherst at Cape Breton, he, after leaving proper garrisons both at Louisburg and Halifax, without orders, hastened to the relief of the defeated Abercrombie with five of his most efficient regiments, including the seventeenth. Landing at Boston, September 13, Amherst marched for fourteen days through an almost trackless wilderness to Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George; and, in November following, was appointed to supersede Abercrombie in the chief command of the British forces in America.

The next year England, anxious to profit by the advantage acquired by the capture of Cape Breton, decided upon a vigorous campaign, by sending Stanwix to complete the occupation of the posts connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio; Prideaux to reduce Fort Niagara; Amherst to move upon Montreal by Lake Champlain; and Wolfe, with a large force supported by a fleet, to attack Quebec.

Leaving Fort Edward, at the head of the Hudson, June 21, 1759, Amherst, with eleven thousand men, including Montgomery's regiment, without a blow, took possession of Ticonderoga, July 26, and of Crown Point, August 4—both posts having been abandoned by the French. These strong works, the keys to the defense of Lakes George and Champlain, which had been the bone of contention in several campaigns, thus fell into British possession, the banner of the Bourbons never again floating over them. The road to Montreal by the Sorel could now have been easily opened; but Amherst was a mediocre general, without fertility of resource or the daring enterprise of Wolfe, who, in nobly accomplishing his part of the campaign, fell in the arms of victory, September 13, 1759, before Quebec.

Though Amherst's operations were unproductive of great results, it gave Montgomery the opportunity of surveying with his quick military eye the field of his after glory in a nobler cause. We have assumed that Montgomery was with his regiment, which formed a part of Amherst's army, though many authorities to this day assert that he was at Quebec. It is barely possible that he was detached from his regiment, as he was a favorite with Wolfe, for whom he had done such gallant service at Louisburg; but we think it almost certain that he was with the seventeenth, under Amherst, and that he has been confounded with some one of the thirteen officers of the same name then in the British army, two of whom—George, an Ensign in the fifteenth, and the barbarous Alexander,\* Captain of the forty-third—were at the capture of Quebec.

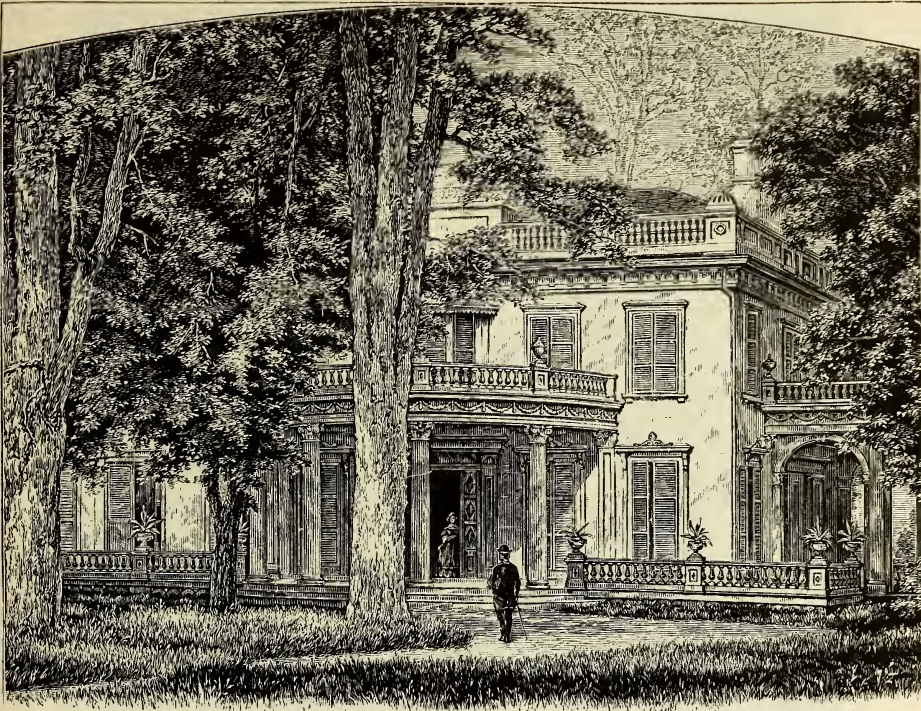
\* Some years since, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, published an Extract from a Manuscript Journal relating to the Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm

Authorities equally differ as to Montgomery's position in the next campaign, of 1760, of which Montreal was the objective point of the three British armies by which Canada was subjugated: the first, under Amherst, making an absurd and dangerous flank march of 400 miles by the circuitous route to Oswego and down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; the second, under Haviland, by the true strategic line of the Sorel, of less than 50 miles; and the third, under Murray, up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. As Montgomery became the Adjutant of his regiment in the spring of this year, May 15, 1760, we have little doubt that he then was, and had been present with it since its departure from Louisburg, and in this campaign accompanied Colonel Haviland over the ground made memorable by his after invasion of Canada in 1775, which we shall soon detail.

America, north of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, having changed masters, a large British force was no longer required there; hence detachments from it were sent against the French and Spanish West India Islands of Martinique and Cuba, the former of which surrendered, February 13, 1762, to Monckton and Rodney, and a portion of the latter, including Havana and Morro Castle, August 12, 1762, to Albemarle and Pococke—two events which doubtless hastened the Treaty of Versailles, February 10, 1763, and confirmed Britain's possession of an empire in North America. In these two campaigns of 1761 and 1762, in the deadly climate of the West Indies, Montgomery had his full share of toil and danger, reaped fresh laurels as a brave and accomplished soldier, and won his promotion, May 6, 1762, to a full captaincy in his regiment.

Soon after the official announcement of peace, the Seventeenth Infantry returned to New York, and Montgomery obtained permission to revisit

Frazer, then Lieutenant of the 78th (Frazer's Highlanders), and serving in that campaign. Under date of August 23d, 1759, is recorded in the Journal: "We were reinforced by a party of about 140 Light Infantry, and a company of Rangers, under the command of Captain Montgomery, of Kennedy's or 43d Regiment, who likewise took command of our detachment, and we all marched to attack the village to the west of St. Joachim, which was occupied by a Party of the enemy to the number of about 200, as we supposed, Canadians and Indians. . . . There were several of the enemy killed and wounded, and a few prisoners taken, all of whom the barbarous Captain Montgomery, who commanded us, ordered to be butchered in the most inhuman and cruel manner." The Editor of the publication, not content to let the Journal speak for itself, appended a note stating that the Captain Montgomery here spoken of was "*The Leader of the forlorn hope who fell at Pres de Ville, 31st December, 1775.*" thus falling into the grave error of confounding the noble Lieutenant Richard Montgomery of the 17th with the brutal Captain Alexander Montgomery of the 43d. Doubtless this unfortunate note, published under the sanction of an Historical Society, on the very spot where these events transpired, has done much to perpetuate a mistake now almost crystallized into history as a truth.



MONTGOMERY PLACE ON THE HUDSON.

*Built 1775-1776.*

Europe, where he remained for the next nine years, selling out his commission, April 6, 1772, because a favorite had superseded him in the purchase of a commission of major, to which Montgomery's services entitled him. Of his occupation during this period of military inactivity we have few details. But we know that he was an earnest lover of liberty, and was intimate in England with the brilliant Burke, the fascinating Fox, and the bold Barré, his fellow British soldier wounded at Quebec, all of whom, in Parliament, were the ardent advocates of America in her severe struggle against the oppression of the mother country. Doubtless the influence of this distinguished trio gave form and pressure to a mind already in sympathy with the colonists, with whom he had stood shoulder to shoulder in five eventful campaigns.

Montgomery, no longer in the British service, returned to America early in 1773; purchased a farm of sixty-seven acres at King's Bridge, near New York, upon which Fort Independence was subsequently built;



EDMUND BURKE.

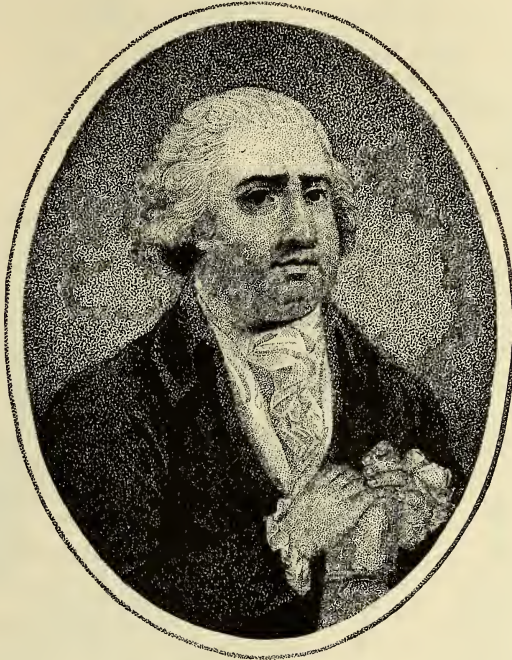
*(After engraving, by Wagstaff, of painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.)*

soon after married Janet, the eldest child of Judge Robert R. Livingston,\* and then moved to Rhinebeck, on the Hudson, where he followed his

\* Montgomery, while still a captain in the British army, had met Janet Livingston at Clermont, her father's country place on the Hudson, he having stopped there on his way to a distant post. When Montgomery returned to America, he renewed his acquaintance with the lady and married her in July, 1773.



new vocation of agriculture with that zeal and intelligence which characterized all his actions. Here, though a foreigner, he quickly gained the confidence of his neighbors, and so proved himself equal to the exigencies of the times that, in April, 1775, he was elected a delegate from Dutchess County to the first Provincial Convention held in New York, of which he was a useful, modest and taciturn member, not having acquired the modern mania for speech-making. But the forum was not his sphere, and fortunately he was called to a higher and more congenial field of action.



RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

The Continental Congress having resolved on armed resistance to the oppression of the mother country, elected, June 15, 1775, George Washington commander-in-chief of all the colonial forces, and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general; on the 17th, Ward, Lee, Putnam and Schuyler, major-generals; and on the 22d, Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan and Greene, brigadiers. Of the three selected from those who had been officers in the British army, Montgomery, though perhaps inferior to Charles Lee in quickness of mind, was much superior to both him and Gates in all the great qualities which adorn the soldier.



The high distinction conferred upon him by the supreme authority of the colonies, without his solicitation or privity, was accepted by Montgomery with his characteristic modesty, a patriotic sense of duty, and a strong presentiment of his swift-coming fate. Writing to a friend, he says: "The Congress having done me the honor of electing me a brigadier-general in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, *perhaps forever*, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself: for, though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, *the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed.*" From that hour he was no longer a Briton, but, with heart and soul, devoted himself to the service and glory of the land of his adoption. On his departure to Canada, Judge Livingston said to him: "Take care of your life." "Of my honor, you would say," quickly responded Montgomery.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured by Colonel Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, in May, 1775, thus giving us the command of Lake Champlain, when Congress, aware that Canada was weakly defended and had a large discontented French population, wisely resolved upon the invasion of that province, thus to prevent its becoming a base of hostile operations against us by the armies of Great Britain. According to the plan of campaign devised by General Washington and Doctor Franklin, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, at the head of a body of New York and New England troops,\* were to seize Montreal, the approach to which was barred by the strong fortifications of St. John's and Chambly, on the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence; while Arnold marched through the wilderness of Maine.

On the 26th of August the movement began down the placid waters of the beautiful Champlain Lake, which, for nearly two centuries, had been the scene of long campaigns and desperate battles. On the 6th of September the invading army appeared before the first of these barriers, effected a landing, and defeated an Indian ambuscade; but Schuyler, deceived in regard to the strength of the garrison of St. John's, and the disposition of the Canadians and Indians, fell back to Isle aux Noix, which he commenced fortifying, and then hastened to Ticonderoga for reinforcements. In reporting these transactions to Congress, General Schuyler says: "I cannot estimate the obligations I lie under to General Montgomery for the many important services he has done and daily does, and in which he has

\* Among these troops was one Quackenbosh, who invariably asked for a leave of absence when any firing was heard, his courage, like Bob Acres', immediately oozing out. Montgomery remarked to his captain: "I think this *quake-in-the-bush* had better at once be discharged."



had little assistance from me, as I have not enjoyed a moment's health since I left Fort George, and am now so low as not to be able to hold a pen."

In consequence of this sickness Schuyler retired to Albany, the command of the whole invading force devolving upon Montgomery, who hesitated not a moment, but abandoning his island intrenchments, was, on the 18th of September, again before St. John's, of which he began the investment and siege. Having accomplished the first as best he could, he began the latter, but soon found his mortars defective, his artillery too light for breaching, his ammunition scanty, his artillerists unpracticed, his engineer incompetent, the ground too wet and swampy for trenches, the weather cold and rainy, malaria producing much sickness, and his troops disaffected and insubordinate.\* To escape these unfavorable circumstances, Montgomery proposed to move to the north-west side of the fort, where the ground was firm, and from there to make an assault; but the troops refused to second their leader, and to crown his embarrassment, the expedition of the restless Ethan Allen against Montreal had terminated, September 25th, in the capture of himself and many of his detachment. At length, however, Montgomery, by his firmness and address, succeeded in carrying out his views of moving his camp to the higher ground, and soon after, October 18th, Colonel Bedel, with Majors Brown and Livingston, captured Fort Chambly,† which being twelve miles lower down the Sorel, had been left with a feeble garrison. This was an important event, as large supplies of ammunition, artillery, and military stores fell into Montgomery's hands, which enabled him to press the siege of St. John's. This strong work, garrisoned by nearly all of the regular troops in Canada, capitulated November 3d. after a vigorous defense of nearly seven weeks, all hope of succor from Governor Carleton having been destroyed by his defeat, October 31st, at Longueuil, by the detachment under Colonel Warner.

Immediately the Americans pressed on toward Montreal, which was abandoned, November 12th, to the triumphal entry of Montgomery; but Governor Carleton, disguised as a peasant, escaped in a canoe with muffled paddles, passing on a dark night the American batteries and armed vessels without observation, and reached Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of

\* "They are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers," says Montgomery. "They are home-sick; their regiments are melting away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper among them. There is such an equality among them that the officers have no authority, and there are few among them in whose spirit I have confidence; the privates are all generals, but not soldiers. . . . Would I were at my plow again."

† The colors of the Seventh British Fusileers, captured here, were the first taken in the Revolution and sent to the Continental Congress.

the garrison, who placed every confidence in his well-known courage and ability, and without whom Canada was lost. When the news of Montgomery's brilliant success reached Congress it passed a vote of thanks, and he was promoted, December 9th, 1775, to be a major-general; but his untimely death prevented his ever receiving the just reward of his merits. The vote of thanks by the Continental Congress was conveyed to Montgomery in the following letter from its President :

“ Philadelphia, November 30th, 1775.

“ Sir : I am directed by the Congress to transmit you their Thanks for your great and signal services in the expedition committed to your command, against the *British* troops in the Province of *Canada*. The reduction of *St. John's* and *Montreal* they esteem of inexpressible advantage to the *United Colonies*, and the most mortifying contravention to the ministerial system of enslaving the extensive territory of *Canada*. It cannot, therefore, fail of reflecting singular luster on the character of the General so essentially instrumental in preserving that liberty by the abolition of which a corrupt Parliament intended to annihilate every appearance of freedom in *America*. Nor are the humanity and politeness with which you have treated those in your power less illustrious instances of magnanimity than the valour by which you reduced them to it. The Congress, utterly abhorrent from every species of cruelty to prisoners, and determined to adhere to this benevolent maxim till the conduct of their enemies renders a deviation from it indispensably necessary, will ever applaud their officers for beautifully blending the Christian with the conqueror, and never, in endeavouring to acquire the character of the hero, to lose that of the man.

“ The victories already gained in *Canada* afford us a happy presage of the smiles of Providence in the further designation of the Continental arms in the North, and will, in all probability, greatly facilitate the entire reduction of the deluded malignants in that Province to liberty. These, Sir, are exploits so glorious in their execution, and so extensive in their consequences, that the memory of General *Montgomery* will doubtless be of equal duration with the remembrance of the benefits derived from his command.

“ At the same time that the Congress rejoice with you in the success of their arms under your immediate direction, they cannot avoid expressing their concern at the intimation you give of your intention to retire from the service. They are sensible that the loss of so brave and experienced an officer will be universally regretted, as a misfortune to all *America*. But they still hope that, upon reconsidering the matter, the same generous and patriotick motives which first induced you to take so capital a part in opposing the unprovoked hostilities of an unnatural enemy will prompt you to persevere in the cause, and to continue gathering fresh laurels, till you find our oppressors reduced to reason, and *America* restored to her constitutional liberties.

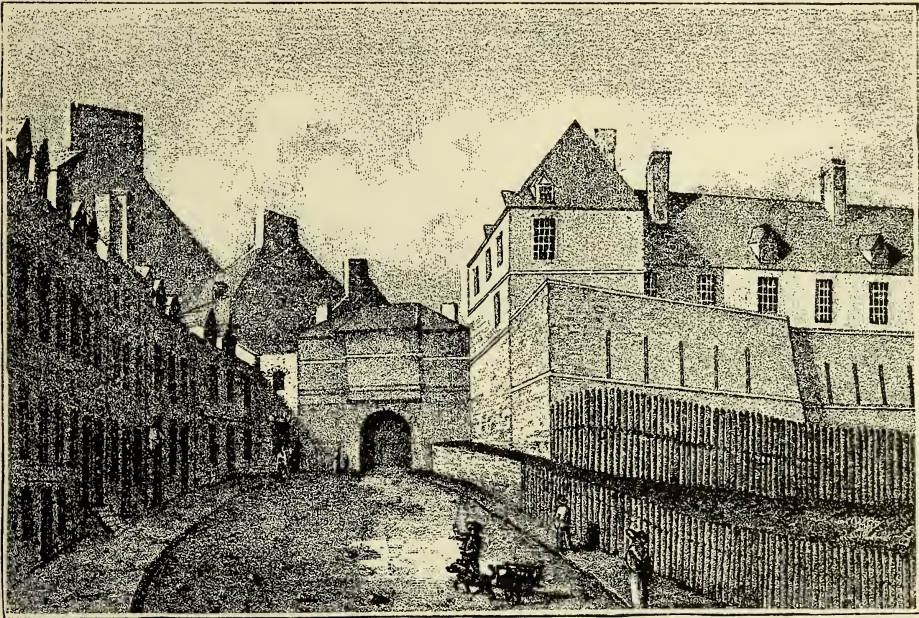
“ I am, &c.,

“ JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

“ To General *Montgomery*.”

Though now master of one of the most important keys to Canada, not a moment was to be lost in gaining possession of the other, for, as Montgomery wrote to Congress : “ Till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered.”

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the desertion of many troops, the insubordination of officers, and a multitude of discouragements, he led on his band of three hundred patriots over frozen ground and drifting snows, keeping alive their hopes, and cheering them on to endure every hardship, by his own noble example of self-sacrifice and heroic devotion to his adopted country. Soon, November 17th, he learned that the adventurous Arnold had completed that memorable march—one of the most wonderful on record—with his half starved, freezing army, through deep swamps, trackless forests, and tangled ravines, over craggy highlands and



PRESCOT GATE, QUEBEC.

difficult portages, and down the rushing rapids of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. After a brief delay before Quebec, Arnold marched up the St. Lawrence to join Montgomery. On the 1st of December the two heroes met at *Pointe aux Trembles*, twenty miles above the city, Montgomery taking command of the combined force, now only nine hundred effective men, with which, on the 4th, in the face of a driving snowstorm, he marched on Quebec, and on the 5th, after a slow and excessively fatiguing march, reached St. Foye, establishing his headquarters at Holland House.

He was now in sight of the goal of his ardent wishes, to reach which

for three months he had endured every species of toil and suffering. In his brief campaign, almost insurmountable obstacles had been overcome, and victory after victory had crowned his heroic efforts. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Forts St. John's and Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, and Three Rivers had all been captured by less than an ordinary brigade of American recruits, whose march seemed irresistible, and whose prowess spread terror everywhere. The Canadian peasantry believed them invincible and ball-proof; by a curious mistake they being represented as "incased in plate-iron"—*vêtus en tôle*, instead of *vêtus en toile*—clothed in linen (the shirt uniform of Morgan's riflemen).\*

The Red Cross of St. George now floated solitary on the ramparts of Quebec, for Levi, Sillery, St. Foye, Lorette, Charlesbourg, the Island of Orleans, Beauport, and every inch of British territory around the city, were in possession of the invaders. It was a proud moment for Montgomery when he contemplated all this, and surveyed the historic grounds around him—in front, the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe and Montcalm had joined, September 13, 1759, in their death struggle; on either side the battle-field of St. Foye, where, six months later, April 28, 1760, the vain-glorious Murray had nearly lost all that British valor had won; and beyond, with its clustering associations of nearly two centuries, the fortress capital of Canada, whose capture would perhaps crown him conqueror of British America.

Quebec, at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers, in 1775, was divided into the Upper and Lower Town, the former, occupying much the larger area, being perched upon the summit of a huge, high rock, and mostly inclosed with formidable fortifications on the brow of its precipitous sides, while the latter comprised a narrow, low fringe of land, of unequal width, between the base of the rock and the banks of the two rivers. This citadel of British power was provisioned for eight months, was armed with two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, had a garrison of 1,800 regulars, militia and marines, and was commanded by the brave, cautious and accomplished General Guy Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester, who, as Governor of Canada, possessed almost absolute authority.

Investment of the place was out of the question, with only 800 Americans to guard the numerous avenues leading to the enemy's extensive works. Siege was equally impracticable, as there could be no sapping and

\* In the early part of the Revolution part of the troops assumed the dress recommended by Washington—a hunting shirt and long gaiter breeches—made of tow-cloth steeped in a tan vat until it reached the color of a dry leaf. This was called the shirt uniform, or rifle dress, and was supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy as the insignia of a thorough marksman.

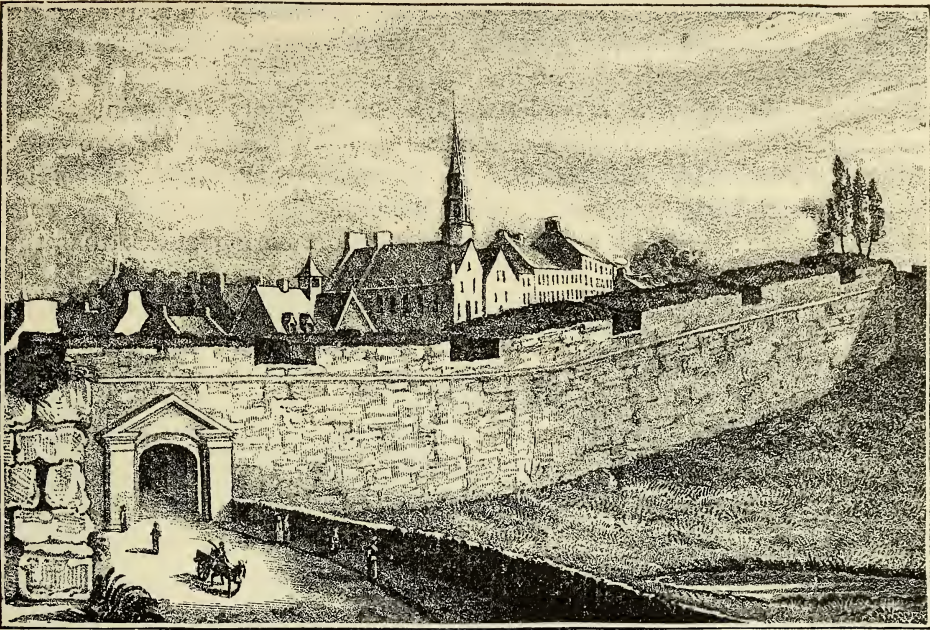




*Genl Montgomery*

mining in the hard frozen soil, covered with deep snow-drifts; besides, Montgomery had no skilled engineer, nor any breaching artillery. He had contemplated storming the fortifications from the first, for, writing to the Hon. R. R. Livingston, from Montreal, Montgomery says: "If my force be small, Carleton's is not great. The extensiveness of his works, which, in case of investment, would favor him, will, in the other case, favor us. Masters of our secret, we may select a *particular time* and *place* to attack, and to repel this the garrison must be prepared at *all times* and *places*—a circumstance which will impose upon it incessant watching and labor by day and by night; which, in its undisciplined state, must breed discontents that may compel Carleton to capitulate, or perhaps make an attempt to drive us off. In this last idea there is a glimmering of hope. Wolfe's success was a lucky hit, or rather a series of lucky hits. All sober and scientific calculation was against him, until Montcalm, permitting his courage to get the better of his discretion, gave up the advantages of his fortress and came out to try his strength on the plain. Carleton, who was Wolfe's quartermaster-general, understands this well, and, it is to be feared, will not follow the Frenchman's example."

Preliminary, however, to a *coup de main*, it was necessary to know the character and extent of the enemy's works, his means of introducing supplies, the strength and composition of the garrison, and the disposition of the inhabitants of the city and vicinage. These precautions consumed precious days of the midwinter of a boreal clime which was now upon our benumbed handful of besiegers, among whom mutiny and small-pox prevailed, and whose enlistment would in a short time expire. Montgomery, almost in despair, summoned the city to surrender, but received no response; he paraded his troops before the place, but Carleton was not to be drawn from behind his defenses; and the discontented Canadians of the garrison dared not rebel in the presence of the British soldiery. Resorting next to more active measures, Montgomery threw every night from thirty to fifty shells from his five small mortars into the city; but these doing little damage, he erected, at 700 yards in front of St. John's Gate, a battery for his five light guns and one howitzer, the platforms being cakes of ice, and the epaulment made with gabions filled with compacted snow congealed into a solid mass. This, too, owing to the distance and small caliber of his guns, failed of success, the battery being soon demolished by the enemy's superior artillery, which kept up an effective fire upon every point where troops were to be seen. On one occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitering near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon ball.

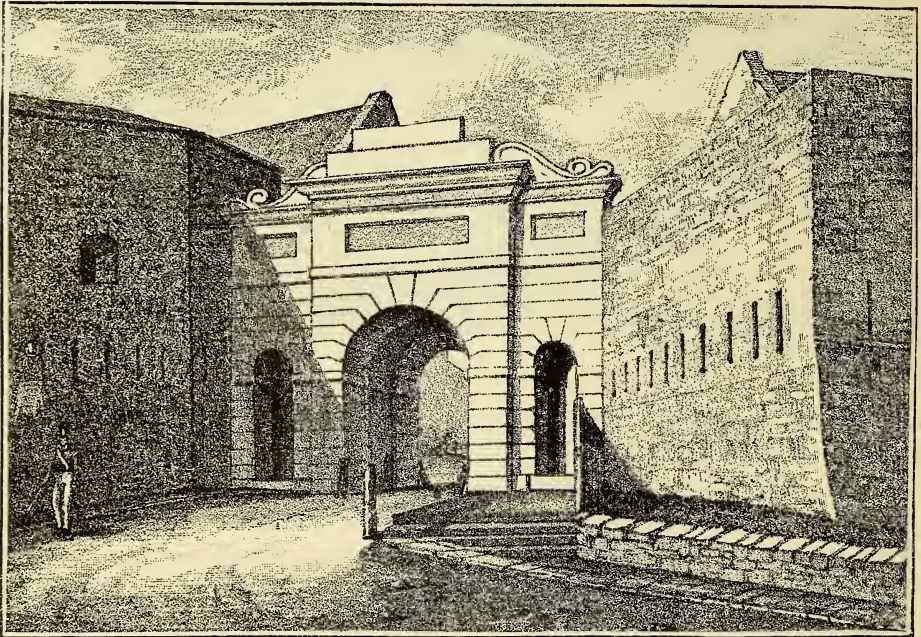


ST. JOHN'S GATE, QUEBEC.

Weeks had now been spent in unavailing efforts to capture the city, biting cold and drifting snows paralyzed almost every movement, sickness and privations were producing mutiny, and perils on every hand were gathering around the undaunted leader in that terrible campaign; but his noble soul rose superior to every misfortune, and sustained him with the same moral grandeur which inspired Marshal Ney till the last of the rearguard of Napoleon's Grand Army had escaped the pursuing foe and the deadlier rigor of a Russian winter.

In a council of war, held December 16th, it was resolved, as the only remaining, though desperate alternative, to carry the place by storm. As the time for assault drew near, three companies of Arnold's detachment mutinied; but Montgomery's firmness and address soon brought them back to a proper sense of their duty. Finally, at two o'clock on the morning of the last day of the year, the whole command was paraded, in three columns, for the last dread trial. The plan, essentially different from that first adopted and abandoned when disclosed by a deserter, was for the first and second divisions to assault the Lower Town, then to meet and unitedly force their way into the city through the picketed passage at the foot of Mountain Street, since 1797 known as the Prescott Gate; while the third, under

Livingston and Brown, was, from the Plains of Abraham, to alarm and distract the attention of the garrison by feigned attacks upon the Upper Town, in the neighborhood of St. John's and St. Louis' Gates and Cape Diamond bastion. The morning was dark and gloomy; a violent pelting storm of cutting hail almost blinded the men and the drifting snows obliterated all traces of highways. To recognize each other, the soldiers wore hemlock sprigs or pieces of white paper in their caps, on which some of them wrote: "LIBERTY OR DEATH." A more daring attack than that

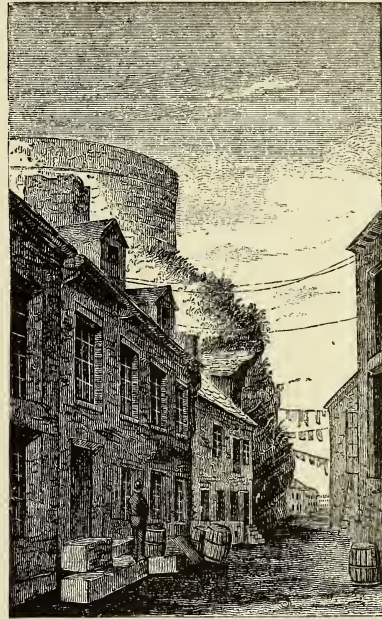


PALACE GATE, QUEBEC.

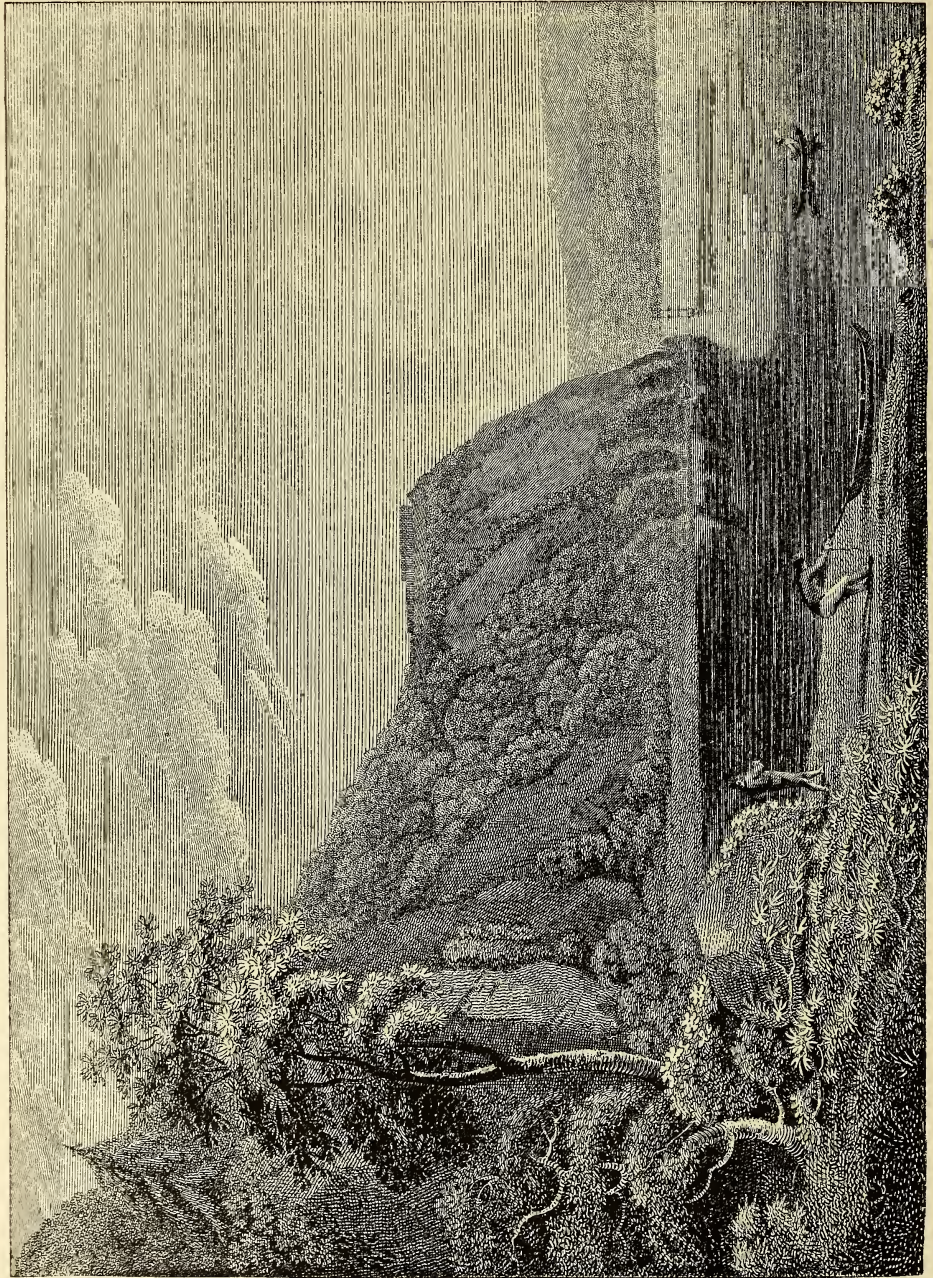
which they were about to undertake is, perhaps, not on record upon the page of history.

At five o'clock the two assaulting columns of Montgomery and Arnold began their march. Arnold's division, himself leading the advance guard of 30 men, followed by Lamb's piece of artillery mounted on a sledge, and the main body of about 500 infantry and riflemen, under Morgan, moved through the suburb of St. Roch, by way of St. Charles street, near the river. The advance guard approached a picketed two-gun battery defending a barrier across the road, without being discovered, but the main body had scarcely reached the Palace Gate when "a horrid roar of

cannon and a ringing of all the bells of the city" sounded the alarm. Covering the locks of their guns with the lappets of their coats, to protect them from the pelting storm, the infantry and riflemen ran single file, in very open order, as rapidly as the deep snow and the various obstacles would permit, along the base of the high rock upon which the Upper Town was built. The files, though thirty or forty yards apart, were exposed to a terrible fire from the ramparts, to which no reply could be made, as only the flash of the enemy's guns was to be seen. Arnold's forlorn hope attacked and carried the battery after a desperate resistance, in which he was severely wounded, and had to be carried to the hospital. Though encouraging the men as he passed to the rear, the ardor of the main body was much dampened. Nevertheless they hurried forward under the severe enfilading and plunging fire of the garrison, to the attack of the first barrier, which was carried, the embrasure being entered "when the enemy were discharging their guns." From the first to the second barrier there was a circular course of about 300 yards, partly through Dog Lane, opening into the head of Sault-au-Matelot street, where the second barricade closed the space between the foot of the rock and the river bank. Here a terrible conflict took place, the enemy having dry and superior arms; in front, a shot-proof cover twelve feet high; behind two tiers of musketeers, supported by an elevated battery of artillery; on either side houses, giving a plunging fire from their upper windows; and reinforcements continually arriving from the other parts of the town now unexposed, for already Montgomery had fallen; Campbell, his successor, was in flight, and the "dastardly persons employed to make the false attacks" had signally failed. Efforts to scale the barrier were made in face of the desolating fire of musketry and grape; the platform within was emptied by our unerring riflemen; Morgan, Arnold's successor in command, brave to temerity, stormed and raged; all that valor could do was essayed; the killed and wounded literally choked the defile; but human efforts could not prevail against such surpassing odds. Now it was that Morgan, seeing the



WHERE ARNOLD WAS WOUNDED.



CAPE DIAMOND.

Quixotism of this unequal hand-to-hand encounter, ordered the occupation of the houses on our side of the barrier, that our men might be better screened and maintain a more effective fire. It was already daylight, and many of the best officers and men had been killed or wounded; hesitation and doubt seized many of the survivors; and the critical moment for the last cast of fortune was allowed to pass, when Captain Laws, at the head of 200 of the garrison, sortied from the Palace Gate, cutting off the retreat of the Americans, nearly four hundred of whom were captured, the remaining survivors having escaped across the ice covering the Bay of St. Charles.

At the same time that Arnold's division began its march, Montgomery, who could not be persuaded that the commander-in-chief should not expose his life in the advance, descended from the Plains of Abraham, at the head of his column of less than three hundred, to the cove where Wolfe landed in 1759, and then, in Indian file, cautiously led his forlorn hope along the margin of the St. Lawrence toward the very narrow pass of *Prés de Ville*, having a precipice toward the river on one side, and the scarped rock extending up to Cape Diamond on the other. Here all farther approach to the Lower Town was intercepted by a barrier, and the defile, only wide enough



WHERE MONTGOMERY FELL.

for two or three abreast, was swept by a battery of three-pounders loaded with grape, placed in a block-house. At daybreak Montgomery's approach was discovered by the guard and Captain Barnsfare's gunners, who had been kept under arms awaiting the attack which they had reason to expect, from reports of deserters; and, as had been previously concerted, the Americans were allowed to approach unmolested to within fifty yards. Montgomery, while the rear of the column was coming up with the ladders, halted to reconnoiter in the dim dawn darkened with the driving north-east storm. Deceived by the silence of the enemy, who with port-fires lighted, were eagerly watching for his approach, Montgomery cried

out to his little band, as soon as about sixty were assembled: "Men of New York! you will not fear to follow where your general leads! March on, brave boys! Quebec is ours!" and then rushed boldly to charge the battery, over the drifted snow and blocks of ice, some of which he cleared away with his own hands, to make room for his troops. The enemy, waiting for this critical moment, discharged a shower of grape and musketry, with deadly precision, into the very faces of the assailants. Montgomery, pierced with three balls, his Aide, Macpherson, the gallant Captain Cheesman, and ten others, were instantly killed. For several hours after the repulse of the American column Carleton was uncertain as to Montgomery's fate; but a field officer among the captured troops of Arnold's detachment recognized among the thirteen frozen corpses, *lying as they fell*, in their winding sheets of snow, the Spartan leader of the heroic band.\* Through the courtesy of Carleton, the commanding-general of the British forces, the body of Montgomery was privately interred, January 4, 1776, at the gorge of St. Louis bastion. His short and light sword, of which he had thrown away the scabbard, was found near him by James Thompson, overseer of public works in the royal engineer department at Quebec, who, dying at the age of ninety-eight years, bequeathed it to his son, who in turn willed it to his nephew, James Thompson Harrower, who has deposited "this famous excalibur," for safe-keeping, in the museum of the Literary and Historical Society, at Morrin College, Quebec.

\* The oft-repeated story that Aaron Burr attempted to carry away the body of Montgomery, has been handed down by Trumbull's pencil, and recently renewed with much exaggeration in Par-ton's biography of him; nevertheless, we believe it to be an error, and even doubt whether he was with Montgomery's column, though his friend Matthew L. Davis, generally accurate in his statements, says, "General Montgomery [when he fell] was within a few feet of Captain Burr."

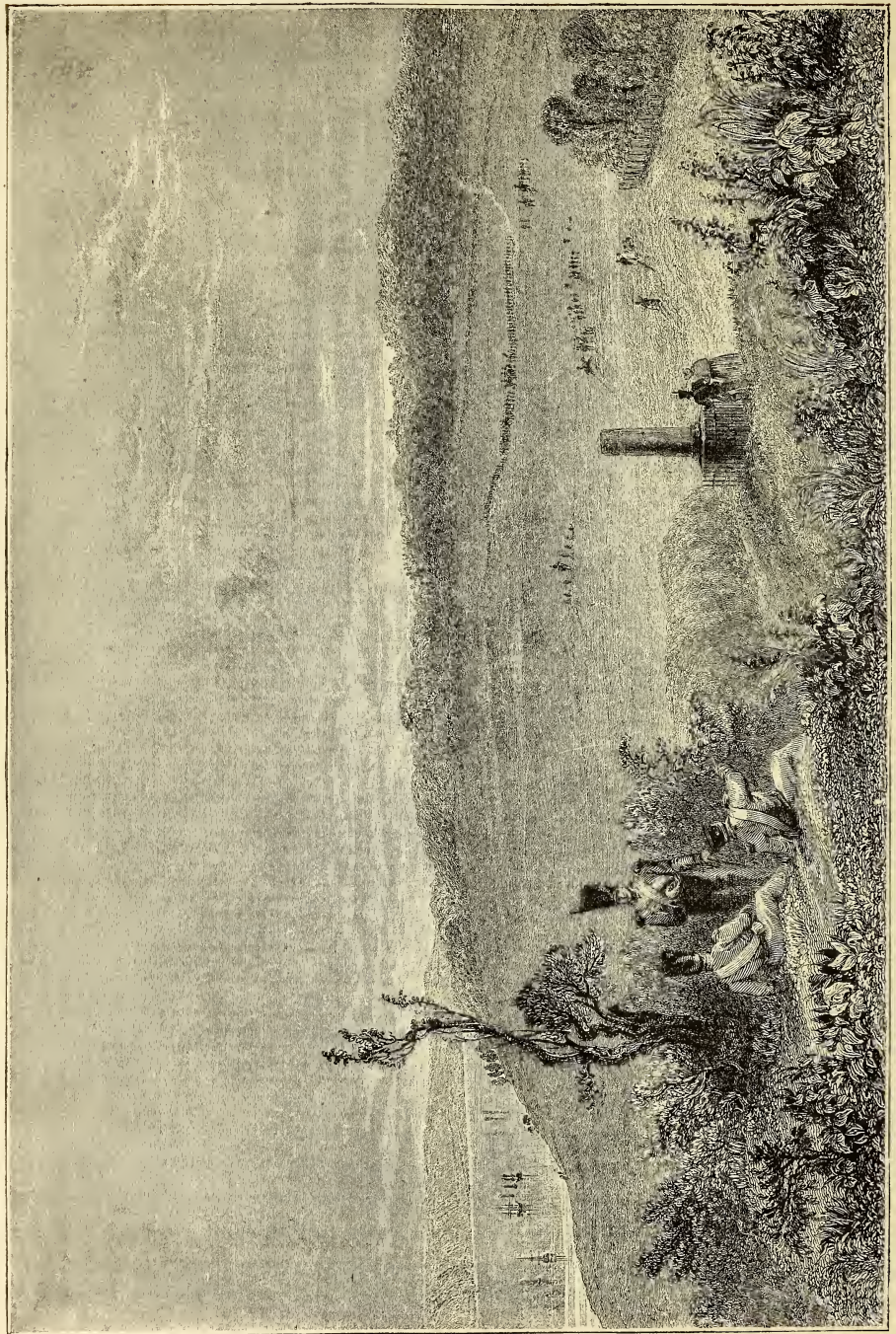
Burr, disguised as a Catholic priest, had been sent by Arnold to convey to Montgomery, when at Montreal, the information of his near approach to Quebec. Pleased with Burr, Montgomery temporarily attached him to his staff, and had designed that he should lead, with forty men, an assault upon Cape Diamond bastion. When this first plan was frustrated by its being disclosed to the enemy by a deserter, Burr probably joined his old commander, believing more glory was to be gained under the impetuous Arnold than under the brave but cautious Montgomery. In confirmation of this is Arnold's own letter to General Wooster, written from the hospital where he lay wounded, and while the assault of Quebec was yet in progress. He says: "At last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes ago, they were pushing toward the lower town. . . . The loss of my detachment before I left it was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Major Ogden, who, with Captain Oswald, *Captain Burr*, and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well." This certainly implied that Burr was with Arnold's column, and not with Montgomery's, which was a mile away. Possibly Burr assisted Arnold to the hospital, but certainly he did not move Montgomery's body from where it fell and was found, "two paces from the brink of the river, on the back, the arms extended," close to Cheesman and Macpherson, and two privates. Burr was quite a small man, and not of sufficient strength to have carried off, if he had wished to do so, the tall and heavy body of Montgomery.



“ Brief, brave, and glorious was his young career,—  
 His mourners were two hosts—his friends and foes ;  
 And fitly may the stranger, lingering here,  
 Pray for his gallant spirit’s bright repose ;  
 For he was Freedom’s champion, one of those,  
 The few in number, who had not o’erstopt  
 The charter to chastise which she bestows  
 On such as wield her weapons ; he had kept  
 The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o’er him wept.”

Looking now upon the attack of Quebec simply as a problem of engineering, it is questionable whether the false attacks should not have been real, and the latter feints. By the plan adopted, Montgomery and Arnold had each to force their way, for about a mile, through the Lower Town, during a violent storm, by narrow, obstructed defiles, and amid dark, intricate passages, among storehouses, boats, wharves and snowdrifts, being at the same time harassed by a constant plunging fire of a continuous line of fortifications, which could not be silenced ; then to make a second attack by either escalating the walls or forcing one of the gates of the Upper Town ; and perhaps even a third attack upon the redoubt which then occupied the site of the present citadel—*three* extremely difficult and dangerous operations ; whereas, had Diamond bastion and the incomplete line of defenses fronting the Plains of Abraham, between it and St. John’s Gate, been simultaneously assaulted, the Upper Town would probably have been carried, and then the Lower Town would have offered no resistance—*one* not extremely hazardous operation, considering the state of the garrison and the extent of the works to be defended against dashing, desperate men. Doubtless it was expected that the storm and darkness would prevent the discovery of the march of the columns, but the event proved what ought to have been expected of a vigilant garrison, commanded by an observant and thoughtful officer, who, in fact, knew of the intended attack eight days before it was made. Soon after the troops were in motion their approach was known by the sentries, and before they had reached the first barrier every bell in the city was tolled, the drums beat to arms, the inhabitants were running to the market place, and every soldier was at his post, ready with cannon and musket to repel the assailants.

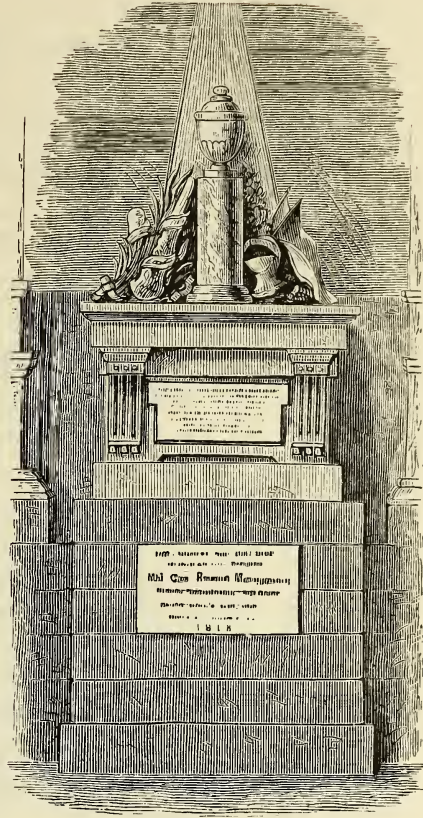
The death of Montgomery made a profound impression, both in Europe and America, for the excellency of his qualities and disposition had procured for him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. The Continental Congress proclaimed for him “ their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration, and desiring to transmit to future ages a truly worthy example of patriotism, conduct,



THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death," caused to be executed by Caffières, sculptor to Louis XVI., a monument of white marble, of the most beautiful simplicity and graceful proportions, with emblematic devices, and a classical inscription written by Franklin, which, since 1789, has adorned the front of St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York. Even in the British Parliament the fallen hero was eulogized by the most eloquent speakers—Chatham, Burke, and Barré—as if he had been the most devoted servant of the Crown. Lord North, too, while acknowledging his worth, concluded by saying, "Curse on his virtues; they have undone his country."

Forty-three years after Montgomery's death his remains, of which the skeleton was found nearly entire, by "an Act of Honor" of the Legislature of the State of New York, were removed from Quebec, and buried, July 8th, 1818, with brilliant military ceremonies, near the cenotaph erected by



MONTGOMERY'S TOMB.  
*St. Paul's, New York.*

Congress to his memory. As the body was borne down the Hudson River, the steamer, as directed by Governor Clinton, paused before "Montgomery Place,"\* near Barrytown, where the widow of the hero resided, and who thus describes the mournful pageant: "At length they came by with all that remained of a beloved husband, who left me in the bloom of manhood, a perfect being. Alas! how did he return? However gratifying to my heart, yet to my feelings every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which it was conducted added to my woe; when the steamboat passed with slow and solemn

\* When Montgomery left his Kingsbridge farm, he commenced erecting a house upon a place (now called Grasmere) near Rhinebeck, which belonged to his wife, but the building was not completed till after the General's death. His widow resided here till the spring of 1776, when she removed to Montgomery Place, named in honor of the General and modeled after the house in Ireland belonging to Viscount Raneleigh, who married Montgomery's only sister. Their son, Hon. William Jones, superintended the construction of Montgomery Place.

Camp near St. Johns  
Oct 2 1755

Sir

Last night I received your, this pleasure shall be made this evening if you will send a party for them to go down in a boat so also the Indian situation - they may go down with the greatest safety from the Enemy we had a whale boat with a few men landed the other night at Mr. Robinson's house & brought away the 9 last down a proof they have no look out on the water - The madness of the Canadians I treat as a joke nor do I see how two pieces of cannon should change their heads if it were so - I wait for a large boat & a considerable reinforcement to take post on a hill to the westward with most of my artillery in order to destroy their defences & make my approach. The Troops must now be on their way -

The report of Lord's arrival at Quebec seems to gain ground. I think it extremely probable I imagine it will throw a damp on the People of Montreal -

I am Sir your most obed<sup>t</sup> servant  
Richard Montgomerie

movement, stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the Dead March from the muffled drums, the mournful music, the splendid coffin, canopied with crape and crowned by plumes, you may conceive my anguish. I cannot describe it. Such voluntary honors were never before paid to an individual by a republic, and to Governor Clinton's munificence much is owing."

Of Washington's thirteen generals, elected by the Continental Congress, some were mere sabreurs, many incompetent, and several effete from sickness or age: two only—Schuyler and Greene—could be compared to Montgomery, and neither of these was his superior in character, attainments or military experience. Of such material as Montgomery, Napoleon made the marshals of his Empire; for he was as intrepid as Ney, as steadfast as Macdonald, as fearless as Massena, as prudent as Soult, as resolute as Davoust, as self-poised as Suchet, and as impetuous as Lannes; ever ready to

AN ORIGINAL LETTER.

MONTGOMERY TO COLONEL BEDEL, ST. JOHNS.

(From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.)

lead in the forefront of battle to do or die for his country. It must be ever lamented that a spirit so elevated and so devoted to the cause of liberty should have been sacrificed, in the bloom of manhood, in a conflict so unequal and so hopeless of success. Winkelried met not a more glorious death, nor did Austrian pikes at Sempach pierce a braver heart than that of the noble martyr of Prés de Ville, worthy to rank among the first heroes and patriots.

Montgomery was the embodiment of the true gentleman and chivalrous soldier; high-born, handsome in person and athletic in form, graceful and simple in manners, modest and taciturn in speech, generous and frank in disposition, loving to kindred and fond of his fireside, of sanguine temperament tinged with melancholy, cultivated in taste and studious of books, self-reliant and of sound judgment, faithful to duty and zealous in its performance, just to all and guided by a high moral sense, firm of will in carrying out his convictions, true to friends and generous to foes, brave as a paladin and the soul of honor—he united every manly attribute to the gentleness and affection of woman.

His letters to his wife, amid all his difficulties and sufferings, are those of a knightly lover, sighing and longing to worship at the altar of his household gods. Though a soldier from boyhood, he delighted in the calm pursuit of agriculture, and reluctantly bade adieu to his "quiet scheme of life" only because "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." When he resumed his sword in the cause of our independence, he shrank from no danger, evaded no responsibility, energetically performed every duty, imparted his own confidence and courage to all about him, won the love and esteem of his soldiery, and tempering authority with kindness, checked insubordination, removed discontent, and converted a disorderly band of turbulent freemen into a disciplined army of patriots. He was truly a "servant of humanity, enlisted in its corps of immortals," and his heroic end was the amaranthine crown to his useful and unsullied career.

'Death made no conquest of this conqueror,  
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.'

*Geo. M. Coulburn*

*Bot. Maj.-Gen'l, U. S. Army*

## THE NATCHEZ INDIANS—A LOST TRIBE

Ten miles back in the country from the sleepy-eyed Mississippi town that bears the name of the lost tribe—the subject of this article—dwells the venerable J. F. H. Claiborne, whose life has been identified with the history of the State, and whose mind is a storehouse of historical and legendary lore. From this gentleman the writer recently received a time-stained roll of manuscript, upon which was the indorsement: "I send you a few items concerning the Natchez Indians. Whose hand first collected these fragmentary statements I have no means of deciding now. But for their correctness I can vouch." Only one clue to the date of the manuscript appears, and that lies in the paragraph: "While engaged on this part of the subject, we have received the April number for 1832 of Silliman's Journal, which contains a translation of a letter from a scientific Spanish gentleman, Mr. Loago, residing in Brazil, setting forth the fact of his discovery of what he believes to be antediluvian remains of the human species in the caves of that region, the skulls of which exhibit the same remarkable artificial conformation." With this allusion to the compressed heads of the Natchez tribe, our nameless author proceeds to say that his information "has been derived from various sources, written and traditional, and that in romantic interest this perished people excel all other races upon the continent. In character they were peaceful, and in moral attributes no other Indians could compare with them." Charlevoix, who for a time sojourned in their midst, said: "They rarely make wars nor place their glory in destroying their fellow-creatures: but once excited to revenge by repeated provocation, their resentment is appeased only by the severest chastisement of their foes." Governed by this civilized principle, they seldom waged any other than defensive warfare. Their civil polity partook in a certain degree of the refinement of advanced civilization. They had kings or chiefs whom they denominated "Suns," and invested them with absolute power. They had a subordinate nobility, and the usual distinctions created by rank seem to have been well understood and observed. The supreme power in the government was held by the "Grand Sun," whose fiat confirmed or annulled the action of the grand council of the tribe, composed of the lesser "Suns" and aged nobles. The control of the lesser "Suns" extended only over their own villages, save when it occurred to some barbaric diplomat, possessed of superior ability, intelligence

or strategic skill, to maneuver himself indirectly into control over the head of the government. Each village had its separate "Sun," to whose title was appended the name of the village over which he held sway, as "The Sun of the Apple," chief of the "White Apple Village," "The Sun of the Meal," chief of the "Village of the Meal," etc., etc. What may have been the number of their villages, even so late as the period when French domination extended over the territory now occupied by Adams County, Mississippi, it is impossible to ascertain, unless we adopt the reasonable supposition that each mound or series of mounds marks the site of a village, in which case the particular district of which we speak, embracing within its limits upwards of fifty mounds, would indicate that fifty villages were crowded into the space of one county. There is on record one instance where a subordinate "Sun" succeeded through native eloquence in bending the weaker mind of the "Grand Sun" to his purpose. It was the "Chief of the Apple" advocating the extermination of the French, and he artfully caused the plan to seemingly originate with the imbecile youth then vested with the supreme power, of which we shall learn further on a subsequent page.

The right of succeeding to the highest honors of the nation among the Natchez was derived through the female "Suns," who, though invested with the high dignity of conferring such honor, seem to have been allowed no part in the affairs of government. The female "Suns" were not required to confine themselves in their selection of a husband to their own caste; indeed so far was this from being the rule, that the husband of the *Stung Arm* (the Sun's mother at the period of the massacre of the French) and the father of the "Grand Sun," was a Frenchman. The rights, privileges, immunities and honors appertaining to the "Sun" were conferred upon the fruit of this marriage, a youth of some eighteen years, by *his* marriage with the principal female "Sun." The course of succession seems intricate, but, according to their traditional history, was in regular order as required by a law which to them was divine.

"The Natchez" were in the habit of sacrificing human beings on funeral occasions to an extent unknown elsewhere on the continent, excepting among the Peruvians, whose practice was similar in character, exceeding only in the number of its victims. Whenever the mate or female "Sun" died all her *allonex* or intimate attendants devoted themselves to death, under the belief that their presence would be necessary to minister to the comfort and add to the dignity of their sovereign in another world. The wife or husband, as the case might be, was likewise immolated, and this was considered the most desirable and honorable of deaths. It was

thought noble in the Roman client to slay himself with the sword whose wound had taken his honored patron from the harassing cares and ills of life. Prompted by feelings no less magnanimous, these Mississippi Indians gathered in multitudes about their dying "Sun," and were emulous of going down with him into the grave, "to tell of his deeds of glory" in some vague spirit-land. Charlevoix relates that upon the death of a female "Sun," which occurred about the period of his visit to the "Natchez," her husband (not being noble) was strangled according to custom by the hands of his own son, after which the two bodies were laid out in state, surrounded by those of twelve dead infants who had been strangled by order of the eldest daughter of the deceased, to whose honors, dignity, and privileges she had succeeded under their peculiar law of primogeniture. Fourteen other individuals were also prepared to die and accompany the royal dead in her travels to the Spirit Land. These preparations consisted in cheerful leave-takings, after which the deluded victims swallowed pills of tobacco, which in certain quantities produces great nervous excitement, followed by almost deathly stupor, and sometimes by death itself; when otherwise, death was generally procured by the officious services of friends, speeding the parting guest to the mysterious Beyond. All of the preparations for these sacrifices were similar to those practiced by the Brahmins upon the occasion of a "Suttee" when the widow is immolated to the manes of her deceased husband, she being plied with intoxicating draughts which drown her to all sense of pain and endow her with an artificial courage equal to the ordeal in readiness for her. In the case referred to by Charlevoix, on the day of the interment of the "Sun" and her husband, the fathers and mothers of the infants sacrificed, preceding the royal bier, threw the bodies of the little ones on the ground at different distances and in such positions that they might be crushed by the bearers of the dead. The fourteen other victims being now prepared, were strangled by the relatives of the deceased and their bodies cast into the *common grave* and covered with earth. These Natchez Indians had an established religion—if the name "religion" can be applied to such crude devotional conceptions—in some particulars, however, rational and consistent. They had a regular order of priesthood and temples, in which they worshiped the sun, and where was preserved the "eternal fire," the symbol of their faith. It would seem as if their religion was shaped according to the shadowy remembrance of some half-forgotten dream of good, so pure were some of its rites and ceremonies.

It is a notable fact that it coincided closely with that of the Bogoten of Central America and the fire worshipers of the far East. While the sun



was the chief object of adoration, their temples were constructed in the plainest and most severe style of savage architecture, devoid of all tawdry splendor, and they preserved the "eternal fire" as the purest emblem of that invisible divinity whose might and power they recognized in the roar of the thunder and the fury of the storm. The duty of the savage "Sun," with the daily rising of his bright namesake, was an act of obeisance. In the spring time, and when the golden harvest of maize was ripe for the garner, festivals were celebrated with solemn rites terminating in uproarious sports.

It has been said, and justly, by one of the most celebrated historians of modern times, that "the sun and fire worship were among the most refined and seductive, and, at the same time, natural superstitions." The sun, to the untutored mind, is the apparent source of all the joy, fertility and life in nature. Like the Bogoten, the Natchez had a regular order of priesthood. The system of the former, however, embraced in its objects of veneration both sun and moon, and though of greater regularity, was far less pure than that of the latter. The Persians were of course superior to the rude people of whom we speak; they were in constant association with other and more refined nations, and within reach of the first faint glimmerings of Christian light. But the same system of *magi* was observed in these wild recesses of the Western world; also, the "feasts of seasons," similar in character to the "harvest feasts" of which the Persians partook in company with their king, who feasted with the husbandmen of his empire for the purpose of fostering that love and veneration for the head of government which bound the nation round him as a triple wall, engendering that unity which advanced the empire to such a high grade under the great Cyrus. The coincidence was remarkable, and remains among the unexplained mysteries which belong to a forgotten period of our history. The Natchez were just, generous, humane, and apparently actuated by high-toned magnanimity of feeling. Untutored noblemen of nature, they never failed to extend relief to objects of distress or misery; in fact, to their beautiful and uniform practice of benevolence may be traced their wars with and final extermination by a nation boasting itself the most refined and civilized of the Old World. They were well acquainted with the properties of the various medicinal plants common to their clime, and practiced their application with judgment and skill—facts attested by numerous cures of various diseases wrought among the French after their settlement in the country of the Natchez. Among their singular customs was that of distorting the head by compression. Numerous specimens of undoubted authenticity from the various mounds in the vicinity of Natchez and other localities

throughout the South and West have been examined. The skulls sloped almost invariably from the point of the nose backward to the crown of the head, at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The exceptions gave evidence of compression applied perpendicularly to the crown, and, in one or two instances, to the sides of the skull; these, however, were rare. Du Pratre gives a detailed account of the manner by which this artificial conformation was achieved. The infant was swathed to a board so closely as to prevent all but the very slightest movement. A stiffly tanned strip of deer skin, or a buck-skin bag, filled with sand, was applied to the part to be compressed, producing the desired effect without giving pain. "We remember years since," says our chronicler, "while in our boyhood's years, witnessing a Choctaw infant undergoing this process of adornment." De La Vega tells us that during the invasion of Florida (then an extensive region, embracing the entire South within its limits) the Spaniards met with a tribe whose heads were artificially molded into the form spoken of above. He says: "Their heads are incredibly long and pointed upwards, owing to a custom—the Inca tells us—of compressing the foreheads and that portion of the cranium covering the brain, from the period of birth until the child attained its ninth or tenth year." The people thus incidentally mentioned by De La Vega may have been *the Natchez*, as there are many facts stronger than tradition to indicate that he visited this tribe in his wild wanderings. Another tribe, known at that day as the *Tulas*, a collateral branch of the Natchez, pursued the same practice and by a similar process. This compression of the skull gave them a singular appearance not consonant with our modern ideas of beauty, but if phrenology has any truth, there is little doubt but the qualities most essential to them were stimulated by the compression, such as combativeness, destructiveness, and firmness, and the depression of the intellectual organs increased those of benevolence, veneration, and self-esteem. In general appearance, the Natchez were tall, well-formed, and slightly, or rather sparely, built, of active, sinewy, and well-knit frame, rarely, if ever, burdened with flesh, of lighter complexion than the surrounding tribes, and possessing pleasant and somewhat expressive countenances. The author of the yellow manuscript says: "It was my lot in early youth to meet with a large number of Choctaws, who were then in the habit of visiting my native city periodically for purposes of trade, in bands of from twenty to two and three hundred. We have occasionally seen the bluff in front of Natchez crowded with them for several days. Although a youth of but few years, I was fascinated with some of the characteristics of these red men, and mingled with them freely, save when excited, as they sometimes were, by fire-

water. On one occasion, we observed among the band a number of tall, finely-formed men, more marked of features, and indeed differing in every respect from the Choctaws, who are by no means famed for their beauty. Struck with this difference, I inquired of an old man of the Choctaws, with whom I was a favorite, as to its cause. He replied that the men we referred to were called *Chickasaws*, but, said he, they are the descendants of that portion of *the Natchez* which, on the defeat of their nation, attached themselves to the Chickasaws." From repeated subsequent inquiries, we are satisfied of the correctness of this explanation. Mr. Claiborne, who is now engaged as commissioner on the part of the United States for the adjudication of the Choctaw claims originating under "*The Dancing Rabbit Treaty*," says that while engaged in his labors at Hopaka, he met with several individuals among the Choctaws who were distinctly different from them—of superior form, manlier beauty, and more intellectual appearance, in all respects the ideal monarch of the world, before his contamination by contact with civilization and acquirement of the rude refinement of sin and shame as exemplified by the teachings of his *Old World* friends—and he was told that these individuals belonged to the lost tribe of the Tulas (a branch of the Natchez Indians) who had managed to preserve their distinct type for three hundred years.

The Natchez, satisfied with the pursuit of happiness after their own peculiar manner, seldom took part in the feuds of the tribes surrounding them, but lived secluded, having but little communication beyond what was necessary to secure the friendship of neighboring nations. The Chetimaches, Tensas, Grigris, and a detached band of Sioux were in a manner dependent on them. Too powerful to be liable to insult, their justice, generosity, and uniform benevolence made them respected and esteemed by all who had knowledge of them. Their example of refinement, their practice of all the rude virtues known to them, their life of harmless quietude, singularly free from the domineering spirit over the weak and defenceless that power engenders, had a gentle and humanizing influence on the various tribes within reach of their example, to which may be attributed, we doubt not, the fact that among their traditions we hear less of that love of bloodshed, plunder, war, rapine, and wild marauding which marks the old-time tales of the Creeks, Yamassees, and other distant tribes. Without the wish to extend its territory, the Natchez tribe turned its attention to the comfort and happiness of its members, who, being somewhat advanced in the rudiments of agriculture, with prudence worthy of all emulation, even at this late day, produced their entire supplies by home industry.

The woods furnished them with abundance of game, the creeks and

bayous supplied them with another article of diet, and they were adepts in preserving the flesh of the deer and buffalo, and in drying the fish they caught in superabundant quantities. Among their amusements Indian *ball-play* ranked high. "Two parties, of fifty a side, were stationed at opposite ends of the upper bluff, with a cottonwood pole planted equidistant from either party. Each individual held a pair of hickory wands, some four feet long, with a withe basket at the end, with which to catch and throw the ball. Stripped, like the athlete of old Greece, to the breechcloth, their fine, manly forms, each limb lithe with grace and action, each muscle standing out, and their sinewy frames ready for the hurried spring, while every eye was fired with intense interest, they stood like specimens of the master sculpture of the ancients. They might have inspired the remark of West, which so surprised the Italians who were displaying to him some of the master-pieces of sculpture in Rome: 'How like a young Mohawk warrior: I have seen them often, standing in the very attitude of this Apollo!' A hundred such forms were there; like blood-hounds in the slip they stood, statue-like, awaiting the signal of their leaders. A signal was given by Push-ma-ta-la, the ball was thrown, and then commenced a scene of wild excitement. The loud shout, and rapid race, and furious rush, each striving to obtain the ball, with intent to throw and hit the pole, this feat in the game counting one. But how difficult to perform may be imagined, for even when the ball was safely basketed and ready for the throw, the opposing party, in every instance pressing round the fortunate possessor, and by all means, fair or foul, gentle or severe, endeavoring to deprive him of it, or distract his aim, while his friends mingled in the fray, using all efforts to protect him, and every moment on the ear broke the shrill shriek, or loud whoop and yell like their wild battle-cry; every eye gleaming with excitement, each agile form as alert as the chamois on its native hills, now rolling for an instant on the earth, the next erect and fleet as the wind to mix again in the mimic battle. The ball flies far and wide of the mark—each eye marks its course, and thither, pell-mell they rush, the opponents using every art to delay each other's progress—as when a nimble youth, in advance of some veteran player, stays his speed, and with well-feigned awkwardness stumbles and falls headlong across the other's path; the quick glance of the latter detects the trick, but too late for remedy, and in revenge, ere he falls, gives the youth warm greeting with his foot. Up again and away, both fly, while their loud and merry laughter rings out upon the air.

"They play with joyous abandon. All thoughts save those of merriment and glee are for the time banished. At last an agile youth, active as a

mountain cat, outspeeds the crowd and gains the ball. It is basketed and poised for the throw full a hundred yards from the pole! The gathering throng of friend and foe is closing round him. Closer and closer they press upon him; like a graceful pine, bending for an instant to the storm-blast, the tall youth is swayed for a second by the surging throng, then, drawing himself up to his full height, he rises on tip-toe, and with a swift and sudden motion whirls his staves; they open; the ball flies fast and far, true as the glance which scanned the distant pole; the pole quivers like an aspen under the shock of contact! Away, in wild career they run, circling round like untamed and riderless steeds. Warmed with the wild and furious fun, Push-ma-ta-la puts forth his every energy. *A leader*, he wishes to finish the game. New life thrills in his every bound; his sinewy form well adapts itself to sport like this. He gains the ball, throws it high above him in the air, watches its course, catches it in its descent, and before another player reaches the spot the pole again quivers, for his aim is true! Long, loud, and deafening shouts from all, victors and vanquished, testify their approbation of this master-throw, and proclaim the game completed."

Such was the character, the occupations, and the amusements of the Natchez before they were molested by the vanguard of those civilized intruders who were soon to put to flight the spirits of peace and contentment that had brooded so long over the beautiful hunting grounds. The first French settlement was made at Natchez in 1713. A rude palisade, scarce susceptible of defense, was erected and dignified by the title of a fort, in addition to which several other buildings for storehouses and dwellings were erected. Settlers had at various times planted themselves among the Natchez, and all were alike well received. The first of these was a Ricollet prior, Father Darrin, who after several years' residence removed to the cliffs about Fort Adams, which from this circumstance was originally called La Roche a Darrin. Here he resided, hermit-like, leading a life of holiness, and by his beautiful example and holy precepts obtained wide influence over numerous tribes in that region. A larger party of colonists sent forward by the government was received with hospitality. Many of these located in the surrounding country, and quite a number joined in forming a settlement upon the Creek of St. Catherine. Others, again, penetrated the country as far north as the Yazoo River and there settled, erecting for their defense a fort, which, according to some authorities, was destroyed by the Chickasaws in 1723, during hostilities with the French.

It is worthy of note that among all the European nations who aided in opening up the western world, none so won upon the aboriginal tribes as

the French. They claimed and commanded savage admiration, and appropriated savage friendship for their own ends. With that gay adaptability which is a fortune to its possessor, these volatile foreigners gave cordial recognition to the patent virtues of the Natchez tribe, and affiliated with them readily. To such an extent was the friendship thus won used by the French, that they availed themselves of it in many cases of threatened or actual outbreak on the part of less pacific tribes. Of all the Indians known to the French, the Natchez were most serviceable to them, receiving them upon their first entrance into the country with a hospitality which extended to the presentation of their lands, leaving the selection to the French themselves, "for," said the "Grand Sun," with a noble liberality worthy his kingship, "the world is wide enough for the Natchez and their friends the French; they should walk peaceably in the same paths, and enjoy the light of the same sun." Is there one page of written history which can compare with this sentiment for royal hospitality? Generosity of purpose and high magnanimity of feeling marked all their earlier intercourse with the French. They fed them with the fruits of their own labor, aided them in the chase, and labored with them in the erection of their buildings. Iberville first visited them in 1699. He was delighted with the beauty and fertility of the country, and charmed with its simple-hearted inhabitants, who received him as a brother. He remained for some time, cultivating their friendship and exploring the country with a view to the settlement of a colony within its borders. By his kindness and proper appreciation of the spirit manifested by them toward himself and countrymen, he captivated the "Grand Sun" and the "Suns" of the numerous villages, obtaining from them the site for an extensive town, and also the privilege of erecting a fort. The spot selected by Iberville for the latter purpose was that occupied by the present city of Natchez, and was called by him, in honor of the lady of his patron, the Count de Pontchartrain, La Ville de Rosalie aux Natchez. Familiar as was Iberville with the various tribes from Florida to the extreme limit of French domination, throughout the northern continent, he gives the palm to the Natchez above all, as being "more advanced in civilization and those rude refinements which mark the progress of a nation gradually emerging from the darkest shades of barbarism, or, as probable, *stayed* in their fall from some loftier height which may have belonged to their remote ancestors." Iberville, who was in his age distinguished for his knowledge of aboriginal character, his just estimate of them as tribes and nations, characterized the Natchez, as a race, "as noble and generous, inclined to the pursuits of peace, but by the same qualities rendered more terrible in war." To illustrate this trait: they

exercised sway over numerous tribes in their vicinity. Yet they did not secure them as tributaries, exacted no levies, and required their aid only when other and more warlike tribes, by repeated encroachments, forced them to the field. On such occasions, their arrangements partook of more order and gave evidence of a higher knowledge of military tactics than was common at that early day among the aborigines. Possessing all necessary courage, they were cautious, prudent and most determined in battle, yet at all times open to honorable propositions for peace.

The opinion formed by Iberville of the unflinching bravery and determined courage of this peculiar people, as well as their will and power to protect themselves from injury, was proven upon further acquaintance to be correct; and from this fact, the French were for a time induced to act with greater caution and circumspection in their dealings with them than was always the case with the white intruders toward the lords of the soil. At first kindness was returned for kindness, and nothing but slight retaliation was inflicted for any slight injury inflicted on one of their number, but, as was generally the case, the whites became encouraged after an intercourse of the most amicable and friendly character had continued for several years, and began to encroach upon the gallant natives. At first infringing slightly upon their rights, then by trivial exactions and unwise boasting. The pride and wrath of the free sons of the forest were at last excited. Remonstrances against repeated outrages, of seemingly small import, were made; an unwilling ear was turned to them. The natives referred with pride to the time when the infant colony derived its sole support from their kindness, and endeavored to awaken the better feelings of the French to a sense of the injustice and wrong inflicted by minor officials of their colony, who were too far removed from the chief of the government to be under his immediate notice—but all in vain. The moment came when forbearance ceased. On the morning of December 28, 1729, the Natchez Indians arose in their wrath and murdered every Frenchman in the colony. While rejoicing in their success they were in turn attacked January 28, 1730, by the Choctaws, under the leadership of Le Sueur, who took swift and terrible vengeance for the slaughter of his countrymen. A few days later Soubois, at the head of the French troops, completed the work of destruction.

Part of the doomed tribe escaped across the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches, but the fortress they there erected could not long withstand the force sent against it. The chief and over four hundred of the tribe were taken prisoners and sold as slaves, while some were incorporated with the Chickasaws and Muskogees, and others fled to the far West. Thus perished the Natchez Indians.

## THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT\*

### WITH PEDIGREE

#### III

3. *Roger*, born May 21, 1762; graduated at Yale College in 1780, in the same class with his brother Matthew. He studied law with his father; was admitted to the bar of New London in 1783; and was chosen to be a Representative in Congress in 1794, which place he filled for the ten following years. In 1801 he was appointed Secretary of War by President Adams, but declined the honor, having previously requested that the nomination might be withdrawn. He was a Judge of the Superior Court from 1807 to 1809; was elected by the Legislature Lieut.-Governor of Connecticut in 1809, and continued to hold that office till 1811, when, by popular vote, he became Chief Magistrate of the State. He died in the chief magistracy, Oct. 25, 1812. In all positions he proved himself a born "master of men." Of his early career as an advocate it is related by an eye-witness that on one occasion, when only twenty-six years old, being called to argue before the Supreme Court an important case "involving many intricate questions," in company with another "gentleman of the first rank in his profession," he did his work so thoroughly well that his associate was constrained to acknowledge "that after the very able argument of the very ingenious young gentleman who had just sat down, any observations from him could answer no other purpose than to injure his client's cause." † A very handsome man, with flashing black eyes, a commanding figure and majestic mien, as described by one still living who often saw him, ‡ he seemed even by outward presence born to rule.

The National Hall of Representatives was the chief field of his influence. Here, during part of President Washington's administration, the whole of that of President Adams, and especially during a part of the administration of President Jefferson, when he was in the opposition, he stood forth as the fearless yet always courteous, the uncompromising though cautious, champion of the political principles of the school of Washington. Though commanding, he was never arbitrary. His opin-

† An Eulogium . . . of His Excellency Roger Griswold . . . By David Daggett . . . New Haven, 1812. pp. 9, 10.

‡ Judge Charles J. McCurdy of Lyme.

\* Copyright, 1884, by Edward Elbridge Salisbury.



ions were always respectfully heeded, even by his opponents, however they might argue against them, in frank debate, or seek for vulnerable points at which to assail him secretly, or endeavor to pierce his armor with shafts of raillery, as did John Randolph of Roanoke, his frequent antagonist in the discussion of important questions. Most of the great public questions of his time have either passed out of the minds of the present generation, or assumed new aspects through the onward rush of events—"tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur cum illis"—so that a detailed review of the political life of Roger Griswold, except in an elaborate biography, might be out of place. But justice requires that this family-memorial should recognize his profound loyalty to principle, his supreme and unswerving regard to what he thought to be right, irrespective of considerations of expediency, which caused it to be said of him: "There is no duty he will not be found adequate to, nor any one from which he will shrink,"\* and which "extorted even from his political adversaries an affection for his worth, a reverence for his pre-eminent talents." †. The secret of his power lay, as has been said, in the "wonderful promptness" of his mind, which "penetrated every subject presented to it," and "saw it clearly and in all its connections. What others gained by study and reflection he attained by intuition. Having no obliquity of intention, he went directly to his object." ‡ No one can read the Journal of Congress during his membership in the House without noticing how invariably he viewed every subject brought up as it was affected by the fundamental law of the land, the Constitution, and by constitutional interpretations.

As expressive of the trust reposed in him by others of the eminent patriots of his day, a fact perhaps not generally known may be here recorded—that some of the leading Federalists who met, after his death, in the famous Hartford Convention, had had their attention turned to him for President in the possible contingency of a separation of the New England States from the rest of the Union. This fact was communicated to me by the late Mr. Frederick H. Wolcott, of Astoria, L. I., as he heard it from his father, a brother of Gov. Oliver Wolcott, who often spoke of Gov. Griswold, says his son, "in terms of affection, and profound respect for his eminent qualities," though he was not in sympathy with the political opinions of the Old Federalist leaders.

Here it is proper to speak of the personal violence committed on Mr.

\* Letter of Chauncey Goodrich to Oliver Wolcott, Sen., dated Mar. 26, 1796, in *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams* . . . By George Gibbs . . . New York, 1846, i. 324.

† Daggett's Eulogium, ut supra, p. 12.

‡ Id., ibid.

Griswold by Matthew Lyon in 1798, and Mr. Griswold's resentment of it. I relate the occurrence in the words of a son of the late Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, a fellow Congressman and political as well as personal friend of Mr. Griswold :

"In 1797 he [Lyon] went to Congress, where he inaugurated, in Jan. 1798, the series of acts of personal insult and violence which have disgraced Congress, from time to time, from that day to this, by spitting in the face of Mr. Griswold of Connecticut, on some occasion of offense he took at him. The House refusing to expel him by a strict party vote, Mr. Griswold took justice into his own hands, and caned him in his seat a few days afterwards, for which singular process of redress he too went scot-free, also by a party vote, neither the Administration nor the Opposition commanding the two-thirds requisite for the expulsion of a member." \*

The motives which actuated Mr. Griswold in the course he took in this affair will be best understood from a private letter to his wife, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1798, in which he says :

"After the decision of the house which retained the wretch in his seat, I found but two courses which (in my opinion) I cou'd possibly take—either to address a letter to the House, and in severe language criminate the conduct of the minority in the House, and resign my seat, or to pursue the course which I have taken—chastise the rascal in his seat, and by that act chastise both him and the party, and in defiance of them all let them know that I knew how to avenge my own wrongs, and that I was not to be driven from my seat by any villainy of theirs. To the first of these measures there were very great objections—I did not feel willing to return into Connecticut, after the insult I had received in so public a manner, without taking satisfaction . . . in addition to which circumstance the idea of being driven from the House by a minority, when a majority were giving me every support in their power, and were prepared to vindicate every step which I should take, seemed to carry along with it a certain meanness of spirit and want of resolution which was wholly inadmissible ; the other course, although attended with difficulties, was in my opinion much to be preferred : it look'd like going forward, conscious of the injury which I had received, and at the same time with a determination to punish it, in defiance of faction, and a resolution to maintain my situation without fearing the efforts of villains to discourage me. The events have completely justified the measure, and, although my enemies may condemn the harshness of the remedy, yet my friends will approve of it : the newspaper squibs which have and will appear on the occasion are of no consequence—they may tell lies as usual, but they cannot take off the beating."

The same views are expressed in a letter to his father, dated March 19, 1798, as follows :

"I have no idea of committing any further violence myself ; the violence which I committed by chastising the Vermonter had become absolutely necessary—I was reduced to the necessity either of leaving Congress with disgrace to myself, and, in addition thereto

\* Life of Josiah Quincy . . . By his son Edmund Quincy. Boston, 1868, p. 327.

to leave a stigma on the State which wou'd be constantly thrown at our Representatives, or to wipe off the stigma by inflicting a public chastisement. I chose the latter, as I believe every man who possess'd any spirit wou'd have done ; and, although I regret the occasion, yet I believe I shall never lament the measure."

This is the inner history of the much-talked-of " affair " between Roger Griswold and Matthew Lyon. It will be seen that Mr. Griswold's course was not prompted by any spirit of revenge : he shrank from the act of personal violence, and only resorted to it because no other redress could be obtained. In accordance with the spirit of the times, his " honor must be maintained." If he had been a Southerner, he would have promptly challenged Lyon to a duel ; being a Northerner, accustomed to self-control, and attaching a high value to human life, he did but stand on the defensive in a manly use of nature's weapons. The power of the old Griswold champion, his ancestor, came over him ; the sense of right and an indignant revolt against the gross injury he had received added strength to his tall, athletic form ; and in the presence of the Congress before which he had been insulted he vindicated his honor, and silenced his opponent.

" As a judge," to quote again the words of another, " that sincerity, that incorruptible integrity which adorned his life, eminently appeared. His very respectable associates on the judgment-seat, and the suitors and advocates who witnessed his department, will testify that all the vehemence and ardour of the advocate were left at the bar, and that candour, patience & deliberation governed his conduct. His discernment & virtue were a protection to the innocent ; the oppressor and the fraudulent, like the wicked, were scattered with his eye." \*

During the brief time he occupied the gubernatorial chair, though already suffering from mortal illness, he was unsparing of himself in his devotion to the interests of his native State, amid unusual perplexities arising from national events, as well as from the settlement of delicate questions which they called for, concerning the relations of State to National authority.

He was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband and father. He was of a social nature ; warm in his friendships, gracious of deportment in the general intercourse of society, sympathetic towards all objects of public utility, and a benefactor of the needy.

The following extracts from his speeches are given as specimens of his style of argument and modes of expression in public debate. They are from speeches delivered by him as Member of Congress in 1802 and 1803, on a call for papers relative to the Louisiana Treaty, on a proposed amend-

\* Daggett's Eulogium, ut supra, pp. 13-14.

ment to the Constitution respecting the election of President, and on the constitutional right of Congress to unseat judges by repealing the law regulating their appointment.

Discussing the first of these subjects, he said :

“ I am one of those who do now believe, and always have believed, that the exclusive right of forming treaties resides in the President & Senate ; and that, when ratified, it is the duty of every department of the Government to carry them into effect. This treaty, then, if fairly and constitutionally made, is a law of the land, and we are bound to execute it. But it is necessary to know its nature & effects, to carry it into execution. If it is a mere dead letter, there is no necessity for any laws whatever. . . . In my judgment the treaty is uncertain. . . . If we have acquired the country & people, it is certainly proper to pass laws for the preservation of order and tranquillity ; but if we have acquired neither, whence the necessity of passing such laws ? It would be improper ; it would be usurpation. We contend that the treaty does not ascertain these points ; gentlemen differ from us in opinion. But I beg them calmly and seriously to attend to its language. By the first article it appears that Spain promised to cede Louisiana to France on certain stipulations. She *promises* to cede. Gentlemen cannot mistake the import of the language ; it is a promise, not a cession. Will it be said that France acquired any title by this promise ? . . . The terms of the treaty are, ‘ Whereas, in pursuance of the treaty [of Ildefonso], and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestible title,’ &c. Will gentlemen say that this assertion on the part of France gives her a title ? It gives her no title. An assertion by France cannot affect Spain. . . .”

And again :

“ By this article it is declared : ‘ That the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens.’ It is, perhaps, somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise effect which it was intended to give the words which have been used in this stipulation. It is, however, clear that it was intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the ceded territory into the Union, by the treaty itself, or to pledge the faith of the nation that such an incorporation should take place within a reasonable time. It is proper, therefore, to consider the question with a reference to both constructions.

“ It is, in my opinion, scarcely possible for any gentleman on this floor to advance an opinion that the President and Senate may add to the members of the Union by treaty whenever they please. . . . Such a power would be directly repugnant to the original compact between the States, and a violation of the principles on which that compact was formed. It has been already well observed that the union of the States was formed on the principle of a copartnership, and it would be absurd to suppose that the agents of the parties who have been appointed to execute the business of the compact, in behalf of the principals, could admit a new partner without the consent of the parties themselves. And yet, if the first construction is assumed, such must be the case under this Constitution, and the President and Senate may admit, at will, any foreign nation into this copartnership, without the consent of the States. . . .”

“ The government of the United States was not formed for the purpose of distributing

its principles and advantages to foreign nations. It was formed with the sole view of securing those blessings to ourselves and our posterity. It follows from these principles that no power can reside in any public functionary to contract any engagement, or to pursue any measure, which shall change the union of the States. . . . The President, with the advice of the Senate, has undoubtedly the right to form treaties, but in exercising these powers he cannot barter away the Constitution, or the rights of particular States. . . . The government having been formed by a union of States, it is supposable that the fear of an undue or preponderating influence, in certain parts of this Union, must have great weight in the minds of those who might apprehend that such an influence might ultimately injure the interests of the States to which they belonged; and, although they might consent to become parties to the Union, as it was then formed, it is highly probable they would never have consented to such a connection, if a new world was to be thrown into the scale, to weigh down the influence which they might otherwise possess in the national councils." . . .\*

In the debate on the proposed amendment to the Constitution, mainly to the end that only one person should be voted for as President, instead of two, by the Electors of each State—which was adopted, and has been ever since in force—he said :

“There is another view of this subject which furnishes to my mind a conclusive argument against the proposed amendment. In all governments which have hitherto existed, in which the elective principle has extended to the Executive Magistrate, it has been impossible, for any length of time, to guard against corruption in the elections. The danger is not an imaginary one in this country. The office of President is at this time the great object of ambition, and, as the wealth and population of this country increase, the powers of patronage of the President must necessarily be extended. We cannot expect to escape the fate of other republics. Candidates for the office of President will arise who, under the assumed garb of patriotism and disinterested benevolence, will disguise the most unprincipled ambition. Corruption will be practiced by such candidates whenever it can be done with success.

“It is therefore an object of the first importance to regulate the election in such a manner as to remove, as far as possible, both the temptation and the means of corruption. If gentlemen will attend to the proposed amendment with reference to this point, they will find that the means and the temptation to corruption must be increased. As the Constitution now stands, the man who aspires to the office of President can at best but run the race on equal terms with some individual of his own party. In order to succeed he must not only obtain for himself and his associate a greater number of votes than his own political opponents, but he must obtain more votes than the associate himself. The chances of success are by those means rendered more remote, and, however desirable the office may be, the temptations to enter the list, or to make individual exertions, are diminished. The means of corruption must generally be found in the offices at the disposal of the President; and these, it is well known, constitute a fund of great extent; and when the election is brought to such a point as to rest with two candidates only, this fund may be used with

\* Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States. . . . Eighth Congress . . . 1803-04. Washington, 1852, pp. 404, 461-62.

great success. . . . But so long as your elections remain on this present footing, the means of corruption are diminished, because the aspiring candidate can only promise this corrupt distribution of offices upon eventually succeeding to the Presidency ; and, as his chances of success are diminished by the mode of election, his promises are of less value to the Elector, and of course will be less frequently made and more generally rejected. . . .

"But there is one important lesson which the experience of that election [the election of Jefferson by the House of Representatives] has taught the people of the United States—it is this, that it becomes the great and solemn duty of Electors, upon all occasions, to give their votes for two men who shall be best qualified for the office of President. The Electors do not—they cannot—know which of their own candidates will succeed. They are therefore called upon by every sacred principle to select the most eminent of their fellow-citizens. They will be stimulated, on all future occasions, by the experience of the last election, to do, what I trust they have heretofore done—to give their votes for two men in either of whom they are willing to confide the Executive power of the Government. What then can induce us to change the form of our elections? Some gentlemen have said a great deal about the voice of the people, and declared that the people demand the alteration. This is a language too frequently used within these walls. The purposes for which it is used I leave to others to explain ; but it must be perfectly understood that the clamors of designing men are too often mistaken for the voice of the people. The people are rarely disposed to seek for changes, whilst they feel and enjoy the blessings of their old establishments. Be this as it may, we have been sent into this House to obey no voice but that of our own consciences and judgments." . . . \*

One sees in all these speeches the qualities of his mind and character. But the most clear, terse, compact, conclusive and exhaustive of all his arguments was, probably, that which he delivered in 1802, on the question whether Congress has the power to remove judges, during good behavior, by abolishing their offices—a question which arose in the first session under Jefferson's presidency, with reference to appointments made at a late day of the administration of his predecessor. This argument has been considered one of the very ablest ever made in Congress ; yet its power so much depends upon its completeness that full justice cannot be done to it by extracting single passages. I venture, however, to quote the following :

"There is another strange position which has been advocated upon this occasion, and which deserves some attention because it has been often repeated. It is that, although you cannot remove the judge from the office, you may remove the office from the judge. To this extraordinary assertion I answer that the words of the Constitution admit of no such construction. The expression being that the judge shall hold his office during good behaviour, necessarily implies and secures a union of the office and the officer, so long as the officer shall behave well ; and a removal of the office from the judge destroys as effectually this union as the removal of the judge from the office could do. . . . If constructions of this kind can be admitted, there is not a crime which was ever perpetrated by man which cannot be justified. Sir, upon this principle, although you may not kill by

\* Debates and Proceedings in the Congress . . . ut supra, pp. 749-52

thrusting a dagger into the breast of your neighbor, yet you may compel your neighbor to kill himself by forcing him upon the dagger ; you shall not murder by destroying the life of a man, but you may confine your enemy in prison, and leave him without food to starve and to die. These may be good distinctions in the new system of philosophy, but they can never be admitted in the old school. . . .

“The power given to the courts to pronounce on the constitutionality of laws would be entirely defeated in those times when the exercise of that power becomes most necessary, if the judges are not placed beyond the power of the Legislature. The idea of giving this power to the courts, and at the same time of leaving the courts at the mercy of that department over which the power is to be exercised, is rather too absurd for gentlemen even in these days of extravagance ; and gentlemen aware of this have had the confidence to deny that this power resides in the courts. . . .

“Sir, if there is no power to check the usurpations of the Legislature, the inevitable consequence must be that the Congress of the United States becomes truly omnipotent. All power must be concentrated here, before which every department and all State-authorities must fall prostrate. Admit this principle and nothing can resist the attacks of your national laws upon our State-sovereignties. Here is an end of your Federal government. A consolidation of the States is the immediate effect, and in a few short years these sovereignties will not even obtain the name . . . .

“I should now close the observations which I had to submit to the Committee upon this interesting question, had not the gentlemen on the other side of the House thought proper to involve in this debate a discussion of several topics not necessarily connected with the subject . . . and, although I cannot see their application, yet I am not disposed to set up my discernment as the standard of infallibility, and shall therefore now pay due respect to the path which these gentlemen have marked out. . . .

“The gentleman begins his remarks by saying that two parties have existed in this country from the commencement of the present Government : the one what the gentleman has been pleased to denominate a party of energy, and the other a party of responsibility ; the first, disposed to go forward with the affairs of the Government with energy, as they seemed right and expedient, and the other only in submission to the public will. Sir, it can be no news to the members of this Committee that two parties exist in this country, nor can gentlemen be ignorant that two parties did exist in the nation at the adoption of the Constitution ; the one consisting of its friends, and the other composed of its enemies ; nor is it necessary for me to say how the present have grown out of these original parties. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say that the parties alluded to by the gentleman from Virginia are characterized by prominent features, and cannot easily be mistaken. . . . One great feature which has characterized those whom the gentleman has been pleased to denominate the party of energy, has been their strong attachment to the present Constitution ; and a determination not only to leave each department to the exercise of its proper functions, but to support them in it. Their opponents, to say nothing of their attachment to the Constitution, have on the contrary been disposed to bring all the powers of the Government into the House of Representatives, and in that way to strip the other branches of their constitutional authority. . . .

“Again, this party of energy was disposed to establish and support public credit, in which their opponents did not agree. This party of energy was likewise determined to defend their country against the hostile attacks of the enemy, and to support the interests, the safety and honor of the nation ; their opponents, on the contrary, were disposed to

prostrate everything that was dear to the will of the enemy. One party was disposed to build up and support, while the others were, and still are, determined to pull down and destroy. . . .

"The public debt has been spoken of, and it has been charged as a crime that these solemn engagements, which were the price of our independence, and for the discharge of which the national faith was pledged, have been provided for by the old Administration. Sir, are we to understand that this crime is to be ultimately atoned for by wiping out the debt with a sponge? . . .

"The Indian war has also been alluded to in very extraordinary language, as an event which was greedily seized to enlarge the field of Executive patronage. Sir, the gentleman cannot intend to insinuate that the Indian war was excited by the Administration; the causes which produced that war are too publicly known to be forgotten or misunderstood. And has it indeed, at this time, become criminal for the Government to defend the inhabitants of our frontier from the attacks of the savages?

"The gentleman has likewise told us that the depredations upon our commerce by the Barbary Powers, and by the French cruisers, were made a pretext for commencing a Naval Establishment, and in this way of extending this bugbear of Executive patronage. Sir, this remark gives me no surprise. I know perfectly well that there is a party in this country who are opposed to our commerce and to our navy. I shall long recollect the depredations which were made upon our commerce by the French, and the difficulty with which gentlemen were persuaded to repel those depredations. I cannot forget that, before they would consent to our first measure of defence, the cruisers of France were capturing your ships within the Delaware Bay. It is certainly true that the old Administration was neither the enemy of commerce nor of the navy; and it is as certainly true that they were equally disposed to defend your citizens against Algerine slavery and the depredations of France. And to merchants and seamen of this country, and the community at large, I am willing to refer the question whether it was proper to surrender our commerce to the enemy, and give up our seamen to slavery, or defend both by an adequate Naval Establishment." . . . \*

The representatives of some of Governor Griswold's confidential correspondents have been applied to for letters of his which might enrich this record; but time and the indifference of younger generations have rendered the application fruitless. Only one letter of this sort has been found, which is among the family-papers at Blackhall. Nor have many important letters addressed to him been handed down in the family.

The one confidential letter of Governor Griswold here referred to was addressed to Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn. It is highly worthy of preservation, both for its subject and its tone. As will be seen, it was called forth by the failure of the negotiations of the special envoys to France—Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry—in the time of the French Directory, under Talleyrand as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1797-98, respecting depredations on American commerce committed in pursuance of the war

\* Debates and Proc. of the Congress. . . . Seventh Congress. . . . 1801-02. Washington, 1851, pp. 779, 783, 791-93.



then going on between France and Great Britain.\* The letter is as follows:

“ Philadelphia, June 20th, 1798.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant.

“ The impressions which the reading of the dispatches from our Envoys have made on your mind, are such as every man must feel who is alive to the honour and interests of this Country; the only apology which I can form for the feeble display of spirit, which appears in their note to the minister of foreign relations, arises from the c——d situation into which they were thrown. Without knowing the real temper of this Country, Marshall and Pinckney were connected with a New-Englander who was supposed to represent the feelings and wishes of the New-England States: to disagree with such a man, placed in so important a situation, and representing at best a divided people, appeared like rushing on destruction: if by such a step they shou'd lose the confidence of the Northern States, the Country must have been lost. From this consideration only can I account for their subscribing to expressions which must have put their pride and sentiments on the rack: the thing certainly admits of palliation, but after all I can hardly excuse these Gentlemen, as highly as I respect them, for the manner in which they consented to discuss the question of a Loan. But the business has gone past, and the mission is at an end, and we may rejoice that it has terminated so well. Marshall is here, and a description of what he and Pinckney have suffered . . . † is sufficient to render even their faults virtues.

“ Your sentiments respecting the want of decision and spirit in this government correspond with my own: if Heaven did not take better care of us than we take of ourselves, we shou'd sink never to rise again.

“ The history of the world, in every page, demonstrates that no nation ever gained anything by forbearance or timidity—a bold, decided and manly administration allways has and allways will be crowned with success; even war itself, which the feeble-minded so greatly dread, can only be avoided by boldness; indecision and pusillanimity only invite aggression, and the neck that submits will allways decorate the gibbet. These truths have been exemplified in the progress of our disputes with France. Mr. Marshall now declares, what a great many preached two years ago, that, if this government had acted with spirit and decision one year ago, there wou'd have been no difficulty in bringing the late negotiation to a fortunate issue. But what cou'd be expected for a people who were kneeling at the footstool of French despotism? Justice has but little to do in the adjustment of disputes between nations, and, so long as America appeared willing to put on the chains of servitude, the Gallic Tyrants were willing to supply them. Wou'd to God that our experience even at this time taught us wisdom; but an unaccountable spirit of timidity and weakness still prevails among a certain class of persons who are strongly attached to the Government; this conduct is gradually undermining the main pillar of our existence—it is sapping the foundation of that confidence on which alone our nation can rest; the truth really is that no one measure has been adopted by the Legislature for the national defence

\* See History of the United States of America. By Richard Hildreth. New York, 1855, ii. 95 ff.; and Gibbs's Admin. of Washington and Adams. . . . ut supra, i. 558 ff. and ii. 2 ff.

† The imputations cast upon Gerry, in connection with this celebrated mission, have been fully set aside by a plain statement of facts, with documentary proofs, in the Life of Elbridge Gerry. . . . By James T. Austin. Boston, 1829. ii. 190-295.

which has not been forced upon it by the pressure of public opinion ; and the Government, consisting of all its departments, which ought by its united energy to give a tone to the public mind, and point out the path of honour and Independence, has been driven like chaff before a torrent of public spirit which cou'd not be entirely resisted:

"I hope the return of Mr. Marshall will bring along with it new spirit and energy ; and those honest men who have heretofore sought for peace with meekness and humility, will at last learn that it is only to be found in firmness, energy & honour.

"Mr. Marshall declares that, in his opinion, the French have taken their ground in respect to this Country, from which they will not, without a new revolution in Paris, recede—that we are to expect nothing but War or Tribute, that we have our choice of these alternatives ; and I trust that the choice has been long since made in the breast of every American.

"I remain with esteem

Your friend & very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

R. Griswold."

Of letters addressed to Gov. Griswold, preserved in the family, the following are all which it seems worth while to incorporate, either entire or in part, in this memorial :

"New London, January 18th, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

"I most sincerely concur with you in your sentiments on the death of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. The citizens of this town joined last week with the garrison in paying funeral honors to the memory of the illustrious deceas<sup>d</sup>—the proceedings were indeed solemn, and calculated to make a strong impression. May the honorable sensibility excited in this and other places have the effect to allay the envy and malignity naturally arising in narrow minds towards the authors of great and noble actions, and turn the whole attention on the distinguished merit of the mighty Chief! Happy will it be for this Country if his moral and political virtues should be the criterion by which the American character shall be formed.

"The concourse of people upon this mournful occasion, from this and the neighboring towns, was immense ; an address was delivered by Gen<sup>l</sup> Huntington, & an oration by Lyman Law, which do honor to the performers. It must be wisdom in the friends of order to improve the present sensibility of the nation to our political advantage. And may the Hero, like Sampson, slay more of his enemies at his death than in his whole lifetime ! Nations as well as individuals are governed by habit ; most people are willing to take the general opinion upon trust, if they can be freed from the trouble of investigating its propriety. Hence the importance of establishing right modes of thinking as well as acting. Let the principles of Washington be the rule of faith and practice, and our children be taught that his ways were pleasantness, and his *paths peace*.

"Your remark that the exertions of the Jacobins, this Election, would be powerful & violent, begins to be verified. We have had a specimen of it here within a few days. Our mechanics received a communication through Holt the Printer from the same body at New Haven. The ostensible object was to form mechanic societies through the State, and to have a general meeting at New Haven, to consult on measures for the benefit of the craft. You will readily see that this is no other than a different name for democratic societies. Few but Demos were invited to the meeting. By accident it became public, and the more respectable mechanics attended & voted the business down. . . .

SAMUEL  
m.

DEBORAH  
m. MAJOR ROBERT DENISON

SAMUEL

PATIENCE  
m. JOHN DENISON

by 2d mar.

FRANCIS  
m.

ELIZABETH +  
RAYMOND

SAMUEL

ANDREW +

REV. EDWARD DORR

ISAAC  
m.

Rev. Edward Dorr

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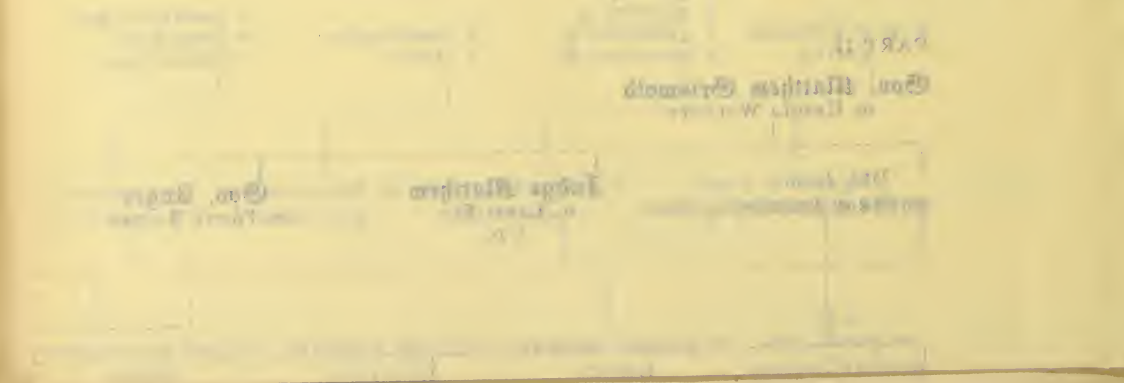
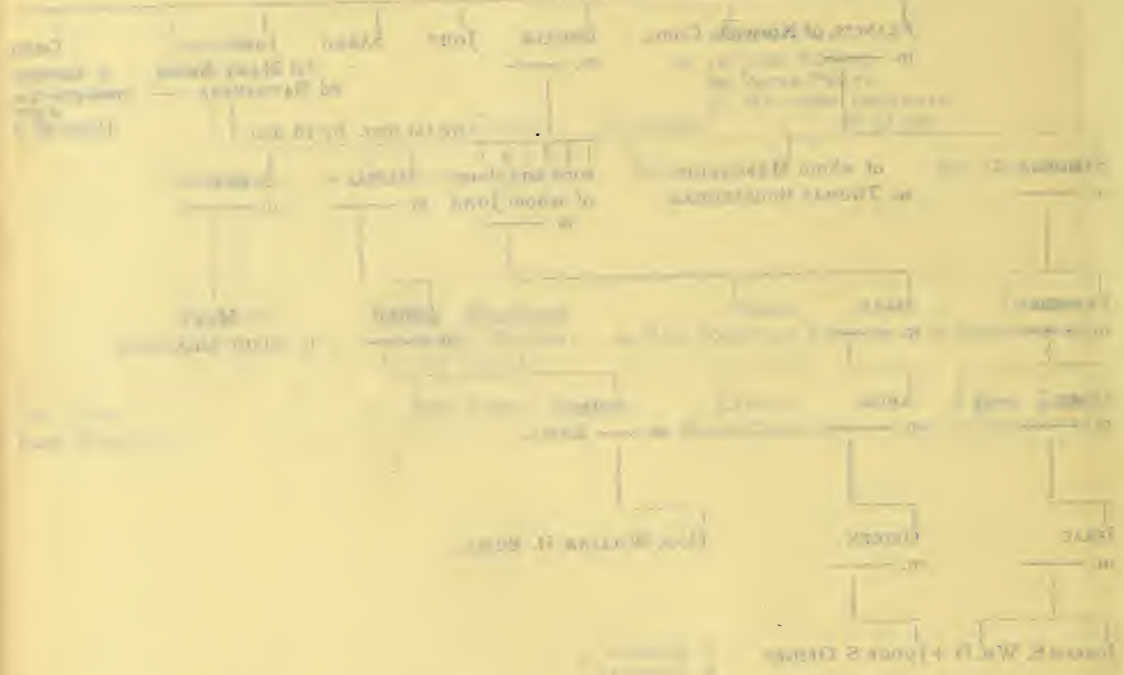
"Dear Sir,

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"We have lately had a flood of political wickedness poured in upon us from Virginia. But I am perfectly confident that Connecticut has too much sense & integrity to become the contemptible tool of democratic cunning.

"I am, Sir, your friend &c.,

Elias Perkins."

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"New London, Jan<sup>y</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>, 1801.

"Dear Sir,

"Since it has been ascertained that no Federal President has been chosen, there seems to be, so far as my observation has extended, an almost perfect apathy on the subject of politics. The Democrats seem in a state of apprehension at their own success. They dread the idea of responsibility. Not having it in their power to grumble, it has given time for those that *can* reflect, and, having something to loose by a convulsion, to view with alarm the dangers that may arise from the ferment which they have occasioned. They dare not complain, but are wofully agitated lest Con<sup>l</sup> Burr should supplant their favorite; but it is replied by the old school that 73, according to the most approved rules of arithmetic, is equal to 73; and that, according to republican principles, there is no way of ascertaining what is right and wrong but by the votes of the *sovereign People*.

"The most reflecting part of our State, and, I believe, all that would prefer a federal President to Mr. Jefferson, expect that the federal States will vote for Mr. Burr. I am decidedly of that opinion, and, admitting the Candidates to be equal in point of integrity, I believe that some very good reasons may be offered in favour of Mr. Burr which will not apply to Mr. Jefferson.

"Mr. Burr is from a State which is under a very powerful commercial influence; his connexion and speculations are subject to the same influence. It is, I believe, an undeniable fact, there is very little Jeffersonian theory and republican fanaticism in either of the leading parties of the State of New York. It is, I believe, wholly a contention for power that has induced certain Chiefs to join the opposition. If Mr. Burr is supported by the federalists, it may be an additional inducement for him to pursue federal measures, and probably unite the powerful State of New York in the New England politics. I can not in conscience express any regret that Mr. Adams is not chosen—it would be an up-hill business to support his administration.

"Whatever course you shall take, it will be presumed that you have acted from the best motive, and a full and adequate investigation of the subject. This will doubtless be the sentiment of Connecticut. We shall be anxious to hear the event; pray let us know as soon as it is determined. . . .

"I am, dear Sir, your friend & Humble Servant,

E. Perkins."

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"Philad. 3 Nov. 1801.

"My dear Sir,

. . . "But what have we to say but to lament the downfall of federalism, and the triumph of democracy—a triumph more compleat than its most sanguine partisans dared to hope for. In this State more than  $\frac{4}{5}$ <sup>ths</sup> of the lower house, and a great majority of the Senate, are of the Party. Delaware has one of the same stamp for Governor, and Bloomfield reigns in New Jersey. Our City Elections were carried against us by a very small majority, and by a manœuvre that we hope will not again succeed.

“Do you keep stedfast in the faith, or do you, like the Eastern inhabitants of another region, worship the rising sun? The line of conduct which the president in his answer to the Merchants of New Haven professes his intention to pursue, and the character which he attaches to the Persons turned & to be turned out,\* must, I should think, make considerable impression on the Public mind, and the Practice itself will have a most pernicious effect.

“We must wait for the next meeting of Congress, to be made acquainted with the system intended to be pursued; a majority of both houses will support the present Administration, and I cannot suppose that the talents of our federal Gentlemen, however exerted, can stem the torrent; so that none of their schemes will be abandoned from an apprehension of their being rejected. After the next apportionment of the representation, the Eastern States, unless firmly united, must lose their weight in the ballance. The great increase of population, altho’ a subject of great exultation to many, ought, in my mind, to excite serious apprehensions—a new Interest will soon predominate, and will not that Interest clash with our own in some essential points, and be indifferent to many others which we esteem of the greatest importance?

“You see that, tho’ no longer a public servant, yet, like many other private Men, the weight of public affairs still lay heavy on my shoulders, and that, not content with bearing my share of present Evils, I am looking into futurity for an addition to the burthen.

. . . .

“Sincerely Yours,

“Rob. Walsh.”

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“Norwich, 21 Feby 1802.

“My dear Sir,

. . . . “I regret extremely to find the Judiciary system destroyed, fearing and believing it done with evident marks of contempt for the Government of our country—this great barrier being removed, there is no restraint to the passions of the now governing characters in Congress; and, when publick opinion, or rather the voice of the mob, becomes the law of our country, anarchy & confusion must follow; and I believe the supporters of that sentiment will, at some future day, when too late, mourn in bitterness the hour they promoted it, to the destruction of order. I have my fears that confusion is fast ripening to the state it was in in France, not that I expect a Guillotine, but a separation of the Union, a rising of servants against masters, & Virginia begging aid of the Northern States.

“By reports of the debates, or rather the rapid passage of every favorite measure of the Virginia Interest, it appears there is no use in our northern federal members remaining there—would it not be as well for you all to return home, and leave them to themselves? I think it probable some might feel the force of Mr. Morris’s observation, and want the protecting force of the Judiciary to save them; it is said here that your business in the House of Representatives is finished to your hands before it comes into the house, and without the knowledge of about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its members—if so, *that* one third can only experience a mortification by being present at the passage of the business; if they have fortitude enough to bear it, and to stand ready to defend their own principles, much is due to them. . . .

\* Alluding to the removal of Elizur Goodrich from the office of Collector of the Port of New Haven.



"I believe it is well known to you that the French spoliations were more severely felt by the commercial interest of this town & vicinity, in proportion to our members and capital, than almost any town or place that is within my knowledge, except Alexandria; a great proportion of our traders have been totally ruined, and others are great sufferers. We are now preparing a memorial to Congress, praying compensation for the claims we had against the French Government, which for some purpose have been bartered by our Government, and left us no other hope but in the justice of the Government. . . . Should justice be refused, I fear ruin will be attached to many, and by and by the commercial interest will be less tenacious of their sacred regard to the revenue. . . . We hope for the best, but, if driven to a pointed enmity to the revenue-system, it appears to me they could as effectually ruin it as the Virginia interest have ruined the Judiciary, not by a majority of only one, but by a unanimous vote. I feel a pride in the belief that our Connecticut Members of both Houses know the true interest of their country, and that it has a warm place in their hearts, which principle, united with their desire of justice, will secure them to us as advocates in this cause. . . .

"Y<sup>r</sup> friend & serv<sup>t</sup>,

"J. Howland.

"Hon<sup>ble</sup> Roger Griswold Esq."

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"Knoxville, Dec. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1803.

"Sir,

"The Exertions you have made to stem the torrent of Democratic Delusion, and to support the constitution of our country against the insidious attacks of the Demagogues who now rule, have induced me to address you on a subject which, if my opinions are correct, every Friend to the Constitution is interested in. I allude to the late requisition of the militia of this State by the General Government. Altho' we can not here obtain the Documents relative to this business, yet I believe no doubt can exist but that they were called on to assist in taking possession of Louisiana. The requisition has subjected a number of the People of this State to great inconvenience in hiring substitutes, and a large proportion of those who have been drafted have been fined for refusing to muster in. I see no Power given to the General Government by the Constitution to require the services of the Militia on such occasions, or to march them out of the United States; and, believing that the measure was illegal, I was determined not to submit to it, and have been fined 25 Dolls., as have also a number of the Inhabitants of this County; tho' I do not regard the sum, yet, as I am unwilling to support the present Administration further than my Duty as a citizen requires, I feel an Inclination that this business should be examined into. If you are of opinion, with me, that the requisition was unconstitutional, I hope you will endeavour to procure an investigation. If it has no other Effect, it will contribute to open the Eyes of the People of the Western Country, and discover what reliance can be placed on the hypocritical professions of attachment to the Constitution which the ruling Party are and have been so much in the Habit of making. The signatures of a large proportion of the People can easily be obtained to a remonstrance, if necessary. Trusting you will excuse the Liberty I have taken, I remain with sentiments of the Highest Esteem & Respect,

"Your Most Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"Tho: Emmerson."

"Hartford, 25 July, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"I left home with an intention of visiting the seaboard, pursuant to an arrangement partially made when I took my leave of you at this place. Not having learned whether the orders you issued to the Major Gen<sup>l</sup>. on the coast were executed, hearing nothing from you or our friends who accompanied you, and receiving intelligence that a British fleet had come into our waters, I felt it a duty to visit the region in and about *Lyme* at least, for the purpose of ascertaining the condition and the feelings of the good people in that quarter. Just as I was taking my departure, a letter was received from the Secretary of War, in answer to the despatch I forwarded immediately on my return from the session of the council. Copies of both are enclosed. Of the Secretary's letter I shall say nothing—it will speak abundantly for itself. My letter to him followed very closely the reasoning, and indeed the language, of the council. Their result having met your approbation, I did not feel myself at liberty to depart essentially from it. You will perceive, my dear Sir, the evident propriety that the reply to the Secretary should, if possible, proceed from your hand. Aside from this consideration which is in some degree personal, a new question arises out of the *declaration* of the President 'that the United States are in imminent danger of invasion,' and one perhaps which the council did not particularly consider. Altho' there is no difficulty in resisting this renewed requisition, on the ground that our second objection remains in full force, still I see not but the question above mentioned must be met.

"Mr. Dwight has just returned, and informs me you are on your way to Connecticut. I despatch an express, not for the purpose of hastening your journey, which for the sake of your health I beg you not to do, but to learn your wishes as to the course to be pursued. Shall the council be convened? This measure I had resolved to take by the advice of our friends here, and should have issued *letters missive* on Monday, if no intelligence had been received from you.

"Whatever directions you may please to forward shall be scrupulously obeyed. . . .

"I am, my dear Sir, in haste, but most sincerely & affectionately yours,

"J. C. Smith.

"His Excellency Governor Griswold."

The foregoing letter from Lieut.-Gov. John Cotton Smith is a valuable missing link in the correspondence between State-authorities and the General Government, on the subject of Secretary of War Dearborn's requisition for troops of the militia of Connecticut, to be ordered into the service of the United States, on the breaking out of the War of 1812. It does not appear among the letters and other documents, relating to this subject, published by Dwight in his *History of the Hartford Convention*. But more important and interesting, in the same connection, is the following draft of a letter written by Gov. Griswold, on the 4th of Aug., 1812, to Secretary Dearborn, which, it is believed, has never appeared in print, and was, perhaps, never sent. Being found among the family-papers, it is put on record here as an additional tribute to his memory. The date of the letter is the same as that of the meeting of the General Assembly of Con-

necticut, fully referred to by Dwight, in which Gov. Griswold's conduct in this affair was entirely approved.\*

“Hartford, Aug. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1812.

“Sir,

“His Honour Gov. Smith has put into my hands your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, and it is with surprise I notice the construction you have put on my letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June. The unusual and exceptionable terms, also, in which your letter is expressed, have not escaped notice; I shall not, however, descend to any comment upon its particular expressions, but perform my duty to the General Gov't in giving the explanation which appears proper.

“When you communicated the request of the President, that any future requisition from General Dearborn for a part of the drafted militia might be complied with, it was uncertain whether such requirement would be made, or, if made, under what circumstances it might take place. Confident, however, that the President would authorize no requisition which was not strictly constitutional, and particularly that the order would not exceed the conditions of the Act of the 10<sup>th</sup> of April to which you had referred, I felt no hesitation in giving a general assurance that such requisition as the President might make through General Dearborn would be complied with. I then thought, as I do still, that decency and a due respect to the first Magistrate of the Union, required that my assurance should be general, and that no expression should be used which carried with it a suspicion that the President might transgress the Constitution in the direction he might give. I also expected that this early and general assurance would be considered as evidence of a disposition which has been uniformly felt in this State to execute every constitutional requisition from the general gov't. In whatever light, however, my expressions may have been viewed, I trust I shall be now understood, when I assure you that I did not intend, or expect to be understood, by the general language of my letter, or any expression it contained, to engage that I would execute any order which I thought, on consideration, to be repugnant to the Constitution, from whatever authority it might emanate. The light in which I have viewed the requisition now made through General Dearborn, has been already communicated by Gov. Smith; and it is only proper to add that my opinion of its unconstitutionality remains unchanged, and is happily confirmed by the unanimous opinion of the Council of this State.

“The new light in which you have presented the subject in your letter to Gov. Smith has received every attention, but cannot, in my judgment, change the opinion already formed. The war which has commenced, and the cruising of a hostile fleet on our coast, is not invasion, and the declaration of the President, that there is imminent danger of invasion, is evidently a consequence drawn from the facts now disclosed, and, I am compelled to say, is not, in my opinion, warranted by those facts. If such consequence were admitted to result from a state of war, and from the facts now mentioned, and which always must attend a war with an European power, it would follow that every war of that character would throw the militia into the hands of the National Gov't, and strip the States of the important right reserved to them. But it is proper for me further to observe that I have found difficulty in fixing in my own mind the meaning of the words *imminent danger of invasion*, used by Congress in the Act of the 28<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>y</sup> 1805, and now repeated in your letter, as no such expression is contained in that part of the Constitution which author-

\* See History of the Hartford Convention . . . By Theodore Dwight . . . New York & Boston, 1833, pp. 237-67.

izes the President to call the militia into service. Presuming, however, that some definite meaning, thought consistent with the Constitution, was at the time annexed to the expression, I have rather inferred that the Legislature must have intended only to include an extreme case, when an enemy had not passed the line of the State, but was evidently advancing in force to invade our country. Such a case would undoubtedly come within the spirit of the Constitution, although it might not be included in its literal expression. But whether the Congress of 1805 was justified in the expression, or not, is unimportant, there being no difficulty in the present case, as none of the facts disclosed permit anything more than slight and remote danger of invasion, which the Constitution could not contemplate, and which might exist even in time of peace.

“Whilst I regret this difference of opinion, upon a question of serious importance, I cannot doubt that the President will perceive that a sense of duty leaves no other course to pursue, and that the general government will speedily provide the troops deemed necessary for the defence of the coast of this State.

“I have the honour to be, &c.”

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“Cambridge, 3 Sept., 1812.

“Dear Sir,

“It is with great concern that we find your health so much impaired, especially at this perilous crisis. We do hope, however, that your long journey and the mineral waters, with the blessing of Heaven, will restore it. Could your Excellency visit Boston during the autumn, would not the journey be salutary to yourself and to our sickly Commonwealth? I am sure it would give the highest pleasure to our statesmen in Boston, and have no doubt it would be of good political effect. Should you do us this honour, any attentions of mine that might contribute towards the objects of your visit would be at your command; for, while your public services entitle you to such attentions from every citizen, they are peculiarly due to you from one who cherishes a very grateful sense of your early patronage, and who is,

“With great respect & regard,

“Your Excellency’s humble servant

“A. Holmes.

“His Excellency Gov. Griswold.”

Years before this, in the midst of Mr. Griswold’s greatest activity, a disease of the heart had suddenly manifested itself; but, though he was thenceforth hopeless of cure, his activity never ceased. The letter last quoted—written by Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, author of “American Annals,” and father of our poet Oliver Wendell Holmes, is only one of many proofs of a really tender solicitude manifested by the public as Mr. Griswold’s health failed more and more. When death had come, a little over a month after the date of this letter, the common admiration and mourning found expression upon his tombstone, in the burial-ground of the family overlooking Blackhall River, in an epitaph by which it is still echoed, and will be transmitted to later generations:

“This monument is erected to the memory of his Excellency Roger Griswold, LL.D.,

late Governour of this State. He was born at Lyme, May 25th, 1762; and died at Norwich, Oct. 25th, 1812.

"He was the son of his Excellency Matthew Griswold, who had been Chief Justice of the Sup<sup>r</sup> Court. His mother was daughter of Roger Wolcott, Esq., of Windsor, who was for many years Governour of this State.

"Gov. Griswold graduated at Yale College in 1780, and in 1785 entered upon the profession of law. At the age of 34 he was elected into the Congress of the United States. In 1807 he was appointed a Judge of the Sup<sup>r</sup> Court, in 1809 Lieut. Governour, and in 1811 was elected Governour; upon all these eminent stations he conferred dignity and honour.

"Not less conspicuous by honorable parentage and elevated rank in society than by personal merit, talents and virtue.

"He was respected at the University as an elegant and classical scholar; quick discernment, sound reasoning, legal science and manly eloquence raised him to the first eminence at the bar.

"Distinguished in the National Councils among the illustrious Statesmen of the age. Revered for his inflexible integrity and pre-eminent talents, his political course was highly honorable.

"His friends viewed him with virtuous pride. His native State with honest triumph. His fame and honors were the just rewards of noble actions, and of a life devoted to his Country.

"He was endeared to his family by fidelity and affection, to his neighbours by frankness and benevolence. His memory is embalmed in the hearts of surviving relatives, and of a grateful people.

"When this monument shall have decayed, his name shall be enrolled with honor among the great, the wise and the good."

Governor Roger Griswold married, Oct. 27, 1788, Fanny daughter of Col. Zabdiel Rogers, a prominent Revolutionary patriot and officer, of Norwich, Conn., by his first wife, Elizabeth Tracy, descended from Mabel Harlakenden, whose ancestry, as is well known, has been traced back, through several English sovereigns, to Alfred the Great and Charlemagne.\* Mrs. Roger Griswold survived her husband, and died Dec. 26th, 1863, at the age of ninety-six years. Their children were:

(1.) *Augustus Henry* (b. 1789); a shipmaster; who married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Lansdale of Boxhill, Co. Sussex, England, and had by her two sons and a daughter. He was a man of brilliant natural parts, inheriting much of his father's genius. His eldest son is Roger Griswold, now of Lyme, who married Julia A. daughter of Joshua Wells of East Windsor, Conn., and has two sons and a daughter.

(2.) *Charles* (b. 1791); graduated at Yale College in 1808; a lawyer, but commonly distinguished as Col. Charles Griswold; Deacon of the First Church of Lyme from 1829; and a man active in all religious and other

\* Walworth's Hyde Geneal., ut supra, ii. 1161-79, Appendices A & B.

public enterprises. The present Congregational church-edifice at Lyme, built in 1817, indirectly after a model existing in London, is a monument to his taste and public spirit. He married Ellen Elizabeth daughter of Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn., by his wife, Lucretia Shaw Woodbridge, and had several children. A daughter, Fanny Rogers, married: 1st. Shubal F. Bartlett of East Windsor, Conn., and, 2d. Daniel Bartlett, a brother of her first husband; and is now living at East Windsor: a son of hers is Charles Griswold Bartlett, now the Principal of a very successful family-school for boys at Lyme. Two of the sons of Col. Charles Griswold are James Griswold, Esq., graduated at Yale College in 1848, a lawyer of Lyme; and Charles Henry, a farmer of the same place, whose wife, Eva Morley, by birth is a descendant of Rev. Sylvanus Griswold of the fourth generation of our Griswold family of New England, above mentioned (see p. 149). Another son was John, graduated at Yale College in 1857, a gallant Captain of Volunteers in the late civil war, killed in the battle of Antietam.

(3.) *Matthew* (b. 1792); who married Phœbe Hubbard daughter of Col. Seth Ely, and settled as a farmer on the ancestral estate of Blackhall, in a house built by his father; where he lived to his eighty-eighth year, dying in 1880; and left his widow with several unmarried daughters. To these ladies I am chiefly indebted for the loan of family-papers used in this memorial. His only son, Matthew, is now of Erie, Pa., and has five sons, by two marriages. One daughter, Lydia Maria, married John C. Selden of Erie, Pa.; and another, Fanny Rogers, married Horace S. Ely of New York City.

(4.) *Frances Ann* (b. 1795); who married her first cousin, Judge Ebenezer Lane (see below), of Sandusky, Ohio, graduated at Harvard College in 1811, made LL.D. there in 1880, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio, a learned lawyer and scholar; and had a son, William Griswold Lane, the accomplished and amiable Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the Fourth Judicial District of Ohio, who was born in 1824, graduated at Yale College in 1843, and died in 1877. William Griswold Lane married his cousin Elizabeth Diodate Griswold, a descendant of our first Matthew Griswold, on her father's side, through a brother of her husband's grandfather, Gov. Roger Griswold (see below), and, on her mother's side, through Rev. George Griswold of Giant's Neck (see p. 149).

(5.) *Roger Wolcott* (b. 1797); graduated at Yale College in 1818; a lawyer; who married his cousin Juliet, daughter of Thomas Griswold, niece of the New York merchants Nathaniel Lynde and George Griswold above mentioned; settled at Ashtabula, Ohio; had sons and daughters; and died in 1878.

(6.) *Eliza Woodbridge* (b. 1799); who married Charles Leicester Boalt of Norwalk, Ohio, a lawyer of high position; had several sons and two daughters; and died in 1878. One of the sons was John Henry, Judge of Common Pleas in Nevada, now of San Francisco, Cal. One of the daughters, Frances Griswold Lane, is now the wife of Jay Osborne Moss, a wealthy financier of Sandusky, Ohio.

(7.) *Marian* (b. 1801); who married Thomas Shaw Perkins, a lawyer, son of Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn.; and had eleven children. A daughter, Cornelia Leonard, was the wife of David Hubbard Nevins of New York, late of Waterford, Conn. Roger Griswold, one of Mrs. Perkins's sons, was a physician of New York, and afterwards lived on a plantation near Columbia, S. C., belonging to the family of his wife, a Perkins cousin of his. She survived him, without children, and is now living on an ancestral estate of her own in South Carolina. Another son of Mrs. Perkins is Gen. Joseph Griswold Perkins of Lyme, brevetted as General for services in the late civil war, whose wife is of Griswold descent through the Giant's Neck branch (see pp. 149-50). A third son is Professor Maurice Perkins, professor of chemistry in Union College. The only surviving daughter is Lucretia Shaw Woodbridge, a lady of unusual acquisitions and varied accomplishments, which she has applied in private teaching.

(8.) *William Frederick* (b. 1804); a captain in the China trade; who married Sarah daughter of William Noyes of Lyme; had two sons and two daughters; and died in 1851. He improved the leisure of his long voyages for much study and reading, by which he became a man of high culture.

(9.) *Robert Harper* (b. 1806); a shipmaster; who married Helen daughter of Edward Powers of Guilford, Conn., by whom he had three daughters and one son, the latter not now living. He was a favorite commander of packet-ships of the John Griswold Line, sailing between New York and London, a man of much reading, and, in his prime, of elegant manners and great personal beauty. He died in Lyme in 1882, after years of lingering infirmity and pain. His daughters, with their mother, now conduct a family-school for young ladies in their father's fine old house in Lyme, devoted more especially to instruction in the elegant branches, in which they are proficient.

(10.) *Fames*, who died in infancy.

We now return to follow out the succession of the children of Gov. Matthew and Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold:

4. *Ursula*, b. 1744; who died an infant

5. *Hannah*, b. 1746; who died in childhood.

6. *Marian*, born Apr. 17, 1750; a very handsome woman; who married, first, Sep. 29, 1769, Charles Church Chandler of Woodstock, Conn., an eminent lawyer, "frequently a member of the State Legislature, and was elected to the Continental Congress" \*—who died in 1787—by whom she had several children. One of her daughters by this first marriage, Mary Ann, married James Lanman of Norwich, Conn., United States Senator and Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, and had, with many other children, Joanna Boylston, who was the first wife of the late Hon. Lafayette Sabin Foster of Norwich, at one time acting Vice-President of the United States. *Marian* (Griswold) Chandler married, secondly, Captain Ebenezer Lane of Northampton, Mass., and had by him one child, Judge Ebenezer Lane (b. 1793), above mentioned. After the death of Capt. Lane in 1808, his widow married, thirdly, Justin Ely Esq. of West Springfield, Mass., whom she survived, without children by him, and herself died June 17, 1829. An obituary of Mrs. *Marian* (Griswold) Chandler-Lane-Ely, published at the time of her death, says of her:

"She was a woman of strong and vigorous intellectual powers. The earlier part of her life had been spent at a time when female education was considered (comparatively speaking) as of little or no consequence: of course, her advantages for mental improvement were not like those enjoyed by young ladies of the present day. Yet, by the judicious instructions of an estimable mother, subsequent reading, and an extensive observation of men and things, combined with a very retentive memory, her mind had been stored with such a fund of general information as rendered her not only a very agreeable, but a very useful companion—one whose society was courted by people of all ages. Remarkably active in her habits, and a great economist of time, she was ever, during the successive years of a protracted life, diligently employed in something to benefit herself or others, regarding it as an imperative duty to consecrate every moment, and every faculty she possessed, to some useful employment. Entitled by birth and family-connections (numbering among her nearest relatives five Governors, and many men of acknowledged talents, occupying the highest offices in the State) to an elevated rank in society, and placed by three successive marriages in a commanding sphere in life, she never cherished any of those contracted feelings of self-importance which too often characterize people of wealth and influence; but ever held up the idea and acted upon the principle, that intrinsic personal merit was all that could entitle a person to respect and esteem; and under the influence of this principle her affable and conciliating manners endeared her to all classes of her fellow-creatures with whom she was in any degree connected. She had lived through a long period of time, and been deeply interested in many eventful scenes, but amid them all had been heard to exclaim, 'It is the Lord, let Him do as seemeth Him good.' . . . We trust that she died in the faith of the Gospel. . . ." †

\* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, ii. 892.

† For further notices of Mrs. *Marian* (Griswold) Chandler-Lane-Ely, and of her several husbands, see *The Chandler Family* . . . collected by George Chandler . . . Worcester, 1883, pp. 131, 279-82. In this book it is said that, "when first asked to become Mrs. Ely, her grief and surprise were manifested in her reply: 'Oh! I can't think of burying another husband'!"



7. *Ursula*, born Apr. 13, 1754, who inherited the Wolcott beauty; married, Nov. 22, 1777, her cousin Lynde McCurdy of Norwich, Conn.; had two sons and one daughter; and died Nov. 27, 1781. From her descends Hon. John W. Allen of Cleveland, Ohio (her grandson), formerly State Senator and Member of Congress, whose sister Ursula McCurdy is the widow of the late Judge Sherlock J. Andrews of Cleveland.

JOHN, the eldest child of Gov. Matthew and Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold, was born April 20, 1752; was deacon of the First Church of Lyme from 1797; married Nov. 5, 1772, Sarah daughter of Rev. Stephen Johnson of Lyme, by Elizabeth daughter of William Diodate of New Haven, Conn. (of the ancient and highly distinguished Diodati family of Lucca in Italy).\* He was offered public offices of distinction, but preferred to remain in private life; and died Nov. 22, 1812. Their epitaphs in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme are as follows:

“Deacon John Griswold was born at Lyme the 20th day of April, 1752, and died on the 22d day of November, 1812. He was the eldest son of the first Governor Griswold, and Brother of the second. As a friend & neighbor he was hospitable and generous, honest and honorable as a man, and in his faith and life exemplary as a Christian. To tell those who knew him the place where he was buried, and to offer his character for imitation to those who knew him not, this stone to his memory is erected.”

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“Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Sarah Griswold, the amiable consort of Deacon John Griswold, who died Jan<sup>y</sup> 4th, 1802, aged 53 years, 10 mos. and 26 days.

“Sleep on dear friend till the last morn shall come,  
When Christ shall summon all his children home.  
Then may we meet in realms of joy above,  
And join in bonds of everlasting love.”

A funeral sermon preached on the death of Mrs. Sarah (Johnson) Griswold, by Rev. William Lyman of East Haddam, Conn., says: “She was a pattern of humility, gentleness, patience, tenderness and affection.”

Their children were:

(1.) *Diodate Johnson*, born Dec. 16, 1773; graduated at Yale College in 1793; who married Sarah daughter of Benjamin Colt of Hadley, Mass.; and died Mar. 17, 1850, s. p.

\* See Mr. William Diodate (of New Haven from 1717 to 1751) and his Italian Ancestry, in New Engl. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1881, xxxv. 167-81.

(2.) URSULA (see below);

(3.) *Elizabeth*, born Oct. 15, 1778; who married, Mar. 28, 1802, Jacob Barker Gurley of New London, Conn., graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793, a lawyer; and died, a widow, June 22, 1857, having had ten children, all of whom except one she survived.

“She bore her great griefs with an almost stoical composure, and to her last days met her friends with a calm and cheerful mien.”

(4.) *Sarah*, born Aug. 12, 1781; who married, Mar. 4, 1803, John Lyon Gardiner, Esq., the seventh proprietor of the Manor of Gardiner's Island, N. Y., by whom she had five children; and died Feb. 10, 1863. One of her children, Sarah Diodate, is now the widow of the late David Thompson of New York, whose daughter Sarah Gardiner is the wife of David L. Gardiner of New Haven, Conn. Her eldest son David J. was the last proprietor who received the island by entail; he was succeeded by his brother, John Griswold Gardiner; and he by his brother the late Samuel Buell Gardiner, the tenth proprietor of the manor.

“Mrs. Gardiner was a lady of much strength of mind and dignity of character. During a long widowhood she had the management of a large estate, and administered its hospitalities as a true ‘lady of the manor.’”

(5.) *John*, born Aug. 14, 1783; an affluent shipping merchant of New York, head of the famous old line of London packet-ships which bore his name; who married, first, May 16, 1814, Elizabeth Mary daughter of General Zachariah Huntington of Norwich, Conn.; and secondly, in 1826, Louisa Wilson of Newark, N. J., an English lady (who survived him); and died Aug. 4, 1856, s. p.

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Mary (Huntington) Griswold the following lines were written by Mrs. Sigourney:

“She was as a rose  
Gathered in loveliness 'mid perfumed flowers,  
And warbling birds of love, yet drooping still  
For the pure breath of that celestial clime  
Where summer hath no cloud. She with firm hand  
Grasped the strong hope of everlasting life,  
And then, in trembling yet confiding trust,  
Did dare the waves of Death's tempestuous flood.”\*

(6.) *Mary Ann*, born Feb. 25, 1786; who married, Nov. 6, 1809, Levi H. Clark of Middletown, Conn., a lawyer; and died Jan. 31, 1812. Mrs. Elizabeth Brainard (Clark) White, wife of Bushnell White Esq. of Cleveland, Ohio, is her daughter.

\* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, ii. 885.

(7.) *Charles Chandler*, born Nov. 9, 1787; who married, July 10, 1822, his cousin Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Griswold of the Giant's Neck branch (see above), by whom he had, with other children, Elizabeth Diodate, who married Judge William Griswold Lane, and Sarah Johnson, who married Lorillard Spencer (see p. 150); and died Jan. 27, 1869, leaving a widow who still survives in Lyme.

URSULA, second child and eldest daughter of Deacon John and Sarah (Johnson) Griswold, was born Dec. 2, 1775; married, Sept. 10, 1794, her third cousin Richard McCurdy; and died May 25, 1811.

"Mrs. McCurdy was of a warm and enthusiastic nature, and perhaps the Italian (Diodati) blood in the family-veins most fully expressed itself in her. She was affectionate, overflowing with kind words and deeds, devoted to her husband and children, and above all a devout Christian, leaving behind her, on her death at the early age of thirty-five, many religious writings."

Rev. F. W. Hotchkiss of Saybrook, Conn., said of her, in a funeral sermon: "As a daughter, sister, mother and wife she was a worthy descendant of an illustrious line of ancestors, and justly viewed as a woman of exalted spirit. . . ."

One of their children is Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy of Lyme, who, having served his country in various conspicuous and important positions at home, and as representative of the United States in Austria, retired from the bench of the Supreme Court of Connecticut in 1867, on reaching the constitutional limit of age; but still retains much of the sprightliness and vigor of youthful years, to the delight and profit of all who come into the sunny atmosphere of his society. His only child, Evelyn, is the wife of the author of this paper. Another child of Richard and Ursula (Griswold) McCurdy was the late Robert Henry McCurdy of New York, a leading merchant and public-spirited citizen, one of the first and most influential movers in support of the Government in the late war; whose eldest son is Theodore Frelinghuysen McCurdy of Norwich, Conn., and second son, Richard Aldrich McCurdy, Vice-President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. Mr. Robert Henry McCurdy had three daughters: the eldest of whom, Gertrude Mercer, is the wife of Hon. Gardner Greene Hubbard of Washington, D. C., and mother of Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell; and the two others, Sarah Lord and Roberta Wolcott, are married, respectively, to Dr. Elias Joseph Marsh of Paterson, N. J., and Charles Mercer Marsh Esq. of New York. The fifth son of Richard and

Ursula (Griswold) McCurdy is Alexander Lynde McCurdy, now living, with two daughters, in Santa Barbara, California. The youngest child of the Griswold-McCurdy marriage was the late Mrs. Sarah Ann, widow of Stephen Johnson Lord of Lyme. She was admired in her youth for her great beauty, and in later years for the refinement, dignity and symmetry of her character. Two sons, now of Kansas City, Mo., survive her; and a daughter, the wife of Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin of Lyme, who is himself, also, a Griswold by descent, through the eminent lawyer George Griffin of New York, above mentioned.

Here the writer finishes his sketch of the history of the descendants of the first Matthew Griswold, covering a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years. They have not been very numerous, and there have never been many sons of the name. It is the record of a family that has been unusually free from the vicissitudes which are so apt, in the course of many generations of a family, to occur to lower the social standing of some of its persons or branches. It has numbered among its members by blood and marriage, as we have seen, many individuals of distinction, while, with only very few exceptions, all have been highly respectable in position and worthy in character.

*Edward Elbridge Salisbury*

## THE UTAH EXPEDITION

When the disciples of Joseph Smith, the followers of Brigham Young, after much wandering, finally pitched their tents in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, they imagined themselves so far removed from civilization that they could thenceforth practice the peculiar tenets of their faith without molestation by the rest of mankind.

The country they occupied was almost an unknown region, trodden only by savage tribes, government exploring parties, and a few restless white men who subsisted by hunting and trading with the Indians—and they readily found timber for their dwellings and pasturage for their cattle. The soil when irrigated by the mountain streams produced abundant crops. They raised and manufactured nearly everything they needed, and virtually established a little world of their own. The war with Mexico, by which the United States acquired possession of California, opened the tide of emigration directly through the Salt Lake valley. The Territory of Utah was organized and Brigham Young appointed the first Governor. Complaints were soon heard of outrages committed by the band of Danites, an organization of Mormons, commanded by one Porter Rockwell, acting under the authority and protected by the leaders of the Mormon church. Lieut. John W. Gunnison, an officer of the United States Army, while engaged in making a topographical survey of the Territory, was attacked and murdered in his camp at night. A large party of emigrants from the State of Arkansas was attacked at Mountain Meadow, and the whole party, with the exception of half a dozen young children, ruthlessly slaughtered and their bones left to bleach on the prairie. These were afterward collected and buried by officers of our Army. The writer has held in his hands long tresses of dark and blonde hair of some of the tender victims of this massacre. The Indians, who have sins enough of their own to answer for, were at first charged with these outrages, but it was subsequently proved to have been the work of white savages disguised as Indians. The little ones spared at Mountain Meadow were carried to the nearest Mormon settlement. They were supposed to be too young to observe and remember, but they afterward told how they had seen these white men take off their disguises and wash the war paint from their faces. It also became known that in several instances seceding Mormons who attempted to escape from the country, were pursued and murdered before

they could reach the borders of the Territory. The government of the United States was defied and the laws trampled under foot. The reign of the Mormon "Prophet, Priest and King" was absolute, and his will was superior to all law, human or divine.

In 1857 it was determined to occupy the Territory with a military force. Accordingly the 2d Regiment of Dragoons, the 5th and 10th Regiments of Infantry, and Battery "B" of the 4th Artillery, were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River. At that time the 2d Dragoons was serving in Kansas and Nebraska, the 10th Infantry was at the head-waters of the Mississippi and Red River, and the 5th Infantry was engaged against hostile Indians in Florida. The writer, who had spent part of the winter in the Big Cypress Swamp, and in the Everglades (where he made an expedition of three hundred miles through saw-grass and in mud and water nearly waist deep for twenty-eight successive days), was encamped with two companions at Pavilion Key enduring torment from myriads of mosquitoes, thus when the order came for a change of base (even to Utah) it was received with great rejoicing.

The different commands assembled at Fort Leavenworth with as little delay as possible, and when consolidated received the name of the "Army of Utah." Brigadier-General W. S. Harney was assigned to the command. The necessary supply of subsistence, clothing, forage, etc., was collected, and a contract made with Waddell & Co., of Missouri, for its transportation to Salt Lake City. Immense trains of large covered wagons, each drawn by six or eight yoke of oxen, were required for this purpose, and these were to be escorted and protected by the troops; but requiring no protection on the first part of the route, many of these trains started ahead of the column. The season was well advanced when the 5th Infantry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carlos A. Waite, the 10th Infantry, commanded by Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, Battery "B" of the 4th Artillery, commanded by Captain John W. Phelps, and an improvised Battery of heavy guns, the command of which was assigned to First Lieut. Jesse L. Reno of the Ordnance Corps, started on the march. General Harney and the 2d Regiment of Dragoons were to start still later and overtake the column en route, as the march of the Infantry encumbered with the ox trains would necessarily be slow. Colonel Alexander, being the Senior Officer present, assumed command of the column. The route taken for most of the distance was the same as the trail followed by Fremont on his first expedition in 1842. After striking the Nebraska or Platte River, it followed up the valley of the main Platte and the South fork of that river until near the mouth of Lodge-Pole Creek, then crossing over the North

fork it followed up that stream by Fort Laramie, and along the valley of the Sweet-Water and through the South-Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Before reaching this point intelligence was received that General Harney had been relieved from command of the Army of Utah, and had been succeeded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston of the 2d Cavalry. Colonel Johnston, with his escort, the 2d Dragoons, did not overtake and join the column until after it had crossed Green River. Then winter had commenced in earnest. The weather became excessively cold, the whole country was covered with snow, so that animals could find no grass. Short forage had long been exhausted. Horses, mules, and oxen were dying of cold and starvation, and the route was lined with the carcasses of these dead animals. To reach Salt Lake before the next summer became an impossibility. It was necessary now to find a place where the Army could winter in safety. Several localities were mentioned. The guide employed for the advance column was an old mountaineer by the name of Tim Goodwine. Colonel Johnston had met at Leavenworth the celebrated Jim Bridger (who said he found it difficult to breathe in that thickly populated place), and engaged him for his guide. These two men had spent many years in the mountains, and knew every sheltered valley. Bridger had once owned a trading station on Black fork, and it was determined to march for that point. Previous to this a proclamation had appeared, signed by Lieut.-General Wells, commanding the Nauvoo Legion, forbidding the Army to enter the Territory of Utah, and threatening its destruction in case it did. Two or three of the ox-trains, which had gotten too far ahead, were attacked, the cattle ran off, and the wagons and stores contained in them burned. The draught animals were dying so rapidly that the march was greatly impeded. It became necessary to attach such cattle as were fit for work to a part of the wagons, haul them forward a few miles, and then send the animals back to bring forward another portion. This was slow work; and it took about three days to make the last six miles to Fort Bridger. This fortress was nothing but a rectangle inclosed by stone walls, about ten or twelve feet high. In the inclosure was placed and covered with paulins, all the subsistence, clothing, medical stores, camp and garrison equipage, etc., of the Army.

The column marched three miles farther up the stream, and encamped for the winter. Captain Robinson, 5th Infantry, with his own company, one company of the 10th Infantry, and a section of Artillery, was left in command at Fort Bridger to protect the supplies. Slight earthworks were thrown up at alternate angles of the inclosure, surrounded by a ditch and abatis of dead cedar trees. In one of these was placed a six-pounder gun, and in

the other a twelve-pound howitzer. After the trains were unloaded, and the supplies secured, all the horned cattle that had survived the march were slaughtered, and the meat was smoked and dried for the troops to live on through the winter. That was the only way to preserve it. It could not be salted, for there was no salt with the army. An officer of the 5th Infantry was fortunate enough to meet a wagon-master who was about to return to Missouri, who had in his possession part of a bag of salt, and which the officer purchased, paying for it three dollars and a half a pound. Before the winter was over, men offered to place gold on one side of the scales for an equal weight of salt on the other.

The Dragoons and all horses and mules were sent off to a valley where the animals could be kept alive on the bunch grass of the country. The newly appointed Governor of Utah and the new Judges of the Supreme Court arrived in camp, and remained through the winter. About a month later, Mr. Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, came to Fort Bridger from the direction of Salt Lake City. As he desired to see General Johnston, he was taken to headquarters, and, after an interview with the general and Governor Cummings, returned to Salt Lake. He was a brother of Dr. Elisha K. Kane, the Arctic explorer, and had spent several years of his life among the Mormons at Nauvoo. He was sent out by the administration, and entered the Territory by the way of California. What was the object of his mission, or what he expected to accomplish, was not generally known. A mail from the east arrived once a month, but not always on schedule time. One of the first brought orders from Washington organizing the Department of Utah.

Colonel Johnston was assigned to the command, with the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General. The usual duties of camp were strictly attended to. A long picket line was established, and the "field officer of the day" made his rounds day and night on foot, as there was not a horse in camp. There were no amusements to break the monotony. There was no hunting, as the region was destitute of game. In fact, with the exception of a few antelope and sage-hens, no game was seen after passing the Buffalo range. Fuel was hauled a long distance by hand. Rations were scarce, and the men were placed on shortened allowance. A communication was received from Brigham Young, ordering the troops out of the Territory, but kindly granting them permission to remain in their present camp until the roads became passable in the spring.

In midwinter, Captain R. B. Marcy, 5th Infantry, with a small party, started on a trip over the Wahsatch mountains to Fort Union, New Mexico, to procure a supply of beef cattle. He was successful, but did not re-



turn until a short time before the army again started on the march for Salt Lake City. By that time the meat ration was exhausted, and the arrival of beef on the hoof was a welcome sight to men who had lived for months on the meat of working cattle, killed on the verge of starvation. After the column had started, it was overtaken on the march by Senator Powell, of Kentucky, and Major Ben. McCullough, of Texas, sent out by President Buchanan to treat with the Mormons. Brigham Young had threatened, if the troops entered the Salt Lake Valley, that he would destroy everything and leave Utah a desert. When the army entered Salt Lake City the he-gira had taken place. Not more than half a dozen Mormons remained. Among them was Captain Hooper, who afterward represented the Territory as delegate in Congress. The city was not destroyed, but every dwelling was deserted and fastened with boards nailed across the doors and windows. Governor Cummings and the two peace commissioners followed after the Mormons, and induced them to return.

After remaining a few days in camp on the River Jordan, the army marched about thirty miles further and the soldiers were set at work building quarters. These were one story high, and built of adobes. To this permanent post was given the name of Camp Floyd, in honor of the Secretary of War. During the summer the command was reinforced by the arrival of part of the 2d Regiment of Cavalry, the 6th and 7th Regiments of Infantry, and a Battery of the 3d Artillery, Commanded by Captain John F. Reynolds. The 6th Infantry, however, did not remain in Utah, but continued the march to California. At Camp Floyd all the usual duties of troops in garrison were practiced with great regularity. Before another winter arrived, the soldiers of the 5th Infantry had erected a theater, in which several very clever performances were given. In each regiment there were found at least two or three good actors, and Salt Lake furnished the female stars.

The officers and men of the Army of Utah at first supposed that their mission was to subdue the Mormons, or at least to suppress the spirit of rebellion and lawlessness manifested by their leaders. After their arrival in the country, certain events inconsistent with this idea caused much surprise; among which was the arrival of Mr. Kane at Fort Bridger, authorized to treat for the Mormons. Next was the appearance of Peace Commissioners Powell and McCullough, who with Governor Cummings followed after Brigham Young and his fleeing hosts, and persuaded them to return to their homes. Then in the summer of 1859 Mr. Ben. Halliday suddenly appeared at Camp Floyd, bringing with him orders from the War Department to immediately sell at auction all the means of transportation

with the army, except such wagons and mules as were absolutely necessary for the daily use of the different commands. The great auction sale took place at once, and of course Mr. Halliday was the principal buyer. Some of the Mormons, however, had money laid up and availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase wagons and teams. When the sale was ended, the Army of Utah found itself in the same condition as Cortez after he had burned his ships.

Why was this army sent to this distant Territory at an enormous expense, great discomfort, and no little amount of suffering? It was hard to understand at the time, but subsequent events fully explain it. It was part of the scheme for the dissolution of the Union.

When Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President, he found the whole South in rebellion. Eleven States had seceded from the Union. Most of our navy was in foreign waters, and nearly all of the army was west of the Rocky Mountains. There were two or three regiments in Texas under the command of General Twiggs, who disarmed and surrendered them, as he was expected to do. The only troops available were a few companies of artillery along the Atlantic coast. At the South, there were two companies at Fort Pickens under the command of Lieutenant Slemmer, two companies under Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, two companies under Major Dimmock at Fortress Monroe, and a hundred recruits under Captain Robinson at Fort McHenry. The arsenals at the North had been stripped of arms and ammunition, which had been transferred to the South by order of Secretary Floyd and been seized by the seceding States. The Government was never in a more defenceless condition than it was on the 4th day of March, 1861. Had the President been able to send two or three good ships of war into Charleston harbor, or to mobilize twenty thousand soldiers in the neighborhood of that city, the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud. The organizers of the rebellion had managed well to insure its success. The plans were matured long before Mr. Lincoln's election. With our little army and navy out of reach, and the Treasury empty, they imagined that the "wayward sisters" would be allowed to depart in peace. An army of forty or fifty thousand men could not have been disposed of in that way. Such a force at that time would have saved the country from a war that cost half a million of lives, filled the land with widows and orphans, and imposed upon us a debt which would maintain a respectable army and navy for all time.

Shall we ever learn wisdom by experience? Our present army, scattered over an immense territory, is doing the work of a hundred thousand men. With probably the best officered navy in the world, we have neither

ships nor cannon, and any foreign power can insult us with impunity. Although the aggregate of Line Officers is less than it was twenty years before the rebellion, one-half the promotion has been stopped by law, and it is now gravely proposed to virtually retire from the service a large number of these gentlemen, educated expressly for their profession, simply because Congress has neglected to provide for building modern ships and guns commensurate to the wants of the country. Was ever such folly, injustice, and ingratitude contemplated in any civilized government before?

Armies and Navies are a necessity of civilization. They prevent wars by being prepared to meet them. The government that maintains an adequate military and naval force is always respected. Let our surplus revenue be devoted to building vessels for the navy, the manufacture of modern artillery and the fortification of our harbors, then, with our volunteers always ready, the United States may defy the world in arms.

*Geo. C. Robinson*

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 257, Vol. XI.)*

*New York June 17 1781. Capt. Beckwith.*

Captain Hatfield\* informs me that from information from West Point of last Tuesday, brought by a Mr. Hatfield, now coming into the city from Jersey, he is informed that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington with the remains of the Continental army (a few meant for the defence of the Frontiers excepted) will soon march to Virginia: they are now making every preparation for that purpose. The French are to have the defence of West Point †

G: B:

\* Captain Cornelius Hatfield jr. the noted tory partizan of N. J., and John Smith Hatfield of Elizabethtown, were, it is believed, the parties here named.

† This "information from West Point" is the first direct mention of a projected movement to Virginia by Washington, in all probability, that was brought to Sir Henry Clinton's notice. It is clear from this entry, that the idea had been mooted and talked of in the American camp prior to its date, the 17th of June, 1781. It is certain, however, that the *possibility* of a Southern movement *was not contemplated by Washington* till the 20th of July—about a month later, that he did *not consider it seriously* till the 1st of August, and that he *did not decide to make that movement*, till the 14th of August, 1781. His own private Journal in the possession of the State department at Washington, and printed for the first time in full, by its Librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, in the seventh volume of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, with an admirable introduction, prove these facts beyond a cavil; and that the movement, with him, was simply "Hobson's choice."

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

Under date of "August 1st" he writes "\* \* \* every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of

*From D. Hal—n at Rhode Island to Cap<sup>n</sup>. Beckwith, rec<sup>d</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup> June 1781.*

On the 3<sup>d</sup> I gave you a full detail of the plan of operations intended. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of June a council of War was held on board the Admiral, and the result of it was, to embark 400 more men in addition to the 1000, and put to sea immediately. The signal was made to answer, and the boats sent for the men;—In the Evening an Express arrived from Gen. Washington giving them an account of the ill success to the Southward which altered the whole system of operations. A second council was held and it was there determined that the army should march to join General W: by land and the fleet to remain in the Harbour of Newport, and for its security four hundred men were draughted from each regiment with fifty artillery

Men agreeably to my requisitions—but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first, not more than half the number asked of them have joined the army; and of the 6200 of the latter pointedly & continuously called for, to be with the army by the 15th of last month (July) only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independent of abt. 300 State Troops under the command of Gen! Waterbury, which had been on the lines before we took the field, & two companies of York levies (abt. 80 Men) under similar circumstances. Thus circumstanced, and having little more than general assurances of getting the succors called for, \* \* \* I could scarce see a ground upon which to continue my preparations against New York—especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the Troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York, and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the Southward—and in consequence, sent to make enquiry, indirectly, of the principal merchants to the Eastward, what number, and in what time, Transports could be provided to convey a force to the Southward, if it should be found necessary to change our plan, and similar application was made in a direct way to Mr. Morris (Financier) to discover what number could be had by the 20th of this month at Philadelphia—or in Chesapeake bay.”

Finally, on “August 14,” he decided most reluctantly to abandon his long cherished plan against New York and go to Virginia, and he thus states his decision and the grounds for it: “Received despatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 & 29 sail of the line & 3000 land Troops on the 3d instant for Chesapeake bay. \* \* \* Matters having now come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on,—I was obliged from the shortness of Count de Grasse’s promised stay on this coast—the apparent disinclination in their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for men, hitherto, & little prospect of greater exertion in the future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof to remove the French Troops & a detachment of the American Army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State.”

Three days before this last entry he had notice of the arrival at New York of a Fleet with supplies, and 3000 German troops, as a reinforcement to Sir Henry Clinton. This news, followed by de Barras’s despatches above mentioned, and the utter failure of the New England States to send him men, thus forced Washington on the 14th of August, 1781, to decide to go to Virginia. Between this date and the 1st of September, when Clinton became aware of the new movement, began and ended that brilliant series of deceptive movements and feigned despatches which so completely hoodwinked and paralyzed the British commander in chief. Such are the real facts, such the simple truth, notwithstanding the immense amount of fine speaking and fine writing on the subject, regarding the great Franco-American movement which practically established the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies, and happily ended forever British preponderance in the Western Hemisphere.

men and a thousand militia to be instantly demanded.\* The Hermione Frigate was despatched to sea to meet the Frigate from Boston in order to cruize for the expected reinforcement and to conduct them into some port in the Massachusetts. The Duke of Lauzun was sent Express to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington with those resolutions, it being the system agreed on, if any thing should happen to prevent the first taking place.† The conduct of the French has been so marked by doubt, irresolution and uncertainty, that although I was acquainted in two hours‡ after the council broke up of their designs, yet I chose to wait to see a part of the plan fulfilled before I communicated it to you. On the 10<sup>th</sup> the Deux Ponts and Bourbonnois regiments embarked in small vessels for Providence and the Gentille and Ariel frigates sailed for Boston with a view I suppose to strengthen the fleet there, to bring round such stores as may be Wanted for the Navy, which have lately arrived there in a fleet of transports, consisting of Seventeen Sail, with about 1000 draughts for the army some seamen for the fleet and stores, supplies &c for both, under convoy of the Sagittaire of 50 Guns.§ On the 11<sup>th</sup> the Soissonois and Saintonge Regiments with the artillery likewise Embarked for Providence, which is the last Division, and it is said that the two former Regiments march from Providence the same day to make room for their reception. This I somewhat doubt as I was informed by an officer of rank that the whole body would stop some days to arrange their affairs—Four hundred out of the 1000 Militia are arrived. They (the French) have left their forts without guns and without Platforms—four small field pieces and six nine and six pounders are all the artillery at present upon the Island. These cannon were disembarked on the 7<sup>th</sup>. I have carefully looked for them since but cannot find any vestige of them anywhere and imagine they again embarked them.

It is said that in case they are attacked the Admiral means to land some of the

\* This account of what was done is very correct, but the reason given for the change, "ill success" to the Southward is not. The real cause was, the receipt of the news of De Grasse's arrival at Martinico, and of the movements he proposed, which caused the second council of war on board the "Duc de Bourgogne" the French Flag Ship. *Journal of Claude Blanchard (the chief commissary of Rochambeau's army)*, p. 105. *Balch's ed.*

† The Duke de Lauzun left Newport on May 31<sup>st</sup>, saw Washington at New Windsor June 3<sup>d</sup>, and departed the next day with Washington's reply to the decision of the French council of war, practically assenting to its change of the plan adopted at Weathersfield on 23<sup>d</sup> May, and reached Newport on his return on June 7<sup>th</sup>. *Blanchard's Journal* 106. *VIII Sparks* 64.

‡ Dr. Haliburton, the writer of this letter, must have had this intelligence so soon from one of the high French officers at the Council, as they only were present. His prominent position in Rhode Island as a physician, probably aided him in acquiring information. See note to entry of 15<sup>th</sup> March, *ante* (p. 54 Jan. No. Mag. Am. Hist.)

§ This was the frigate and convoy detached from his fleet at sea by De Grasse. "On the road (to Providence) I met a naval officer, who was going to report at Newport that the Sagittaire, a ship of 50 guns, had arrived at Boston, after a passage of 80 days, with the greater part of the convoy we were expecting. Only four ships which had gone astray were missing." *Claude Blanchard's Journal*, under date of August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1781, p. 107.

lower deck guns of the ship. This probably may take place if they have time to deliberate on means and methods, but the same confused plans and arrangements that bewildered certain officers in a similar situation appears to affect them.\* Two Mortars are left in the Battery at Brenton's Point. If I might presume to reason a little on the above particulars it should be thus : Every man of any sense and discernment must certainly see that the situation of my much beloved country, Great Britain, is somewhat critical, and to the generous and disinterested Patriot, truly alarming. Some striking and Spirited Exertions are necessary to relieve her from her present embarrassments. A powerful and dangerous combination of the House of Bourbon with her revolted colonies;—the navy of the former at least equal, if not superior to hers;—an ungrateful and unexpected enemy arising against her in the Dutch Republic;—with men, money, and infinite resources. On the contrary—without allies, without friends, without any other support than the Virtue, Bravery, Skill, and Exemplary diligence, and uncorrupted integrity of her officers—what can she have to depend on. I trust a full and perfect confidence may be placed in the latter. The present situation of the French fleet left to the care of 450 men and 1000 Banditti points out at once what may be attempted. If our information is right, a strong reinforcement is already arrived. Eleven ships of the line, with two fifties, 44<sup>s</sup> and frigates in abundance, form a vast superiority, and on a supposition of a scarcity of soldiers it has been a custom in former Wars, and in cases of exigency, to supply that deficiency with the Marines of the fleet. Any number above 5000 it appears to me would carry the point with much Ease—less than that would perhaps protect and prolong, so as to make a disappointment possible. There are three important points to be attended to—viz.: surrounding the Island with the Navy so as to prevent landing from the Main—taking possession of Quaker, or Windmill, Hill, so as to cut off all communication with the rebels, and effecting a landing on Brenton's Neck—that Batteries may be raised against the (unintelligible) Forts and Shipping. In a Single Week I will be answerable with my life that the great work would be accomplished, and its glorious effects felt in every part of the British dominions. The Country is now laboring under every species of oppression,—Their currency totally annihilated,—at least, 150 and 200 for one may be considered as such,—the silver money taxes, collected in such a manner as to create resentment and disgust,—the new taxes multiplying and increasing and loudly complained of, and generally believed cannot be realized. In such a situation what may not such a stroke effect? What may not a bold and necessary enterprise bring about? A country ready for a change will grasp at the mild and beneficent offers of its glorious conquerors and ancient friends, and as many of its bitterest enemies are now leaning towards their former connection, some from conviction, some from oppression, and a recollection of their former happiness,† every good

\* This allusion is evidently to the D'Estaing-Sullivan fiasco at Newport, in August, 1778.

† This description of the condition of things in New England, from a *Tory view*, is of the date of June 19, 1781; the following is a *French view*, three days earlier. On the 16th Claude

may be expected and hoped for from such an event. I therefore humbly lay this before you, if you think it fit and proper for the inspection of a certain great and good officer.\* I leave it entirely at your mercy to curtail any part, or to expunge the whole. If it should take place and he should have any occasion for my services, you will make it known to our common friend in due time; and he will take care to inform me. His secrecy and fidelity may be depended on. He is a noble and sincere friend.†

The small army left at Newport is com<sup>d</sup> by Brigadier General Choisy, famous for commanding the Confederates at the siege of Cracow in Poland. The number gone to join Washington amounts to 2600. The French speak confidently of the reinforcement at Boston—but the papers of Providence and Newport only mention it as a report. They promise themselves great matters when the hurricane months approach, and speak positively of powerful succours from the West Indies; but I hope their power in America will be annihilated before that period arrives. If anything is designed that way, the fleet must go by way of the Hook—otherwise the whole country will be alarmed; and if the wind was to prove contrary, even appearing off the Capes of Delaware would be advantageous, as it would give them a false scent. It is thought extremely surprising that Boston Bay should be left without a little squadron, when a French fleet was expected, and the number of prizes carried in there by their privateers serve greatly to keep up the spirit of the rebellion, which would perish fast without such support. The suppression of Privateering will contribute as much towards the restoration of peace, as the most bloody defeats.

The master of a Privateer named the Franklin Positively declares that he took a vessel from Liverpool, belonging to a fleet consisting of four sail of the line, Eight frigates and 150 sail of transports with Eight thousand troops on board bound for New York. If this is true, we cannot but hope, &c. &c. To prevent your attempting anything this way they will no doubt make a show of attacking New York, but they cannot for their souls collect provisions enough to keep a large body of men together for a week, and on the supposition that they could I should suppose that there were enough Privateersmen, sailors, inhabitants, adventurers &c. at York now

Blanchard, the French Chief Commissary of Rochambeau's army, wrote in his Journal (p. 108): "The Americans supplied us with nothing; we were obliged to purchase everything, and to provide ourselves with the most trifling things. It is said that it is better to make war in an enemy's country than among one's friends. If this is an axiom, it acquires still more truth *when war is made in a poor and exhausted country, where the men are possessed of little information, selfish, and divided in their opinions.*"

\* The Commander-in-chief.

† There is nothing to form a clue to the identity of this "noble and sincere friend" of Dr. Haliburton. The very free manner of this letter of the Doctor is striking, as well as its tone, and the particularity and fullness of the information, and the views of the situation. This is probably owing to the fact, that it is written to Capt. *George Beckwith*, who was not a stranger, nor mere official, but a personal friend, and the brother of the Capt. *John Beckwith* who was the husband of Dr. Haliburton's daughter Mary. *Introduction*, p. 330, Vol. X., Mag. Am. Hist.



to defend it, until this business is accomplished, which is certainly of the highest importance. It ought to be remembered that no offence must be taken in a free conversation with my new correspondent ; an honest zeal alone inspires me. There now remains in the Harbour seven sail of the line, the Romulus and five transports, with shot, shells, Field artillery, Baggage, &c. &c.

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*Intelligence by Capt<sup>o</sup> Marquard 20th June 1781.*

Sixty or seventy horses were seen at Crompond Sunday last in the afternoon.

The Bakery arrived the same day at Scrubcock.\* They have a very large train of waggons with them, about 400 ox teams with other carriages.

The whole of the French troops were on their march to Peekskill from Danbury last Sunday, supposed above 3000 strong with a great number of light cannon. Moyland's and Sheldon's dragoons have joined the French cavalry on their march. It is expected the whole of them is now at Crompond, the horse in particular.

The rebels have an account that a bloody battle was fought between Lord Cornwallis and Green, the particulars not known.

A number of French officers dined last Sunday near Crompond, who looked at the ground thereabouts.

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*Questions by Major De Lancey to Hiram with his answers, given, 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1781.*

Dear Sir

In consequence of our conversation last night I have put down what follows :

(*questions.*)

1<sup>st</sup> Is it your opinion that Gen<sup>l</sup> P— will enter so heartily as to make us hope he will take an open determined step in our favor? Should that be the case you can hold up the situation of General Arnold and say it is in his power to place himself in one equally conspicuous ; and as he must lose his present property for a time, the C. in C.† will, for every man he puts in our possession pay three guineas ; or should he choose it, he will specify the sum that shall be paid on such an event as we shall wish taking

(*answers.*)

1<sup>st</sup> It is my opinion that he does not wish to take an open and avowed part at present, however determined he may appear to be (and is really so) to communicate any material intelligence in his power, to inculcate principles of reconciliation, and detaching his subordinate officers from French connection.

I have no authority to say that he will give up any post or men committed to his care. This in my opinion must depend upon future contingencies, and the adverse turn *their* ‡ affairs are like to

\* "Scrub Oak," of late years softened into "Shrub Oak," is here intended. It is a small hamlet in the north-western part of Westchester County, N. Y., about three miles southeast of Peekskill.

† The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton.

‡ This word is underscored in the MS.

place. In the meantime should he exert himself to give us intelligence, \*he need only name the recompense, and most punctual attention shall be paid to it.

The greatest secrecy will be observed on our parts ; anything that in the end is to be made public will depend upon himself, and as the method of communicating will be under your management, little danger can be apprehended. It being necessary to establish a more frequent intercourse, I think your proposal for Bulkley to take any papers to *Cable's*, and to be taken from his house by *Knapp* † will be the best, as attended with less danger. Should anything of great moment arise, we should hope you will take such method (which is left to your own prudence) to communicate it to us without loss of time, and tho' I would not have you risk yourself, yet where the end is great, your zeal will induce you to be a little less cautious than usual. I need not repeat that gratitude will prompt us to keep pace in our recom-

take; for, were he sure that Independence would take place, his prospects as a General officer would be so great from the country, that they would outweigh every other consideration.

I have frequently held up Arnold to his view, who (I observed) acquired the esteem, the countenance and protection of the C. in Chief,\* the applause of his brother officers, and would in the end of the Nation in general, together with honour and emoluments, instead of *Contempt*. †

I have on a former occasion described the man to you, his local attachments, his scruples, his prejudices, and talents at intrigue ; and as he has already embarked half way, your own acquaintance with the human heart, will enable you to judge whether it is not probable, that in time, he will go through the several gradations you would wish and expect of him.

To effect this something generous ought to be given him in hand, but (in my opinion) not so much as I know he would ask. His expectations may

\* This opinion of Heron's was probably more the result of his wishes as to Parsons than based upon knowledge of the facts alleged. Clinton, weak and vacillating as he was, is not fairly chargeable with "esteem" for Arnold. Dunlap, in his *History of New York* (vol. 2, p. 201) says: "I have been assured by a gentleman of the most unblemished character, now far advanced in years, that when Arnold departed from New York, in the command of the armies with which he committed depredations in the Chesapeake, a dormant commission was given to Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, jointly, by Sir Henry Clinton, authorizing them if they suspected Arnold of sinister intent, to supersede him and put him in arrest. This proves that Clinton did not trust him. \* \* \* The gentleman who communicated this fact to me was in his youth a confidential clerk of Sir Henry Clinton's office, and copied and delivered the dormant commission as directed." A private letter of Cornwallis to Lord Rawdon, of July 23, 1781, from Portsmouth, in referring to his correspondence with Clinton, also throws light on Clinton's view of Arnold. It thus closes: "I offered to return to Carolina, but it was not approved of, and it became absolutely necessary to send Leslie, lest the command should have devolved on ———. I. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, 107. The dash is put by the editor, Ross, for the name written by Cornwallis. † Underscored in the MS.

† "Bulkley" has been mentioned before ; "Cable" was one of three or four of the name, natives of Long Island ; "Knapp" was probably Moses Knapp of Reading ; all were agents of William Heron of Reading, the "Hiram" who writes these letters. The names are underscored in the MS.

pense to you, with the rewards given to our friend.

I give you the general heads of what we could wish our friend should inform us of.

- 1<sup>st</sup> The State of the American Army.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> The State of the French Army.
- 3<sup>d</sup> How each Army is situated.
- 4<sup>th</sup> What enterprize they mean to undertake, and the method of counteracting them.
- 5<sup>th</sup> What supplies and from whence they expect to subsist.
- 6<sup>th</sup> Where the magazines are, and how to be destroyed.
- 7<sup>th</sup> The movement of the French fleet, and their intentions.

be raised. It is for you to judge how much you would be willing to give at present, as an adequate reward for what I have given you reason to expect; and I find myself disposed to fall short, rather than raise your expectations, as I think it the more pardonable error of the two. Whatever you are willing to give, shall be my business to safe convey.

The mode of conveyance thro' Bulkley, Cable, and K—p shall be punctually attended to, if you think it the most eligible: but since we conversed on the subject I have thought of a less expensive and equally safe (if not more so) method. It is this. The Refugees ought to be directed to make descents from Lloyd's Neck at certain periods, viz, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of each month, on the shore adjacent to Bulkley's house, \* for the ostensible purpose of destroying whale boats, driving off cattle, &c.—as they could land in force, the small Rebel guards would be drove back into the country sufficiently remote from Bulkley's house, so as to give some prudent officer (whose business it ought to be made) an opportunity of receiving from Bulkley the papers left with him. As the Refugees would conceive these little excursions to be in the line of their duty, † no additional expense to government would accrue. Perhaps I am mistaken. Should any event occur in the intermediate spaces of time, which would require immediate notice to be given *here*, I would ride down to Knapps and charge him with the delivery of it. ‡ Which of

\* "Bulkley's house" was on the shore of the Sound near Fairfield, Connecticut.

† They were under the orders and pay of the "Board of Associated Loyalists" in New York, established by the order of Lord George Germaine, described before in these notes, a body independent of the British army, and subject only to the general authority of the Commander-in-Chief.

‡ Heron lived on Reading Ridge, and "Knapps" was probably somewhere between his house and "Bulkley's" house on the shore at Fairfield. Reading was about 16 miles from Fairfield.

8<sup>th</sup> News from the Southward of consequence.

9<sup>th</sup> The situation of the different forts.

10<sup>th</sup> News from Europe.

11<sup>th</sup> The hopes of the ensuing campaign.

12<sup>th</sup> As much of the correspondence between General Washington and the Congress as possible.

The above are general heads. His own knowledge will point out any further information that may be of use, and I hope his zeal will make these communications frequent.

As the endeavour of our friend may principally tend to promote a speedy reconciliation, at the end of the war he has ever to be assured that the gratitude of the Nation, which he has contributed to restore peace and happiness, will place him in the most honorable and most lucrative situations.

As it is necessary I should report to

these modes of conveyance appears to you to be the most preferable, shall be attended to.

The several heads from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> inclusive shall be attended to; but as I may not retain them, and it not being safe to carry such minutes out with me now, it will be best to send them out to Bulkley, and order him to leave them at the usual place.\* They ought to be in cypher. I shall look for them about the 28<sup>th</sup> inst. and shall collect such intelligence [to convey back by the same hand] as I find are deserving notice.

The necessity of our friend's giving me frequent and particular information of every occurrence, in order to transmit them *here* † shall be urged.

Nothing shall be wanting on my part that may tend to beget in him a firm and perfect reliance on those offers you are pleased to authorize me to make. The ascendancy I have over him, the influence I have with him, the confidence he has already reposed in me, the alluring prospect of Pecuniary, as well as honorary rewards, together with the plaudits of a *grateful* ‡ nation, shall all be combined together and placed in a conspicuous point of view, to engage him heartily in the cause.

I know of no better method to try his sincerity, than for him to select out of the foregoing heads from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> inclusive, such as he can immediately give proper and precise answers to, and entrust me with the care of com-

\* This was apparently some hidden receptacle or cavity in the rocks, or stone fences, or earth, at no great distance from his house above mentioned, where Bulkley obtained and placed the communications from and to Heron. The italics are underscored in the MS.

† New York City, as Heron wrote this letter while there.

‡ Underscored in the MS.

the C. in C., he will think the business in no great forwardness unless I could give him some marks of the sincerity of our friends intentions. To you I leave the method of procuring it.

With respect to the scheme of traffick, if you will point out the best method, every assistance shall be given.

I must now request you will give me the fullest information on the margin of this letter, which will add to the many obligations you have conferred on  
&c. &c.

O. DeL.

municating them. In this service it would not be amiss for me to be able to tell what he may expect at present. I urge this to prevent his making an unreasonable and extravagant demand.

As to the scheme of traffick if I find it can be carried on without great danger, I shall point out to Mr McNeill \* the method of carrying it into execution without any expense to the government.

The danger attending it one side, is greater now than when I first proposed it.

To promote the real interest of my king and country, and to approve myself deserving the approbation of the C. in C., and you, shall be the constant objects of my attention.

I am &c. &c.

W. H. †

\* Charles McNeill of Reading, a neighbour of Heron's, probably.

† In Washington's private journal above referred to, appear some items of his "Secret Daily Intelligence" recorded by himself, contemporary in point of time with this of Clinton recorded by Capt. Beckwith. The comparison is interesting. The similarity is great. Under *May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1781*, Washington writes, "Major Talmadge was requested to press the C—s Sen<sup>r</sup> and Jun<sup>r</sup> to continue their correspondence—and was authorized to assure the elder C— that he should be repaid the 100 guineas or more with interest: provided he advanced the same for the purpose of defraying the expense of the correspondence, as he had offered to do. Colo. Dayton was also written to, to establish a correspondence with New York by way of Elizabethtown for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of the enemy's movements and designs; that by a comparison of accts. proper and just conclusions may be drawn."

*May 15<sup>th</sup>*, Information dated 12 o'clock yesterday, reports 15 sail of vessels a number of flat boats to be off Fort Lee.

Intelligence from C — Sen<sup>r</sup>, dated 729 (*a cipher date*)—"a detachment is expected to sail tomorrow from New York," and then specifically names the regiments "to be conveyed by 7 ships of the line, 2 fifties, & 3 forty-fours, which are to cruise off the Capes of Virginia. He gives it as the opinion of C— Jun<sup>r</sup>, that the above detachment does not exceed 2000 men—that not more than 400 remain—which is only (he adds) to be accounted for on the supposition of their expecting a reinforcement immediately from Europe.

*May 22<sup>d</sup>*. A letter from Gen. St. Clair came to hand with accts. of an apparent intention of the enemy to evacuate New York.

*May 31*. A letter from Major Talmadge enclosing one from C. Sen<sup>r</sup> & another from S. G., dated the 27<sup>th</sup>, were totally silent on the subject of an evacuation of New York; but speak of an order for marching the Troops from Long Island—and the countermand of it after they had commenced their march—Neither C. Sen<sup>r</sup> nor S. G. estimate the enemy's force at New York & its de-

pendencies at more than 4500 men including the new Levies ; but C. says it is reported that they can command five, & some add, 6000 militia & refugees—S. G. disposes of the enemy's force as follows—(giving in detail the names, positions, and strength of all the British Regiments on New York Island, Staten Island, and at Newtown, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Floyd's Neck on Long Island, in all 2600 men. Then follows the names and strength of the Regiments forming “the detachment which left Sandy Hook the 13<sup>th</sup> inst. according to S. G.'s acct,” amounting to 1450 men.

*June 1<sup>st</sup>* Letters from Doctor Smith of Albany, & — Shepherd, principal armorer at that place, were intercepted, giving to the enemy, with acct. of our distresses, the strength and disposition of our troops—The disaffection of particular settlements—the provision these settlements had made to subsist them, their readiness to join them,—the gen<sup>l</sup> temper of the people, and their earnest wishes for their advance in force—assuring them of the happy consequences which would derive to the Kings arms if they would move rapidly to Albany.

*(To be Continued.)*

## MINOR TOPICS

### *Letter from Mr. Thomas C. Amory*

[We are requested to publish the following communication from Mr. Amory concerning the course pursued by General Sullivan and his brother Daniel in 1781, as revealed through the official *Private Intelligence* papers of Sir Henry Clinton in progress of publication, from month to month, in this *Magazine*. Mr. Amory, in offering this explanation to the public, seeks to do justice to his kinsmen, claiming that "no one can fairly judge of the matter without knowing more than can be found in the *Secret Journal* itself."—EDITOR.]

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :—

The only evidence of any disloyalty on the part of Gen. Sullivan in the Clinton Journal, as far as published, is a declaration drawn up, not by Daniel Sullivan, but by Major Holland. It purported to give an account of what took place between the brothers the sixth and seventh of May, 1781, in Philadelphia, about ten days before. In February a frigate had been sent to Frenchman's Bay, to capture his brother Daniel. A party landed at night near his residence, had taken him prisoner, driven his wife and children into the snow, burnt his house and carried him to Castine. Offered in vain the usual inducements to swear allegiance to the crown, he was sent to New York and imprisoned in the Jersey hulks. He was perishing in this noisome prison house, anxious for his health and life and for the safety of his family, when Holland, a refugee loyalist, who had left New Hampshire in 1778 under suspicion of disaffection, then a major in the British service, came to visit him. Daniel was soon after permitted to go on parole to Philadelphia to see his brother John, then a member of the Congress, to effect his exchange carrying a letter to his brother from Holland, who had known him before the war.

All known of Holland's letter is from what John told Luzerne a day or two afterwards, and Luzerne wrote Vergennes on the 13th. The answer John wrote Holland, for fear of its being misconstrued, he sent for Daniel next morning, as he was returning to New York, and took away. So that this declaration drawn up by Holland, it is fair to presume with a view to effect Daniel's liberation, is the only evidence of what took place. If having any basis of fact to rest upon, it is clearly too exaggerated and otherwise improbable to accept without a very large share of allowance. Gen. Sullivan did not probably care to send his brother away without expressing his readiness to do all he could for his rescue, but the declaration states he made no such promise as Daniel suggested, promised nothing else but to comply with Holland's letter, which was doubtless a request to do what he could to set Daniel free by promoting his exchange. John would not have gone at once and told Luzerne of Daniel's visit had he been inclined to violate any obligation.

The declaration would not have been needed if Holland had heard from

Gen. Sullivan by the seventeenth, and it does not appear that there was any such correspondence. Had he encouraged Holland or Clinton to believe that he favored peace to save his brother's life, or, as suggested to Luzerne, to obtain information from the enemy with the concurrence of Congress, one of its committees, or a few of his friends in that body, if he did not betray any secret neither Clinton nor Holland could complain. But there is no evidence that by word or deed he had any correspondence with the enemy, that he ever gave them any comfort, information or advice, entertained any expectation of favor or reward. At the same time, if in the usual channels there was any course to be pursued to save Daniel, it is fair to presume from his generous nature that he preserved it as far as he honorably might.

But a very conclusive argument with some, perhaps, against the probability of any want of fidelity would be the want of time and chance. For seven years no one had been more devoted to the cause of independence than himself, sacrificing freely health and estate to bring it about. If America had reasons for discouragement, so had England. But even if John had wavered, Holland was a comparative stranger and he was not likely to forfeit his claim to esteem which he said the British entertained for him, by any venality. On the 22d, within two weeks from Daniel's departure, Luzerne received a letter from the King to the Congress, in answer to one written him at the suggestion of Sullivan in November, promising immediate re-enforcements, military and naval supplies, and ten million francs, at the same time announcing England had made overtures for peace through Russia and Austria, and urging redoubled efforts for the campaign to better the terms; and on the 26th Sullivan was appointed on the committee to consult with Luzerne, and till he left Congress in September he was engaged in drafting commissions for Franklin, Adams, Laurens, Jay, and Jefferson, corresponding with them and the states.

That same month, on the fourteenth, his colleague Livermore arrived. Robert Morris accepted the Department of Finance and reported the plans of the Bank of America, which were approved on the 26th. His committee on providing means for the war, suggested by him but of which Witherspoon was chairman, had had the principal charge of these financial reforms. Questions that had occurred between the treasury and loan offices, led to the resolutions that the war should be carried on upon a specie basis; and also that all contracts for rations should be in coin. The proposed sale of the frigate at Portsmouth to Spain, supplies of provisions to Wayne's army at the south, sending back Gates to the field, reorganizing the army establishment, its clothing and rations, urging the states to pay up their assessments, all occupied his attention, besides many other public duties, these three weeks to which alone any question could attach, for after that time there could be no reason to doubt with all Europe arrayed against England and she suing for peace, France insisting on independence, but the victory needed little to be gained. We desire to explain what may need explanation and



prevent injustice from future historians. The character and good reputation of our American leaders in camp and counsel in the war of Independence are safeguards of our free institutions too precious to be placed in jeopardy by misapprehension.

THOMAS C. AMORY

BOSTON, March 14, 1884

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### THE MASSACRE OF ST. ANDRE

Charles Dimitry, in his prize sketch of the massacre of the French on the Mississippi River, by the Natchez Indians, in 1729, which, from its having occurred on the saint's-day, he denominates the "Massacre of St. Andre," says: "Accounts differ as to the loss of life in this terrible slaughter. The Chevalier Bossu, in his 'Voyage à la Louisiane,' puts the number of slain at twenty thousand. Regarded in its least shadowy light, the massacre fills a dark page in the history of Louisiana, and its causes, its preliminaries, and its execution possess a romantic interest." The scene on the fatal morning is thus described by Mr. Dimitry:

"A little before sunrise the Natchez began to appear in considerable numbers at the fort and on the plantations. Their calm, imperturbable faces betrayed no purpose, revealed no secret. They came as shadows out of the forest paths, thronging into the fort through the unguarded gate, and through the breaches in the palisades which neglect had left unrepaired, as if to invite the entrance of a foe. On the river bank, too, near where the galley lay moored, they stood and held converse with the men on the boat. They were gathered, also (but this the French did not know), on the other side of the river. These detachments were stationed at the galley and on the opposite shore to cut off the retreat of the French by way of the Mississippi. At the fort and on the plantations they had a simple and not unreasonable story to tell to account for their presence. They were going on a great hunt—that was all. To secure their game, more guns and ammunition were needed. These they borrowed from the French, promising to share the products of their hunt with the leaders. By this strategy they at once disarmed the French and armed themselves. It will thus be seen that, from the inception of the plot to its terrible ending, through all its minutiae and exigencies, the Natchez had combined and prearranged with a marvelous skill. Like a piece of vast machinery that worked without a flaw, the plot moved on from the beginning, silently, regularly, efficaciously. Nowhere does any evidence exist that on that fatal morning the French felt any suspicion of their guests."

Soon after eight o'clock in the morning the carnage began. "Like heavy drops of rain falling at brief intervals on a roof, came the sputtering of repeated frings throughout the settlement, drowsily reverberating through the woods. Flight?

flight was out of the question. Thereafter—at the house, in the fort, in the houses of the planters far and near—the merciless reports drowned the utterances of pain, of agony, of terror. The soldiers of the post, without officers, and taken by surprise, were killed on the spot where the call of fate found them. . . . With that supreme contempt for all things except the sun and their own class, which distinguished the royal family of the Natchez, the Great Sun sat with imperious indifference, during the entire massacre, under the shed of one of the Company's structures, calmly smoking his pipe. As the victims fell their heads were brought to him. Nearest to him was placed the head of Chépart—a fact which would seem to indicate that the commandant was slain early in the day. Around him, a horrible circle of deformed, distorted and bleeding human faces, were set the heads of the other officers and the principal planters. On a pile near by were cast promiscuously the heads of the common people.

“Terrible as were the scenes at and around the fort, the plantations witnessed still more fearful ones. Not for a moment did the slaughter cease as long as a victim remained to share the fate of those who had preceded him. Separated as were the plantations, for one instant of conscious horror, perhaps, the unfortunate planters, their families and slaves, could only conjecture that for them and all of the community the end of the world had come indeed. Only on one plantation, that of Mons. De la Loire, previously mentioned, was resistance offered. In a sharply contested battle that occurred between that gentleman's servants and the Natchez, eight of the latter were killed. But eventually the slayers were themselves slain, and Mons. De la Loire, returning to his house when the firing began, was shot down, after killing two of his assailants. Mons. Du Cader, commandant of the post at the Yazooos, who had just arrived in his carriage on a visit to Chépart, was met and killed, together with a companion, a priest, while on his way, on foot, from the river to the house of the commandant.

“Only two Frenchmen were spared, and they owed their lives to the possession of a certain mechanical skill of which the Natchez wished to avail themselves. One was a wheelwright, and the other, strange as it may seem, was a tailor. . . . When the news of the massacre reached New Orleans several days later, grief, terror, and apprehension struggled for the mastery in the hearts of the people and the authorities. The troops were drawn up in the Place d'Armes; every house became an armory, every citizen a prospective defender. The forts were strengthened, and at every street corner was posted a sentinel. The planters everywhere were warned, and the militia was called out. Throughout the town the long-roll vehemently beat an alarm such as Louisiana never had known. The Choctaws and the Tunicas, living about ninety miles above the city, marched with the French against the Natchez”—and the sequel is well known.

## NOTES

DR. FRANKLIN AS A COURTIER—  
The original of the following note in Franklin's own handwriting is shown under glass to strangers visiting the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. So far as known it has never yet appeared in print. The Abbé de la Roche, to whom it was addressed, was the friend of Helvétius, the philosopher, and his wife, and is chiefly known in literature as the editor of complete editions of Helvétius and Montesquieu. The neatly turned compliment of the note suggests the reflection that Franklin's philosophy did not prevent his being a very agreeable courtier.

Billet de Benj. Franklin  
à l'Abbé de la Roche.

M. Franklin n'oublie jamais aucune Partie où Me. Helvetius doit être. Il croit même que s'il était engagé d'aller à Paradis ce matin, il ferai supplication d'être permis de rester sur terre jusqu'à une heure & demi, pour recevoir l'embrassade qu'elle a bien voulu lui promettre en le rencontrant chez M. Turgot.

*Translation.*

Mr. Franklin never forgets any party where Madame Helvétius is to be. He believes even that if he were engaged to go to Paradise this morning, he would beg to be allowed to remain on earth until half-past one o'clock, in order to receive the salutation she kindly promised him on meeting him at M. Turgot's.

W. B. B.

A POETIC MORCEAU OF 1772—Lines addressed to Miss Love Frye, of Salem, Massachusetts.

[Miss Frye was the daughter of the Hon. Peter Frye, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts prior to the Revolution, who died at Camberwell, England, Jan. 31, 1820 (the day he completed his 98th year), at the house of Admiral Sir John Knight, his son-in-law. Her first husband was the Hon. Peter Oliver, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts prior to the Revolution, who died in England, Oct. 13th, 1791. Her second husband was Sir John Knight. The lines, copied from Lady Knight's album, were received from Mrs. J. W. Fabens, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a great granddaughter of Judge Frye—whose portrait hangs on her parlor wall. As a historical relic, hitherto unprinted, we offer it to the Magazine. W. H.]

“ To a swain all unskilled in poetical lays,  
His aid, O ye Muses, supply !  
Assist my first efforts to sing in the praise  
Of the sprightly, accomplished Miss Frye.  
The snow-drop in Spring, and the rosebud  
in June,  
In her face may each other outvie,  
Where sweetness and modesty, blushing  
assume  
The Graces' fond looks in Miss Frye.  
With beauty and merit possessed,  
The delight of each ear and each eye,  
How happy the man that is born to be blest  
With the sensible, lovely Miss Frye.  
Then hear me, ye Powers, that o'er virtue  
preside ;  
Guard her mind from each sorrow and  
sigh,  
Make choice of a man who shall make her  
his bride,  
And dispense every bliss to Miss Frye.”

THE MURPHY SALE OF AMERICANA— There is no higher proof of the progress of culture and taste in this country than the results of the important sale of the unique and valuable collection of Hon. Henry C. Murphy, LL.D., of Brooklyn, New York, which terminated on Saturday, March 8, 1884. About 5,000 volumes were sold, and the amount of money realized was \$52,000. The formation of this library had been the labor of a long and active life, and its bibliomaniac treasures were among the rarest ever offered for sale in the United States, or even in Europe. Mr. Murphy was born in Brooklyn, July 5, 1810, and died in that city December 1, 1882. He was graduated from Columbia College, New York, at the age of twenty, and after three years close application to the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1833. At the age of thirty-two he was elected Mayor of Brooklyn, and in 1843 became a member of Congress. In 1857 he was appointed Minister to Holland, and after his return in 1861, was a State Senator for twelve consecutive years. It was under his auspices, as President of the East River Bridge Company, that the great structure between New York and Brooklyn was achieved. He was, in short, a prominent figure of his time, and was recognized as a *scholar* in politics. His writings on historical and other subjects, and his valuable translations, are well known to the public. He was the founder and proprietor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and the *King's County Democrat*, a trustee and one of the organizers of the "Brooklyn City Library," and one of the initial founders of the "Long Island Historical Society." Of his remarkable library it would be in-

teresting to speak in detail, if space permitted. It was exceptionally rich in volumes relating to geography, ancient and modern, also in what related to early American history, to local American history, and to later American history. The largest buyers at the sale are said to have been Hon. John Russell Bartlett, of Providence, Mr. Joseph Sabin, and Brentano, of New York.

A SCRAP OF UNWRITTEN HISTORY— William Muckleston, M.D., of the old English gentry, born in Oswestry, County of Salop, removed in early manhood to the State of Connecticut, leaving behind him his father and an elder brother, who was, by English laws, heir to the whole property. He made his home in Middletown, Conn., and there married and became the father of two daughters, Mary and Lucy. While Lucy was yet an infant, Dr. Muckleston received news from home of the death of both his father and elder brother; which left him sole heir to the great English estate. Making temporary arrangements for his family, he sailed alone for England with a view to the settlement of affairs, and perished at sea, never reaching his destination. This event, owing to difficult communication in that early day, remained for a long time unknown, and no effort was ever made to obtain possession of the inheritance, which indisputably belonged to the American descendants of Dr. Muckleston. Mary, the elder daughter, married Elisha Burge of Connecticut, then, and by some of his descendants now, erroneously spelled *Birge*, and was the mother of the late James and Joseph Burge of Litchfield, Connecticut, and also of Tryphena Burge

who married Elizur Griswold (died in Litchfield, 1787). James Burge was the father of the late Rev. Lemuel Burge of Brooklyn, New York. Tryphena was the mother of the late Chester Griswold, long of Utica, New York (died in Baltimore, 1867), whose surviving sons are Maj. Elias Griswold, of Hancock, Hay & Griswold, attorneys-at-law in Washington, D. C., and the Rev. Benjamin Burge Griswold, D.D., Chapel of the Holy Cross, Baltimore. Chester Griswold's daughter, Mary Tryphena, became the first wife of Gen. H. Wessells, U.S.A., of Connecticut, and another son was the late Rev. Whiting Griswold, founder of St. John's Church and of the Orphans' Home in St. Louis, Mo., whose son, Mr. Benj. H. Griswold, of Baltimore, is prominently connected with the Western Maryland Railway.

Lucy, second daughter of Dr. William Muckleston, married David Beach of Connecticut. Among her descendants was the late Jesse Beach, a revolutionary officer and father of Mrs. William Humphreys, formerly of Humphreysville and Derby, Connecticut.

The Muckleston family trace their ancestry to Hocskin Muckleston, born in 1345, who married Gertrude, daughter of Hugh Kynaston. The estate of Merrington came to the Mucklestons by the marriage of Edward Muckleston with Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Colefaxe, of Merrington. The curious in such matters will find to-day the following entries among the parish records of Oswestry:

John Muckleston, of Oswestry, Gentleman, buried April 6, 1682. Aged 64 years.

John Muckleston, eldest son of above,

born 1652. Buried July 16, 1702, aged 50 years. [This one died without issue.]

William Muckleston. Born April 5, 1663. There is no record of his marriage or death.—B. B. G.

WAYNE'S INDIAN NAME—Weld, the traveler, noted in his journal in October, 1796, that the Indians at Detroit, disappointed at not receiving from Gen. Anthony Wayne the oft-promised presents from the United States, called him *General Wabang*, that is, General To-Morrow.—PETERSFIELD

MRS. FLETCHER'S TOMB—The readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* may feel an interest in the following inscription. It may be found upon a slab on one of the pillars which support the south gallery in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, London. The curate directed the attention of one of our party to it as being probably the oldest memorial stone in this old church of Sir Christopher Wren's.

BANYER CLARKSON

Mar. 11, 1884

“Beneath this Pillar lies the body of Elizabeth, wife of Colonell Benjamin Fletcher late Captain Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Province of New Yorke in America and Daughter to Doctor John Hodson L<sup>d</sup> Bishop of Elphin in Ireland who after her Return from that long voyage in which she accompanied her Husband, Departed this life the Fifth day of November, A<sup>no</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1698 leaving one Son and two Daughters behind her and a sweet & lasting Monument in the memorie of all that knew her.”

## QUERIES

WEBSTER CHOWDER—As the Lenten season opens I notice frequent references to "*Webster Chowder*." During the summer the local columns of our newspapers abound with notices of pleasure parties served with "*Webster Chowder*." Will not some of your readers inform us when or where Daniel Webster manufactured chowder? Is not the name applied to this savory compound a trick of the restaurateur? In my opinion there would be as much reason in identifying the father of our country with that delectable luxury "*Washington Pie*." To a foreigner it looks very much as if the great Daniel made chowder for a reputation and expounded the Constitution between times.

MINTO

BOURDIEU [ix. 288.].—Who was the Mr. Bourdieu mentioned in Franklin's letter to Laurens, as bearer of a dispatch?

Was he the Peregrine Bordieu, *m.* June 21, 1785, to Maria Sears, by Rev. Samuel Provoost, at Trinity Church, New York: and was Maria daughter to *King* Isaac Sears?

S. P. MAY

NEWTON, Mass.

FIRST PIECE OF ARTILLERY—(1) Will some one kindly inform me when the first piece of artillery was cast in America, or more exactly, within the colonies which became the United States? Does any history of ordnance (whether of bronze or iron) in America exist in an accessible form? (2) After which Van Curler is the apartment house in New York City of that name called?

DORP

SCHENECTADY, March 5, 1884

FLAGS OF THE REVOLUTION [xi. 260]—What is the date of Franklin and Adams's reply to the ambassador of Naples, giving a description of the flag, as quoted by "Minto"? The American Commissioners, under date of Nov. 7, 1778, communicated to Congress the ambassador's request, and desired instructions as to the colors of the flag and form of the sea papers. The letter was read Feb. 24, 1779, and referred to the Marine Committee for answer. I. J. G.

THE WASHINGTON ODE—In my early school-boy days—it was not so very long after the death of Washington—there was an ode printed in the form of a small handbill, that the boys used to "speak on the stage." I can recall only the first stanza:

"OUR HERO'S DEAD! a doleful sound!

How large the stroke—how deep the wound;  
The man who did his country save,  
Lies cold and silent in the grave!"

What are the other stanzas? I think there were three or more in all—and where may the ode be found? H. K.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1883

THE LEADEN PLATE—The leaden plate deposited by Oloron at "The Indian God Rock," nine miles below Franklin, Pa., Aug. 3, 1749 (see *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 141) was found by a boatman named Andrew Shall in 1832. He resided about ten miles northeast of Kittanning, Pa., but is now long dead. I desire further particulars of the discovery of the plate, and what became of it? Can any of your readers throw light on the subject?

A. A. LAMBING

PITTSBURG, PA.

## REPLIES

COLONEL JACKSON [xi. 263.]—Henry Jackson commanded the famous "Boston Regiment" that entered Philadelphia the day after the British evacuated that city. He also served on the court martial that tried Arnold in 1779, taking the place of Col. Hazen, as a member of the board.

The brave Col. Michael Jackson, of Newton, Mass., was shot at the attack on Randall's Island, N. Y., in Sept., 1776. In Jan., 1777, he was commissioned colonel of the 8th Continental Regiment, but on account of disability from his wound, the regiment was led by Lieut.-Col. John Brooks.

MINTO

VALENTINE ON WEAVING [xi. 263.]—A careful examination of the catalogues of libraries in the United States has failed to bring to light a copy of Valentine's book. If printed, it was probably the first publication in this country relating to the important industry of weaving. I have transcribed a copy of the author's prospectus, issued at New York, in December, 1771. The garret of some farmhouse on Long Island may contain the volume sought for by your correspondent, Oyster Bay.

PETERSFIELD

## PROPOSALS

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Consisting of near 300 different Draughts, with full and plain Directions of the Preparations of the Yarn, Warping, and Weaving of Barrogan, Tammy, Durant, Paragon, Duroys, Sergedenim, Grograne, Crossbarr'd, and figured Stuffs, Stanets, Kersey, Shalloon, Twill, Sagathies, Bed-ticks, plain, rib'd, and flower'd Ever-

lastings, Fustian, Dimity, and Dimity-Fustians, Diamond and Bird Eye, German Serge, Calimancoe, Barcelona, Prunella, Huckaback of many sorts and figures, of the newest mode, Pannel, Clouting, Shagreen and Compass Work, Diaper of many sorts and figures, Scotch Carpeting, and sundry other sorts of work not here mentioned.—With particular Rules for the drawing of draughts.

All explained and laid down in the most plain and easy Manner, that a person of the smallest capacity may understand it; there being very particular draughts, with full directions of the hanging, and likewise the treading or weaving thereof. By DAVID VALENTINE, of Suffolk County, Long-Island.

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I. This Work will be comprised in a Quarto Volume and it is computed to make about 200 Pages; shall be printed on good Paper, and new Type.

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N. B. The Public may be assured no more Books will be printed than are subscribed for.

## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the meeting of the society, March 4, 1884, Edwin M. Wight, Augustus Van Cortlandt and William Watson were elected resident members. The Recording Secretary, Mr. Warner, read an interesting autograph letter, recently added to the archives of the society, from John Quincy Adams, in reference to the address delivered by him before the society at its celebration (April 30, 1839) of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington, April 30, 1789. Resolutions were adopted on the recent decease of John William Wallace, LL.D., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and for many years an honored associate of this society. Resolutions were also adopted in honor of the late Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, which, reported by Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, for the Executive Committee, were as follows :

*Resolved*, That the New York Historical Society places upon its records this expression of the great regret with which it has learned of the decease of one of its most honored corresponding members, the venerable Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, of Quincy, Massachusetts.

Born in 1798, a daughter of an ancient and honored line, distinguished through two centuries and a half for birth, intellect, position, and influence ; dwelling in her ancestral home of Mount Wollaston, which she had long graced with a warm hospitality that none who have enjoyed it can ever forget—she has passed from earth in the fullness of years, after

a life adorned with all that is revered in woman.

Inheriting a superior mind, and fulfilling to the utmost the duties of a daughter, a sister, and a friend, in her were united good sense, sound judgment, high intelligence, and a manner that made her society as sought for as it was delightful, and added to the charm with which she was ever ready to impart to others the great information of which she was possessed.

A granddaughter of that John Morton, of New York, who, from his early aid to the American cause, was styled by the British "The Rebel Banker," she ever honored the native home of her mother, whose vivid memoir of her own girlhood's days in New York, from the close of the Revolution to the end of the century, and of her early married life in Boston to 1821—continued, by the gifted daughter's graphic pen, to her death in 1850, and privately printed by the daughter, in 1861—will ever remain one of the most valuable, as it is one of the most perfect, delineations of the scenes and the society of the two cities during the period, and of the brilliant social life and surroundings of the great men of America among whom both mother and daughter moved and with whom they were connected. It added another leaf to the laurels which grace the name of Quincy, and cast a bright light upon the early history of the United States. Confided to the keeping of this society by the venerable lady herself, the copy in this Library will ever be regarded as among its valued treasures.



*Resolved*, That a copy of this minute, duly attested, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

The paper of the evening, on "James Duane, of the Continental Congress," was read by J. Bleecker Miller, Esq., a descendant of the distinguished son of New York, whose life and public services were the subject of his interesting sketch. In the course of it, Mr. Miller read several original letters of Duane, which exhibited his characteristic ability, patriotism and probity, and the zeal with which he sought for the establishment and progress of the Republic and the substantial welfare of his native State.

The following resolutions were reported by the Executive Committee and adopted by the society :

*Resolved*, That the New York Historical Society will celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States on the 30th day of April, 1789.

*Resolved*, That it be referred to the Executive Committee to take such action as may be necessary and expedient, and in due time report a plan, to carry out the purpose of the society in a manner suitable to the occasion—the commemoration of the most important event in the history of the City, the State, and the Nation.

Dr. George H. Moore, in reporting these resolutions on behalf of the Executive Committee, remarked :

"The historical genius and ability of all America cannot be better employed during the coming five years than in developing the real history of the formation of the Federal Constitution, under which the government of the United

States was established. It is a history which remains to be written. Each and every one of the original States should be called upon to provide from all sources at command, in its own archives or elsewhere, a thorough and exhaustive account of its own part in the work, including careful and discriminating biographies of its delegates to the Federal Convention, and the principal actors in its subsequent State Convention. The neglected bibliography of the Federal Convention should be written up. There is a copious literature of no small value hidden away in neglected pamphlets and newspapers, embracing not only the actual proceedings of the several conventions but the discussions to which their work gave rise, exhibiting every phase of the political wisdom or folly of the day and all the phenomena of heated political strife. Among the permanent and most valuable results of this celebration, I shall be greatly disappointed if we fail to secure a thorough catalogue *raisonné* of all these materials, now neglected and unknown to any but a very few scholars and students, who have invaded the dusty realm in which they rest in pursuit of some special name or fact. The very existence of the journals of some of the State Conventions has apparently been unknown to the historians of the Constitution, and they have fallen into errors which have marred their work from that very fact.

"Unhappily, the historic building, which ought to have been preserved *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, itself the most suggestive monument of the event which took place within its old walls, already laden with the memories of a century of occupation and use for public purposes,

was heedlessly swept away within a few years after it had been decorated by its greatest honor. I have no words to express my sense of the indifference with which the people of New York permitted it to be destroyed. It would seem that such an act would have been impossible in a community which knew or cared for its own or any history, yet it was the same generation in which the Historical Society was established and the representatives of the ancient settlers of New Amsterdam were roused to fierce resentment by Mr. Irving's pleasant chronicles of the Dutch period."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held at Trenton on January 17. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, The Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, John T. Nixon, U. S. District Judge, John Clement, of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, Samuel H. Pennington, M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, William A. Whitehead, of Newark; Recording Secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; Treasurer and Librarian, Frederick W. Ricord, of Newark. A valuable contribution to the history of the Revolution was read by Adjutant-General W. S. Stryker, of New Jersey, who described the part taken by the New Jersey troops in the expedition against the Six Nations. The paper was accompanied by a complete roster of the Jerseymen in that important expedition, which General Stryker has spared no pains to make perfect. The late Judge Lucius Q. C. Elmer, who for sixty years occupied a conspicuous position in New Jersey affairs, as member of the Legis-

lature, member of Congress at various times, and Judge of the Supreme Court, and who for many years was a leading officer of the society, was the subject of an interesting address by Colonel William E. Potter, who was followed by Judge Nixon in some timely remarks on the same theme. It was resolved to request Congress to provide for the publication of the Peter Force Collection of Papers covering the history of the country from 1777 to 1783, inclusive. It is understood that Secretary Frelinghuysen favors such action, and it is thought the Committee on Appropriations will act favorably in the matter. The next meeting of the society will be held at Newark on the third Thursday in May.

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VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a meeting held on the 16th of February at the rooms of the society in the Westmorland Club-house, a number of valuable gifts of books were reported, letters were read from various sources, and several honorary and corresponding members were elected. William W. Corcoran, of Washington, D. C., was elected first Vice-President, *vice* Conway Robinson, deceased, and Honorable William Wirt Henry and J. L. M. Curry, second and third Vice-Presidents.

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WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY—The 26th Annual Meeting of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was held at its rooms, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, January 11, 1884. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. E. L. Dana, President; Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Hon. E. B. Cox, Vice-Presidents;

Harrison Wright, Ph.D., Secretary; Sheldon Reynolds, Cor. Sec.; A. F. Derr, Treasurer; A. H. McClintock, Librarian. A paper was read by H. C. Davis, A.M., on "The Importance of Greek in Scientific Nomenclature." This was followed by a translation by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., of the Report to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts from M. Leopold Lelisle on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ashburnham, which it is claimed were largely stolen from the French government and are to be offered for sale in this country. The report of the Cabinet Committee showed an addition to the Library, 900 volumes; to the Cabinet, 300 specimens; to the Numismatic Dep., 200 coins and medals.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—An interesting and scholarly paper on "The Destruction of Ancient Works of Art" was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society on the evening of March 4, by William S. Liscomb, A.M. The essay described graphically and minutely the work of devastation which was wrought in the earlier ages of the Christian Era, in the art centers of Italy, Greece and Turkey, particularly in the chief cities, Rome, Athens and Constantinople, by iconoclastic Christians, by conquering barbarians, by conflagration and by earthquake. At the close of the reading Dr. Charles W. Parsons moved a vote of thanks of the society, and took occasion to speak in highly commendatory language of Mr. Liscomb's effort, saying that such an erudite and finished essay had required deep scholarship and great research; and also spoke briefly and comparatively of the art of the age of

Angelo, and of the age of the ancients in Greece and Rome. The motion moving thanks was seconded by ex-Governor Dyer and unanimously carried.

THE NEWBURGH BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first public meeting on the evening of February 22, in Calvary Church. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Jeremiah Searle, after which Major E. C. Boynton, President of the Society, delivered a brief but eloquent address. Hon. James G. Graham followed with a few pertinent remarks, and introduced Hon. Erastus Brooks, the orator of the evening. Mr. Brooks reviewed ably and forcibly the chief events of the Revolutionary War, dwelling upon the heroic achievements of the people of the Hudson in particular. "What we are most reminded of, to-day," he said, "is the fact that the Hudson was the most exposed, and with one exception, the best guarded highway of the whole war."

THE ROCKLAND HISTORICAL AND FORESTRY SOCIETY, held its annual meeting at Nyack, on the evening of February 22. The president, Mr. Quentin McAdam, called the meeting to order, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, E. M. Taft; Vice-Presidents, Wm. S. Govan, M.D., of Haverstraw, Wm. H. Whiton, of Piermont, Garret Van Nostrand, of South Nyack, George Van Houten, of Orangeville, Rev. A. S. Freeman, D.D., of Haverstraw; Recording Secretary, George F. Morse, of Nyack; Corresponding Secretary, Merritt E. Sawyer, of Nyack; Treasurer, Charles H. Wesells, of Nyack. After the business meeting, Rev. A. S. Freeman, D.D., delivered an interesting address.

## BOOK NOTICES

THE HESSIANS AND THE OTHER GERMAN AUXILIARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By EDWARD J. LOWELL. With maps and plans. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

This work is an interesting and important contribution to the history of the American Revolution. We have heard much of the French soldiers and seamen who aided our honored patriots in their struggle for independence; but it should be remembered as well, that a force of between fifteen and twenty thousand German auxiliaries served against us for seven years, adding materially to the disadvantages and difficulties with which our forefathers contended. Upwards of 29,000 Germans (or Hessians) were brought to this country by the British, more than 12,000 of whom never returned to their native land. Mr. Lowell shows what sort of people these auxiliaries were, and the impression made upon them by America and the Americans. He has no sympathy for the German despots who sold their subjects into a foreign land to fight in a quarrel in which their own country had no part or interest whatever. But having studied with pains-taking care the original German records and accounts of every engagement of the Revolutionary war in which the Hessians took part, he is able to throw new light upon many points, and to add some fresh material to our storehouse of knowledge relating to these events. The book will be highly valued by students; and the subject is presented in a style so clear, forcible and flowing as to be peculiarly engaging to the general reader. One of the most graphic chapters in the volume concerns the passage of the purchased troops from Germany to America. The German writers are themselves no apologists for the treatment of their unhappy countrymen by avaricious potentates. Mr. Lowell says: "But the infamy of the man-selling princes is perpetuated in Germany more by the words of the best-beloved of her poets than by those of the two greatest generals of the last century. In his tragedy of 'Calebale and Liebe,' written during the progress of the American war, Schiller has left an eloquent protest against the vile traffic. 'But none were forced to go?' says Lady Milford to the old chamberlain, who is telling her how his two sons, with 7,000 of their countrymen have been sent off to America. 'Oh, God! no,' he answers—'all volunteers. It is true, a few saucy fellows stepped out of the ranks and asked the colonels how much a yoke the prince sold men; but our most gracious master ordered all the regiments to march on the parade ground,

and had the jackanapes shot down. We heard the crack of the rifles, saw their brains spatter to the pavement, and the whole army shouted, 'Hurrah! to America!'"

NEWFOUNDLAND. ITS HISTORY, ITS PRESENT CONDITION, AND ITS PROSPECTS IN THE FUTURE. By JOSEPH HATTON, and the Rev. M. HARVEY. Reprinted from the English edition; revised, corrected and enlarged. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 431. Boston: Doyle & Whittle. 1883.

We cordially welcome this American edition of a new history of England's oldest colony. Discovered three hundred years ago, Newfoundland has only in these latter days been explored. Seventy years since it was unlawful to build a house on the island without government permission. Until a recent date the cultivation of the soil even was not in order. Half a century ago there were no regularly constructed roads in the country, and hardly a dwelling worthy of the name. The result of scientific investigation has finally demonstrated that the land is not only fertile, but rich in useful minerals; and Newfoundland has now entered upon a course of self-development that promises a bountiful harvest in the future. Its history is thus rendered all the more interesting; and it is told in this volume, by a resident of the island for a quarter of a century, a clerical gentleman of studious tastes and wide information—well known to the learned societies of Europe, and through his writings to the general world of letters—aided by the accomplished London author, Mr. Hatton, whose editorial skill is discernable on every page. The work treats not only of history, but of the fisheries, the agricultural and mineral resources of the island, and also of its topography, physical geography, and other features of general moment. The first step toward the construction of a railway in Newfoundland was taken in 1875, when a preliminary survey of a line from St. John's to St. George's Bay was made under the direction of Mr. Sandford Fleming, then engineer-in-chief of Canadian railways. The first sod of the first railway was turned on the 9th of August, 1881, and in September, 1882, thirty-five miles were completed and in running order. In July, 1883, forty-five miles were completed. It was not until 1843 that the Legislature of Newfoundland took any action concerning education in the colony. The volume before us contains much valuable statistical information in relation to schools, churches, postal communications, banks, newspapers, etc., etc., and presents some thirty illustrations.

**HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**, from the Discovery of the Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The author's last Revision. Vol. IV. 8vo., pp. 452. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1884.

Mr. Bancroft's fourth volume covers the exciting period from May, 1774, to July, 1776. "America takes up arms for self-defence and arrives at independence." In his opening paragraph he says : "The people of the continent obeyed one general impulse, as the earth in spring listens to the command of Nature and without the appearance of effort bursts into life. The movement was quickened, even when it was most resisted ; and its fiercest adversaries worked with the most effect for its fulfillment." In this fine passage we strike the key-note of the volume. The situation of Boston is described with characteristic eloquence. The slow torture was applied. Presently the busy workshops were changed into scenes of compulsory idleness. Want scowled on the inhabitants. The boats that plied between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River. And all these coercive measures were regarded by their authors as masterpieces of statesmanship. But they accomplished just the opposite results from those intended. The whole continent sympathized with and made the cause of Boston its own. The British ministry failed even to allure, intimidate, or divide New York, which was supposed to be more loyal to the crown than the other colonies. And to the amazement of Britain—"the mighty mother who bred men capable of laying the foundation of so noble an empire"—a general congress of the colonies was called at Philadelphia.

The new generation of readers will hardly take up this revised edition of Mr. Bancroft's history for the purpose of criticism, or of comparing it line by line and chapter by chapter with the product of his pen many years ago. But the benefit of his artistic touches—his pruning and softening and condensing, while carefully preserving all the substantial features of his earlier work—will be none the less admired and appreciated as the years roll on. The beauty and symmetry of his plan, and the breadth of his research, is perhaps more forcibly illustrated in the present volume than in either of its predecessors. Treating of only two momentous years, the author is obliged to travel over a vast extent of territory, and gather the innumerable threads of his subject from widely separated sources into a firm, vigorous grasp. The reader is carried along the smooth current, from one colony to another, looks into the assemblies and congresses on this continent, and into the king's cabinet and Parliament on the other, and becomes acquainted with the leaders of opinion and of revolution. Of the Declaration of Independence, with which the volume closes, Mr.

Bancroft says : "This immortal state paper was 'the genuine effusion of the soul of the country at that time,' the revelation of its mind, when, in its youth, its enthusiasm, its sublime confronting of danger, it rose to the highest creative powers of which man is capable. The bill of rights which it promulgates is of rights that are older than human institutions, and spring from eternal justice. Two politic theories divided the world ; one founded the commonwealth on the advantage of the state, the policy of Expediency, the other on the immutable principles of morals ; the new republic, as it took its place among the powers of the world, proclaimed its faith in the truth and reality and unchangeableness of freedom, virtue and right. And the astonished nations, as they read that all men are created equal, started out of their lethargy, like those who have been exiles from childhood, when they suddenly hear the dimly-remembered accents of their mother tongue."

**MY HOUSE : An Ideal.** By OLIVER B. BUNCE. 16mo, pp. 108. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

This unique little volume tells its own story. It is a picture, and one so pleasing that it cannot fail to be well studied. The author says : "My house is not a congregation of strange forms and devices, nor a medley of things known and unknown. It does not pierce the sky with pinnacles, nor confront one with towers and turrets that are suspiciously only toy towers and make-believe turrets. Its roof is not mounted with a would-be cupola that holds nothing but its own weight, that is accessible to nothing but the fowls of the air, and resembles nothing but an exaggerated bird-cage. It does not stand overweighted by a Mansard roof, nor is it encompassed by a piazza distorted with feeble ornamentation or variegated in badly composed pigments. It is not a costly house, nor is it yet a mean house. It is not a mansion, but it is something more than a cottage. It is not an architect's house, because if it were it would have been built after the latest ruling fashion ; nor is it a builder's house, as in that case it would include all the regulation pretensions and infelicities of the time.

"My house was meant to delight the instructed taste as well as to charm the heart ; therefore, it was not built solely as a screen from the weather, nor with all the practical purposes of a house solely in view. It serves all the needs of a house, inasmuch as it secures the physical comfort of its inmates ; but that at the best is only an elementary idea of a house. My house is a home ; it is a retreat ; it is a place that charms ; it is a spot that endears ; it is a haven wherein the best that is within us may blossom."

The reader is cordially invited into this ideal house, and we predict more than one agreeable

and instructive lesson will be the result of the visit. The author's theme is art and not trickery; his purpose is to show how to bring about good results by right methods. The book can be read with profit, and we heartily commend it to every household in the country.

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THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF IOWA. A Record of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Iowa, held at Burlington, June 1, 1883. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 104. Burlington: Hawkeye Book and Job Printing House, 1883.

Fifty years ago Iowa contained only scattered Indian villages, and here and there a trading post. It had no roads save Indian trails across the prairies. "In the fall of 1833," said Dr. Wm. R. Ross—first postmaster and first surveyor in the State—"I had two cabins built on my claim west of this Park (in Burlington) which were occupied by my family in March, 1834; also a cabin for a school-house, and for preaching, occupied by Mr. Philips, whom I hired to make rails and fence the ground for pasture and garden." During the same autumn the town was surveyed, and in January, 1834, the citizens met and named it Burlington. The first minister was Rev. Baron G. Cartwright, who had an ox team "to plow and break prairie through the week," and was to preach on Sunday.

The first permanent settlement in Iowa was in the summer of 1833, following the ratification of the treaty with the Indians. The first day of June, 1833, was the date fixed for the quiet departure of the savages from the territory. In 1836 the town of Burlington was made the seat of government for the whole region now embraced in the three States of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the Territory of Dakota. In 1838, Congress divided Wisconsin from Iowa, "and the 'Hawkeyes' said to the 'Badgers,' you may go and not stand upon the order in which you retire. Our hearts' best wishes will ever attend Grandma Michigan and Mother Wisconsin, but look out or your daughter will 'eclipse her progenitors.'" An up-river steamer arriving the same day (June 12), the Governor and the Wisconsin officials of the Legislature took passage for their Northern homes. Since then Iowa has grown with such rapidity that at the recent census it was found that her population had reached upward of one and one-half millions. And the value of property in the State is estimated at about \$1,200,000,000.

This pamphlet is a collection of speeches made on the occasion of Iowa's fiftieth anniversary, and embraces no small amount of historical and statistical information in reference to the State.

DOROTHEA SCOTT, OTHERWISE GOTHERSON AND HOGLEEN, OF EGERTON HOUSE, KENT, 1611-1680. A new and enlarged edition. By G. D. SCULL, 12mo (square), pp. 216. Printed for private circulation, by Parker & Co., Oxford, England, 1883.

Dorothea Scott, born in 1611, was the daughter of Thomas Scott, of Egerton, in Kent, and the great grand-daughter of Sir Reginald, the head of the ancient family of the Scotts, of Scot's hall. Her grandmother was the daughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Arlington Castle, Kent, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet and minister of Henry VIII. The manor of Egerton became in due course of events the property of Dorothea Scott, and her estate at that time was valued at £500 per annum. About the year 1680 she with her family removed to Long Island, where she resided until her death, and her descendants are now scattered through this country. The volume contains many of the incidents of her troubled life, and a reprint of a little book she wrote, entitled "A Call to Repentance," addressed to Charles II., in 1661; also a brief notice of a religious appeal written by her husband, Daniel Gotherson, and printed in 1660, containing some curious particulars connected with a public dispute in 1659, between a clergyman of Sandwich and three members of the Society of Friends. A considerable portion of the work is devoted to genealogical and family matters, and a valuable pedigree follows the appendix.

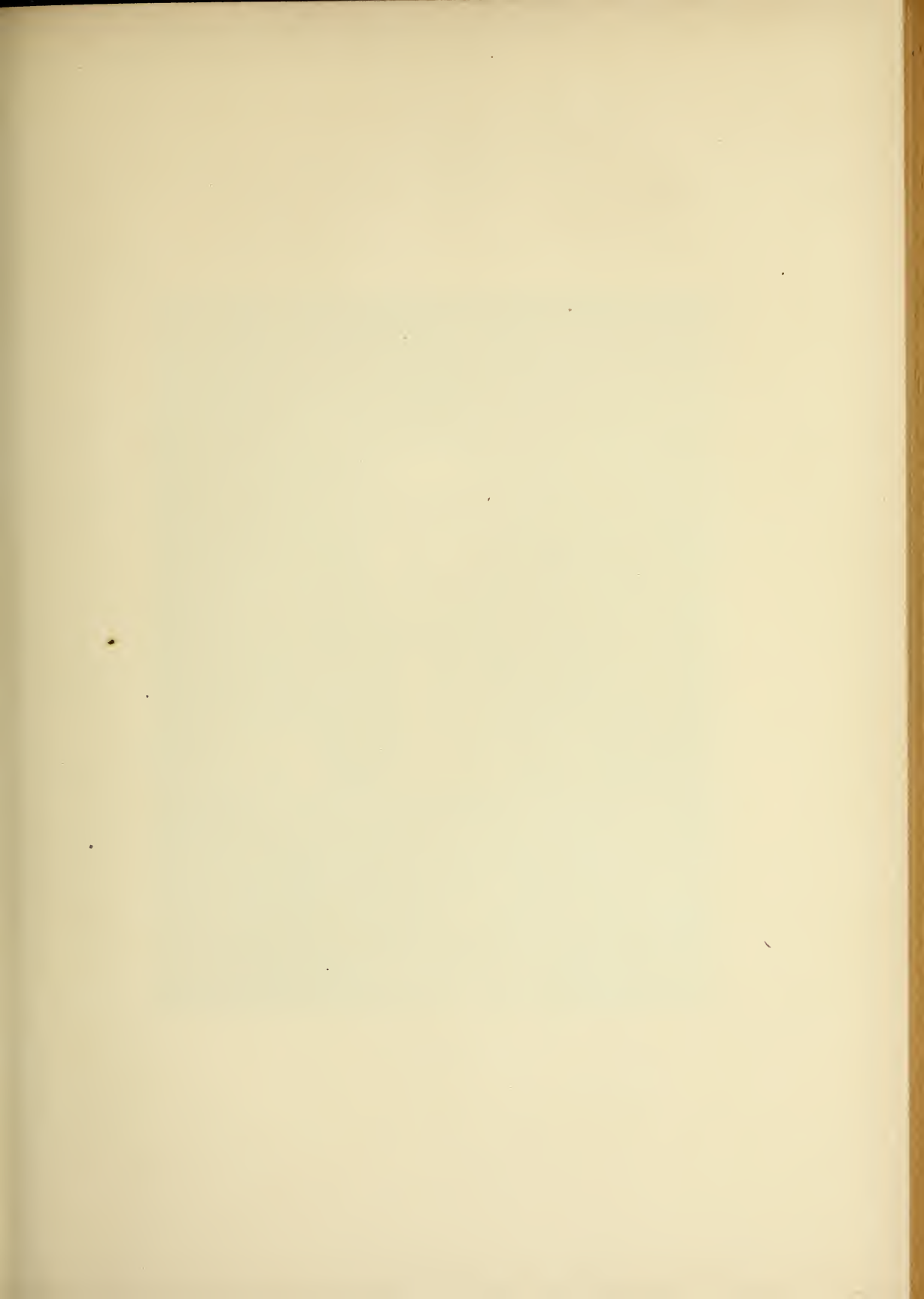
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN RHYME. By ROBERT C. ADAMS. 12mo, pp. 72. Boston, 1884. D. Lothrop & Co.

This is a companion volume to Mr. Adams' clever little History of England in Rhyme, published a year or two since. The author claims for it no special literary merit, but has aimed to impress dates, names, and events upon the minds of young readers by the aid of agreeable rhymes. We are sorry to see some notable errors which should not be perpetuated among the children; but the principle of condensation in such rhyming is good. The best part of the work is the summary of Colonies and States, which closes the book.

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THE BAY STATE MONTHLY. Nos. I., II., III. A new Massachusetts Magazine. Each number contains sixty-four pages of excellent reading matter, a steel engraving and other illustrations. It promises to develop the romance in Massachusetts Colonial and State history; and also to illustrate descriptions of manufacturing towns, their rise, growth, and present status with many other valuable features.





WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

(1689—1702.)



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A GROUP OF VIRGINIA STATESMEN

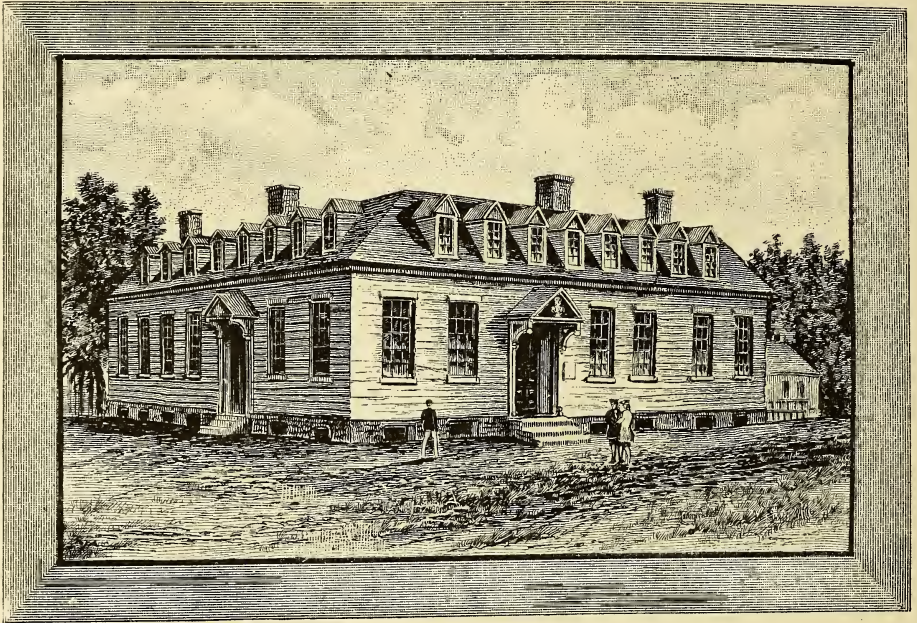
THE Virginia Convention, which assembled at Williamsburg in May, 1776, committed the whole country to revolution. If a "properly limited" monarchy is the best form of government and was still attainable, the statesmen of the time blundered. If a properly limited republic, which they had in view, is the best, they were the soundest political thinkers of history. Their action precipitated the issue. A small body of farmers in a provincial town not only declared war against an empire, but brought on the definite conflict between the monarchic and republican ideas, which is the great political feature of the modern world.

The phrase "properly limited" was used by Jefferson in a letter to John Randolph in August, 1775. "I would rather be in dependence on Great Britain properly limited," he said, "than upon any other nation upon earth, *or than on no nation.*" Thus the statesman of more advanced views, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries, thought on the very threshold of the revolution, that a limited monarchy was to be preferred to a republic. Within less than a year he and nearly all other Americans had made up their minds that a republic was best; and the result was a new departure of the human race. The revolution followed, and if it had failed the whole current of modern history would have set in another direction. It was an open trial of strength between the Old World and the New. When the representatives of the people of Virginia asserted that "All power is vested in and consequently derived from the people," and, after directing their delegates in Congress to propose a general declaration of independence, proceeded to declare Virginia an independent Commonwealth, and adopt a republican constitution, the two conflicting principles of government had come to deadly issue, and nothing but the appeal to arms could decide it.

This action of the Virginia Convention, which brought on the armed struggle with Great Britain, may be summed up in a few words. The first step was taken on the 15th of May, and the last on the 29th of June, 1776.

I. The Virginia delegates in Congress were instructed "to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States."

II. A "Declaration of Rights made by the Good People of Virginia," laying down the fundamental principles of republican government, was made—the first written charter of equal rights in history.



THE OLD RALEIGH TAVERN.

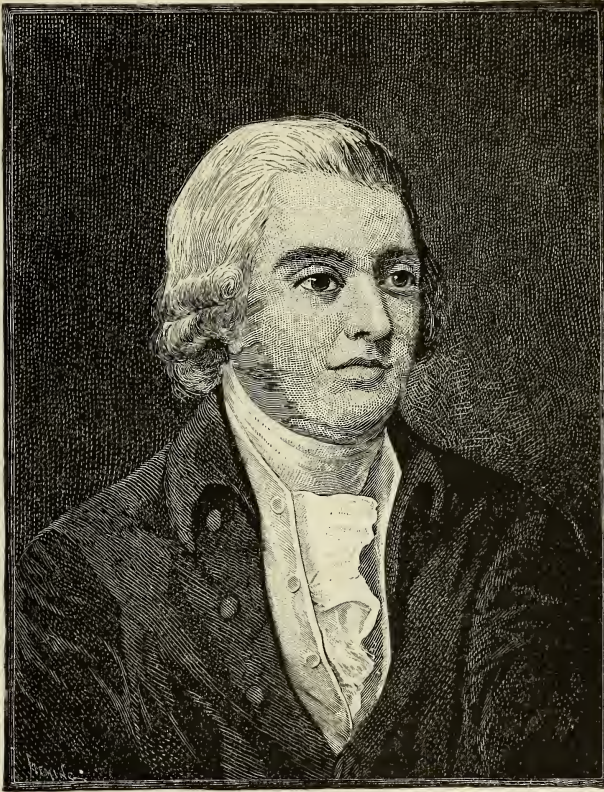
*(As it appeared during the Revolution. From an antique print.)*

III. All further political connection between Virginia and Great Britain was declared to be "totally dissolved."

IV. A Constitution for the Commonwealth of Virginia was adopted without conditions looking to its abrogation, and asserting the claim of absolute sovereignty—"the first written Constitution of a free State in the annals of the world."

The incidents surrounding this great proclamation of human rights, and the real characters of the men who made it, deserve attention. It is doubtful whether many besides students are familiar with the subject ;

and, worse still, the men themselves have been persistently misrepresented. Historians, as well as the writers of polemic, have conspired to caricature them, and the student, in order to arrive at the truth, is compelled to clear away a great mass of misstatements. Virginia historians have led the way in casting slurs upon their ancestors. Mr. Jefferson

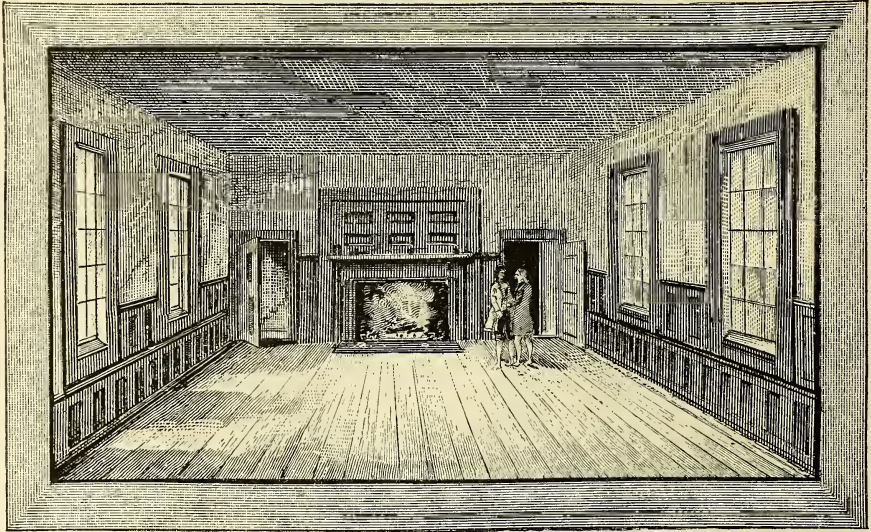


*Benjamin Harrison*

began the work. He described the planters in favor of deliberate action as mere "cyphers of aristocracy," who were behind the times; and Mr. Wirt, in his *Life of Henry*, gladly took up the cry that the opponents of the great orator were laggards. Mr. Burk, a passionate radical and admirer of Jefferson, echoed the same views; Mr. Campbell and others followed him; and Mr. Grigsby violently repudiated the idea that the planter or cavalier element amounted to anything in Virginia society or

affairs. "Miserable figment! outrageous calumny!" he exclaimed, with indignation; "the Cavalier was a compound slave—a slave to the King and a slave to the Church! I look with contempt on the miserable figment which seeks to trace the distinguishing points of the Virginia character to the influence of those butterflies of the British aristocracy, who came over to the colony to feed on whatever crumbs they might gather in some petty office."

Thus the great Virginia leaders, if we are to listen to the historians,



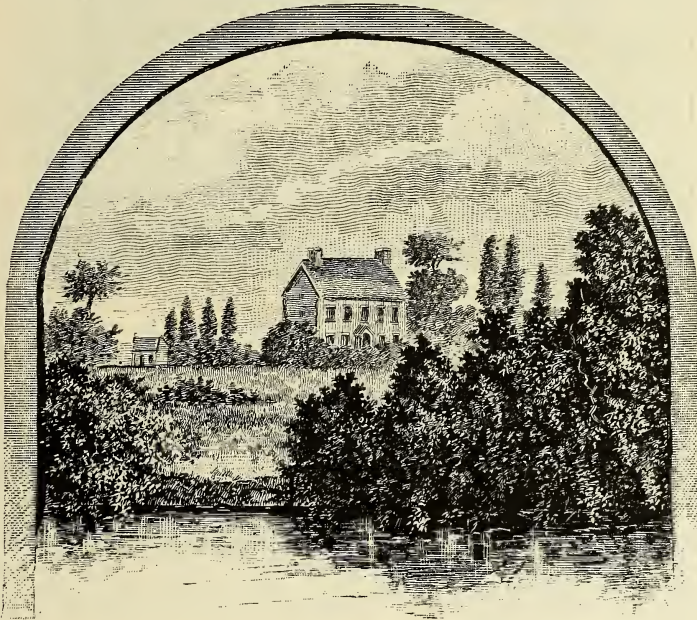
APOLLO ROOM OF THE RALEIGH TAVERN.

were ciphers or butterflies; for nothing is more certain than that the men who directed the revolutionary outburst in Virginia were Cavaliers, or Church and King's men.\* Their critics represent them as having been hostile from habit and conviction to popular right. At least, the slaves of Church and King did a good work in their generation, since they proclaimed religious freedom, overthrew monarchy, and established republican government.

The time has come now when it is incumbent on historical writers to no longer follow each other like a flock of sheep. More accurate study of the original records has shown the futility of these stereotyped views.

\* Bishop Meade, in his "Old Churches," makes the remarkable statement: "From our examination of the old vestry books, we are convinced that there are not three on this list (of the members of the Convention of 1776) who were not vestrymen of the Episcopal Church."

Those old Virginians were not "pieces of perfection," and had a great many faults, like other people; but the historians ought to have understood that they were neither ciphers nor butterflies, and that the "high pride" justly attributed to them was the origin of their resistance to wrong. No men oppose an invasion of their rights more stubbornly than those who possess this personal pride; the habit of command makes them the last people to submit to it. The Virginia planters were English subjects, and until the end of 1775 never wished to be anything else. Even Jefferson, the revo-

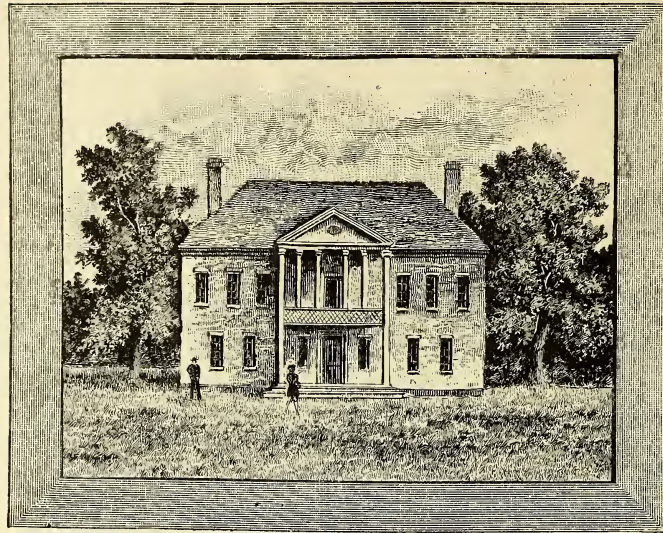


BERKELEY

*Residence of Benjamin Harrison. Birthplace of President William Henry Harrison.*

lutionist, preferred dependence, he said, on Great Britain rather than on any other nation, "or than on no nation," if the rights of the Americans were respected. When it was seen that these rights were to be disregarded by the Mother Country, the "compound slaves, cyphers and butterflies," of the historical imagination, not only resisted the wrong, but became the leaders of the revolutionary movement which resulted in the independence of the whole country.

These facts are so plain from the records that it is surprising to find writers asserting the contrary. The explanation is personal prejudice, either of race or opinion—but neither should be an apology for distorting



OLD CAPITOL.

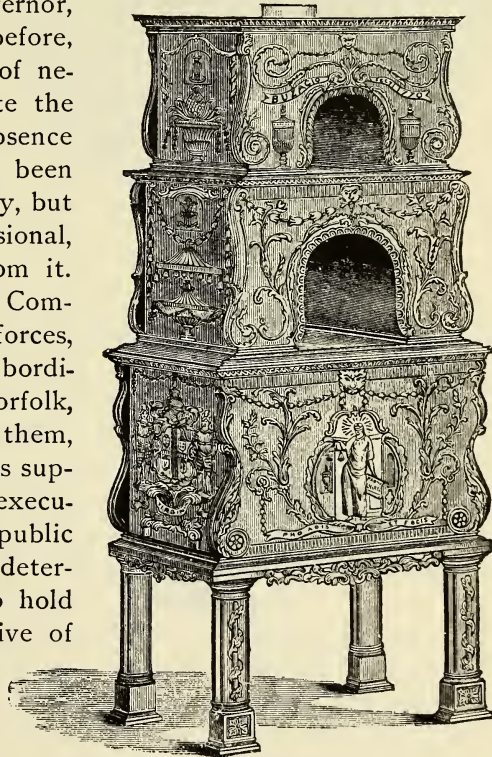
*"The focus of Rebellion in Virginia."*

history. The present article aims at giving, without fear or favor, the real likenesses of the Virginia leaders; and the material for their portraits fortunately exists. It is not to be found in the general histories, but in detached memoirs, the private correspondence of the time, and in authentic tradition handed down from father to son. The events are also framed in the contemporary details, and are best understood from them; and in embodying these forgotten details, the writer believes that he is doing a service to history.

When the Virginia Convention met, American affairs had reached a crisis. The country had drifted into war, and it was raging without any formal declaration of hostilities. It had begun at Concord a year before; fighting had followed in Canada; and Lord Howe was now moving from Boston followed by Washington, who was hastening to the defence of New York. The country was thus in flagrant war, and the *status* of the colonies remained undefined—were the Americans fighting for their rights to be regarded as rebels or as belligerents? The time had come to decide that question, and the leaders felt the enormous responsibility resting upon them. It was a question of life and death; for nothing was more certain than the fate of the country as conquered territory. The absolute subjection of the entire population to a King and Parliament inflamed by hate;

the halter for the leaders; the confiscation of private property; the grinding despotism which was sure to be visited on the revolted provinces to punish them—these were the certain results of an unsuccessful struggle. There was long hesitation before the boldest determined to take the last step. A few lines from a private letter of Thomas Nelson, a member of the Virginia Convention, written early in May, 1776, probably record the sentiment of the leaders in all the colonies at the moment. "My thoughts have been sorely employed," he wrote, "on the great question whether independence ought, or ought not, to be immediately declared. Having weighed the arguments on both sides, I am clearly of opinion that we must, as we value the liberties of America, or even her existence, without a moment's delay declare for independence." These patriotic words, as will now be seen, expressed the general conviction. The leaders of the Virginia people, long waiting, saw that the moment had come; and the condition of affairs in the colony called especially for prompt action.

Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, had fled from the capital a year before, and at the head of a motley rout of negroes and rabble, was laying waste the banks of the Chesapeake. In the absence of an executive, the colony had been governed by a Committee of Safety, but this organization was merely provisional, and trouble had already arisen from it. Patrick Henry had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, and when the committee sent a subordinate officer to attack Dunmore at Norfolk, with orders to report directly to them, Henry bitterly protested against this supposed slight. A fully empowered executive was plainly essential to the public welfare, and it was necessary to determine by what authority he was to hold his office. If as the representative of George III. there was an end to all further discussion. If as the representative of the Virginia people, and of them alone, the fact ought to be authoritatively proclaimed;

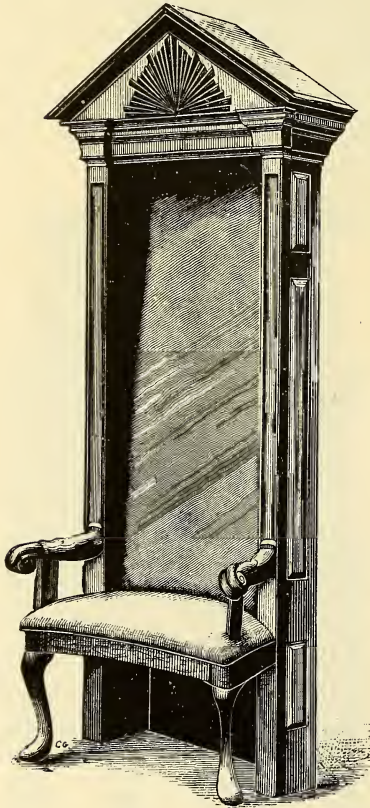


THE OLDEST STOVE IN AMERICA.  
(Imported from England in 1770.)

and the appointment of such an executive necessarily involved the establishment of a government under which he was to act.

The Convention met at Williamsburg on May 6, 1776, and held its sessions in the historic "Old Capitol," which had been the scene of so many struggles, among the rest of that on the Stamp Act. This building, which was of considerable size and pretension for the time, stood at one end of Duke of Gloucester Street, the main thoroughfare of the provincial capital. In shape it resembled an H, a covered gallery thirty feet in length, surmounted by a cupola and clock, connecting the two wings. The fronts on each

side were approached through lofty porticoes, with iron balconies above; and double doors, each six feet wide, gave access to the hall of the Convention, and the corresponding room in the opposite wing, which was that of the General Court. The hall was fifty feet long and twenty-five feet wide, with a floor of flagstones. The Speaker's chair stood on a dais, with a red curtain supported by a gilded rod behind it; and the clerk's desk was below, with the silver mace lying upon it whenever the body was in full session. To complete this sketch of the historic hall of the old House of Burgesses, the members sat on chairs or benches, and the room was heated by an ancient and curious stove, which, with the Speaker's chair and curtain, may still be seen in the Capitol at Richmond.



THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR.

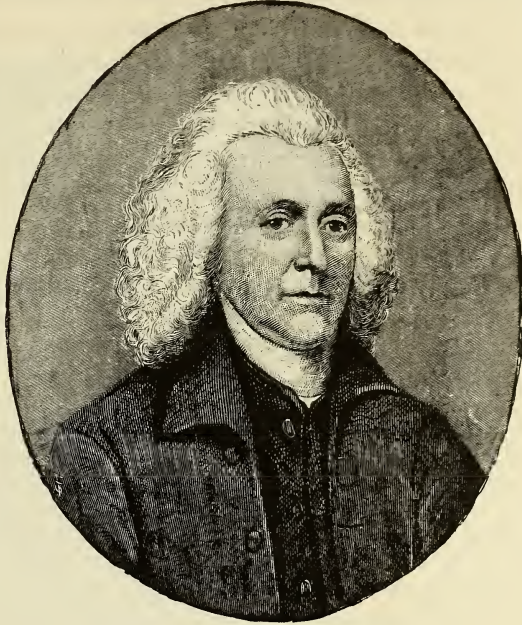
[Engraved from a photograph.]

Henry came to take the seat of Dunmore, as he soon did, that ceremony went with other things into the past.

The Convention began its session with a great crowd looking on from the lobby and gallery; and Edmund Pendleton was elected to preside over



it. As President of the Committee of Safety, he had been held responsible for the alleged slight offered Patrick Henry, and the friends of the latter nominated Thomas Ludwell Lee. Pendleton's "fortunate star" prevailed, and he was elected and addressed the Convention, after which the body proceeded to the work before it. The work was hard and thoroughly performed, as a private letter of the time shows. The committees met at seven in the morning, and sat until nine; then the Convention assembled, and, with a brief intermission for dinner, sat until ten at night. From the first day of the session the main business for which they had come together absorbed them; and on the 15th of May the first great step was taken. Thomas Nelson on that day presented to the Convention, sitting as a Committee of the Whole House, a preamble and resolutions written by Edmund Pendleton.



EDMUND PENDLETON.

The preamble recited the wrongs of the colonies, and the first resolution instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress "to propose to that respectable body to declare the United colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of the Colony to such declaration." The second resolution was for the appointment of a committee "to prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this Colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."

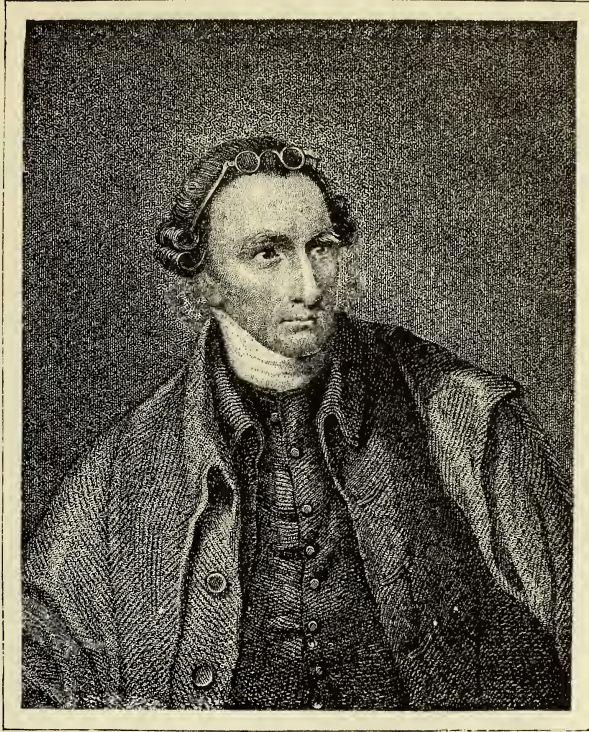
These resolutions passed the Convention by a unanimous vote—"the opponents being so few," wrote George Mason to Richard Henry Lee, "that they did not think fit to divide or contradict the general voice."

Patrick Henry had supported the resolutions with all the fire of his wonderful eloquence, and thus the names of Pendleton, Nelson and Henry are inseparably connected with this first great step inaugurating revolution.

Henry's career is so familiar that only a few personal details in reference to him need be presented; as some of them have never before been published, they may interest the reader. There exists a very prevalent error as to his social origin, which is said to have been ignoble. This statement has no foundation. His father, Colonel Henry, was a gentleman of respectability, a classical scholar, a presiding magistrate when that office was only conferred upon persons of social position, and a good churchman and royalist who "drank the King's health at the head of his regiment." Another error in relation to Patrick Henry is his supposed want of education, and Mr. Wirt dwells upon all these points as tending to enhance the splendor of his genius. Unfortunately, the statements are all untrue. The famous "Man of the People" and "Prophet of Revolution," as his contemporaries styled him, was not uneducated, any more than he was of low origin. On the contrary, he was so well educated that at fifteen he read Livy and Virgil in the original, and his "standard volume" throughout life was that difficult book, Butler's *Analogy of Religion*. He remained a poor scholar for no other reason than that he had little taste for reading. He was also indolent by nature, and only capable of sustained exertion when his interest was excited. The fact explains the early failures so much dwelt upon by Mr. Wirt. He failed in farming because he had no taste for agriculture, and became bankrupt as a country store-keeper because trade was equally repugnant to him. This is the sufficient explanation of all those idle hunting and fishing excursions, the violin playing and story telling when he ought to have been attending to his business, which his biographers have so much emphasized as a contrast to his subsequent career. Like other human beings, he avoided what was disagreeable to him and turned to what was agreeable. He was a natural and genuine man; loved plain company and rustic humor; and was once discovered, when he was old and famous, lying on his back and playing his violin for a crowd of children tumbling over him—traits attributable, one and all, to his strong human sympathies. There is nothing to show that he was considered by his contemporaries a rude or ignorant person. From some chance phrases in his private letters he seems to have shared Jefferson's distrust of the planter class; but the old "nabobs" were not so absurd as to regard him as their social inferior.

His wonderful oratory made him a thousand times their superior. By the common consent of all his contemporaries his eloquence was indescribable; and even Jefferson, who indulged in somewhat undemocratic sneers at his origin, said that "he spoke as Homer wrote." Mr. Wirt has cast a doubt by his rhetoric upon this point as upon others. His exag-

generation enfeebles the delineation. But enough has been established to make it certain that Patrick Henry was one of the two or three greatest orators of the world. One of his contemporaries, who had often felt the spell of his eloquence, declared that his force lay rather in his manner than



*P. Henry*

*(From the Portrait by Sully.)*

in his matter—"in the greatness of his emotion and passion, the matchless perfection of the organs of expression; the intonation, pause, gesture, attitude, and indescribable play of countenance." It is certain that he swayed every assembly which he addressed, apparently at his pleasure. Whenever he was fully aroused he overthrew all opposition, and forced his

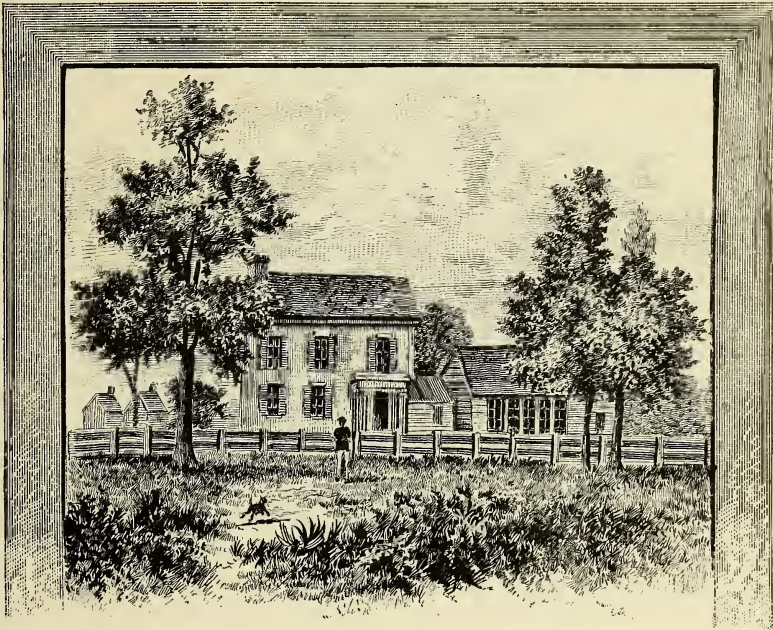
listeners as from a species of magnetism to accept his views as the only true ones. Any comparison of him with the very greatest of his contemporaries, would only establish their inferiority. His superiority was acknowledged. When he rose in Congress and exclaimed, "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies—the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more—I am not a Virginian but an American!" his listeners are said to have declared him the greatest public speaker on the continent.

No writer speaking of Henry should omit to notice his devout piety. He wrote in his will, "I have now disposed of all my property to my family: there is one thing more I wish I could give them, and that is the Christian religion. If they have that, and I had not given them one shilling they would be rich: and if they have not that, and I had given them all this world, they would be poor." In person Henry was tall, ungraceful, and stooped. His eyes were blue, his expression grave, and he wore buckskin short-clothes, yarn stockings, and a wig without powder. These details are set down as parts of the personal portrait of one in reference to whom every trifle must interest—for this man changed the destiny of the North American Continent.

In the Convention which had now assembled Henry was naturally one of the foremost advocates of decisive action. This had been his one idea throughout his whole career—in his first speech in the Parsons' Cause, his resolutions against the Stamp Act, and his great outburst in the Convention of 1775, when he had exclaimed, "The war is inevitable—let it come!" A year had passed and events had shown that his passionate appeals were wiser than moderate counsels. The country was plunged into war, and the Virginia Convention had again met to decide upon the course of Virginia. When the resolution was introduced instructing the delegates of the colony in Congress to propose independence, Henry ardently supported it, and his speech is said to have been the great feature of the debate. The discussion, however, was brief. The party for deliberate action had at last joined hands with the extreme revolutionists—a fact sufficiently plain since the resolutions had been written by Edmund Pendleton.

Pendleton was the leader of the party for deliberate action. He belonged to a "good family fallen to decay," as he wrote in his old age, the first of whom had come to Virginia about a century before, and in his boyhood was left an orphan without resources. His poor estate soon changed. He worked industriously and bought books, became clerk of Caroline Court, then a member of the bar, and entering the Burgesses at

about thirty, soon rose to distinction. The whole constitution of his mind was opposed to revolution and separation from England. He was a devoted and ardent churchman, believed that a leveling democracy was dangerous to society, and "had that intuitive love of prescription, so marked a trait in the eminent lawyers of England." Like Washington and many other eminent men of the time, he hoped and believed that American wrongs would be redressed ; but finding this hope vain, he "opposed the violent who were for plunging us into rash measures" with the



SEAT OF PATRICK HENRY.

(From a Picture in Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia.)

view to "raise the spirits of the timid to a general united opposition." The policy here set forth in his own words, in his latter years, was that which made him the leader of the planter class, to which he belonged. He and they were the "slaves of Church and King" so bitterly denounced ; and as the representative of the views of that influential class the most responsible positions were accorded to him as of right. He was made president of nearly all the conventions ; represented Virginia in the General Congress ; and at the most critical moment of the struggle, when there was no executive and all was in confusion, was appointed President of the Com-

mittee of Safety which held control of the purse and sword of the Commonwealth.\*

Pendleton's distinction in the eyes of the community was rather that of the statesman and juriconsult than of the public speaker; but in this direction also he was one of the most eminent men of his epoch. Jefferson, his bitter opponent on the social questions of the time, said that he was "the ablest man in debate he had ever met with;" and Mr. Wirt, on the authority of tradition, characterized his oratory as "a perennial stream of transparent, cool and sweet elocution," which carried persuasion to all who listened to it. His person is said to have added to the effect of his oratory. His face was "of the first order of manly beauty, his voice clear and silver-toned and under perfect control, and his manner so fascinating as to charm all who came in contact with him." His portrait, which has been preserved, supports the statement in regard to his appearance. It is a fine, strong face, framed in a flowing peruke, and full of mildness and courtesy. When this leader of the party who may be styled the conservative revolutionists, went foremost for armed resistance by drawing up the resolutions inaugurating it, the temper of the entire Convention may be understood.†

Thomas Nelson, who was selected to present the resolutions, belonged to a family many members of which had been prominent in public affairs under the old colonial *régime*. As yet unknown beyond the limits of Virginia, he was to secure three titles to wide distinction—as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as Governor of Virginia, and as Commander of the Virginia forces at Yorktown, where he directed with his own hands the American fire on the Nelson house in the town. His memory has a peculiar claim on the people of Virginia, since he ruined his private fortune to supply food for the troops, and retain them in the field. A tardy acknowledgment of his patriotism was the erection of the bronze statue of him at Richmond. It represents accurately, in the broad brow, the firm lips and the resolute attitude of the figure, a man whose name belongs to the roll of illustrious Virginians.

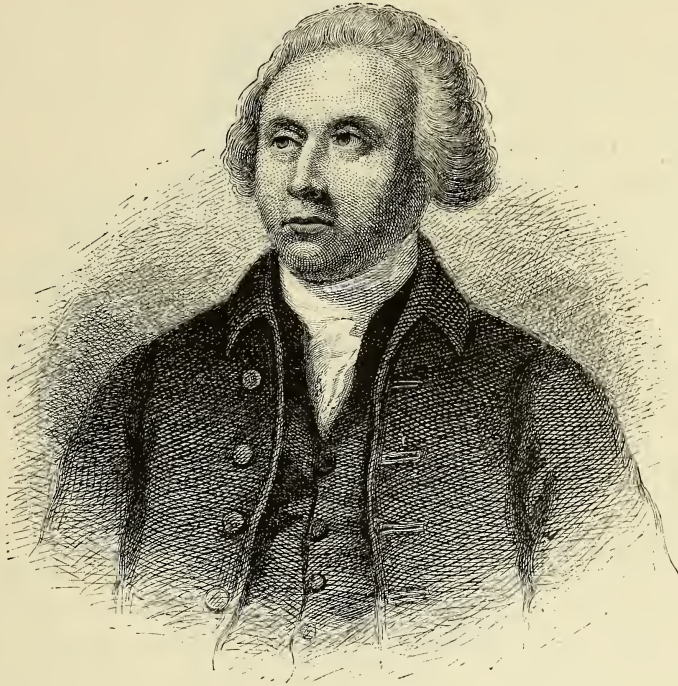
The three persons here selected from the group of celebrities for special notice, were those most directly connected with the resolution for independence. The resolution passed the Convention by a unanimous

\* The names of this *corps d'élite* of revolutionary worthies ought not to be forgotten. They were Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, William Cabell, Carter Braxton, James Mercer, and John Tabb.

† Edmund Pendleton was a brother of Nathaniel Pendleton, the second of Hamilton in his duel with Burr.

vote, was at once transmitted to the delegates in Philadelphia, and the Convention then proceeded to a step more important than any before taken—that of declaring Virginia an independent Commonwealth in advance of the action of the general Congress.

The dates of the great events of this critical period will show their relation to each other.



*Tho Nelson Jr.*

On June 7th, Richard Henry Lee, in obedience to the Virginia instructions, moved in Congress: "That these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." The debate on this resolution took place on Saturday the 8th and Monday—

June 10th, when, as six of the colonies were not yet prepared to vote, the further consideration of the subject was deferred until—

July 1st, when the debate was resumed, and continued for nine hours

uninterruptedly, but no vote was taken. Final action was postponed to the next day—

July 2d, when the resolution offered by Richard Henry Lee was carried, and—

July 4th, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress.

The second day of July was thus the date of the American decision that all further political connection with Great Britain should be “totally dissolved.” On the 29th of June, about three days before, the Virginia Convention, speaking for Virginia, had taken the same step, and had employed the same phrase, “totally dissolved.” These are the dates:

June 15th.—“A Declaration of Rights of the good people of Virginia” —passed by a unanimous vote.

June 24th.—“A Constitution or Form of Government” was reported to the Convention, with a preamble declaring that all political connection between Virginia and Great Britain was “totally dissolved.”

June 29th.—The Constitution and preamble were adopted by a unanimous vote.

Thus, whatever might be the action of Congress, the Virginia people had decided upon their own course. They had declared themselves independent of Great Britain, adopted a republican form of government, and were ready to defend it with the sword.

The Declaration of Rights and Constitution were written by George Mason; the preamble by Jefferson, then absent in Congress.

Mason was, from many points of view, a remarkable man. He was the descendant of a Colonel in the army of Charles II., and a planter of large possessions on the Potomac, not far from Mount Vernon. He had lived in retirement with the exception of one session spent as a member of the House of Burgesses, enjoying the “unreserved friendship” of Washington, wrapped up in his “dear little family,” absorbed in his favorite study of political law and the ancient charters, and had yielded, it seems unwillingly, to the wish of his neighbors that he should represent them in the Convention. In person he was large and athletic, with a swarthy complexion, an expression of the eyes described as “half sad, half severe,” and under his formal and reserved manner, Jefferson said, had “a dash of biting cynicism.” Of this, and the resolution of his character, two anecdotes give an illustration. When an opponent in politics said that the people of Fairfax knew that “Colonel Mason’s mind was failing him from age,” he retorted that his opponent had one consolation, “When *his* mind failed him, no one would ever discover it!” And when, in 1788, he was informed that if he opposed the ratification of the Federal Constitution the people of



Alexandria would mob him, he mounted his horse, rode to the town, and going up the Court-house steps, said to the Sheriff, "Mr. Sheriff, will you make proclamation that George Mason will address the people?" A crowd assembled, and Mason addressed them, denouncing the Constitution with bitter invective, after which he mounted his horse and returned home. He was not opposed to Union, for he wrote in 1778: "If I can only live to see the American Union firmly fixed, and can leave to my children but



*G. Mason*

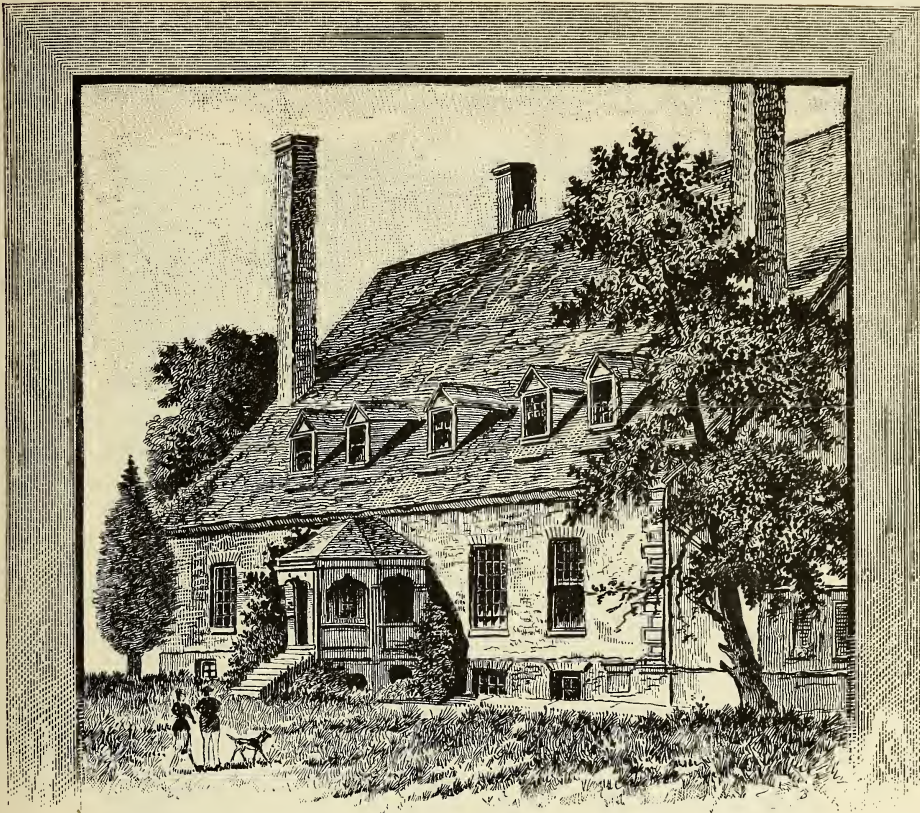
a crust of bread and liberty, I shall die satisfied;" and speaking of the Virginia Constitution, he wrote: "I trust that neither the power of Great Britain nor the power of Hell will be able to prevail against it."

It was this man of royalist descent, a thorough churchman and representative of the class denounced as ciphers of aristocracy, who was now called upon to draw up the Bill of Rights proclaiming religious freedom and the rights of man. The paper was written in his room in the Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg, without books to refer to, and has been described

as containing "the quintessence of all the great principles and doctrines of freedom wrought out by the people of England from the earliest times, and which lie at the foundations of society." Its scope is much more extensive than either Magna Charta or the Petition of Rights, and it may be called with truth the first written charter of equal rights in history. The writer lays down as a fundamental principle that all men are "by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights of which they cannot by any compact deprive their posterity," namely, "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." All the powers of society are "vested in, and consequently derived from, the people;" and "magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them." Government is instituted for the benefit of all, and when it transcends its powers, "a majority of the community has the right to alter or abolish it;" but the majority ought to be of those possessing "sufficient evidence of permanent interest with and attachment to the community." The freedom of the press is "one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments." The natural defense of a state is "a well regulated militia." Standing armies are "dangerous to liberty;" and "in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power." As to religion, as that is "the duty which we owe to our Creator, the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

The great principles here laid down, with a single exception, are now so thoroughly established that American readers of the nineteenth century may think that little merit is due to the men who proclaimed them. They were not so plain a century ago. A large part of mankind then believed that all the powers of government were *not* vested in the people; that a majority of the people had *not* the right to abolish them; that the freedom of the press was dangerous, and ought to be restrained; that standing armies were necessary; and that the exercise of religion ought to be regulated by, and in subjection to, the civil authority. That Mason and his associates rose above these old prejudices of the past, and announced the true principles which ought to govern society, constitutes their claim to be regarded as benefactors of humanity.

The one principle of the Declaration which is the exception to its full adoption by the men of to-day, is the restriction of the electoral franchise. The leaders of the time meant to establish a republic, not a democracy;



GUNSTON HALL.

*Home of George Mason.*

and believed that the right of suffrage ought to be confined to those having a permanent interest in the community. This principle had been first proclaimed by the Virginia Cromwellians of the old English Commonwealth period, and for a century it had been the law of the colony that those only should be allowed to vote who, "by their estates, real or personal, had interest enough to tye them to the endeavour of the publique good." They had tried universal suffrage, and it produced "tumults at elections;" so that the Declaration of Rights restricted the franchise to freeholders. Which were right, these men of the Revolution or the political philosophers of to-day? Let the statesmen of the future, taught by experience, determine.

The Constitution adopted was fundamentally republican. The government of Virginia was to consist of a Governor chosen annually by a Senate

and House of Delegates, elected by freeholders; and the two Houses were also to choose a Privy Council and the Judges of the appellate courts. Thus all power in Virginia was to spring from the body of the people having a permanent interest in the community, since they were to choose the Legislature, which was in turn to choose the Executive and the Judiciary. Such was the instrument which has been described as "the first written Constitution of a free State in the annals of the world."

The preamble, as already stated, was written by Jefferson, and sent from Congress. After reciting the wrongs of the colonies, it declared that, in consequence of these, "the government of this country, as formerly exercised under the crown of Great Britain, is TOTALLY DISSOLVED"—the last words being written in the original paper in capital letters. Thus the Convention left nothing in doubt; their action was meant to be final. As all power in a community was rightfully vested in the people, the people of Virginia had separated from Great Britain, and established a Constitution for their own government in future.

Both the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution were reported by Archibald Cary, who is selected for special mention, like the other leaders spoken of in this article, from his direct connection with the work of the Convention. He had already distinguished himself throughout the whole revolutionary agitation in Virginia, and was at this time about forty-five—low of stature, with a peculiar brightness of the eyes, and of stern and irascible temper. The expression of his portrait is smiling, but this was probably a flattery of the painter. In "The Contest," a contemporary poem, describing the leaders, the writer speaks of

*"The grimful face  
Of Amphill's rustic chief;"*

"Amphill" being the name of Cary's estate: and the message sent to Henry when there was a question of appointing him Dictator, that he should fall by his (Cary's) dagger before the sunset of that day, would seem rather to support the poem than the portrait.

Cary belonged to the family of Lord Falkland, and was a prosperous planter, fond of agriculture, of blooded stock, and of the management of his iron foundry, from which, as from his resolute character, he was known as "Old Iron." Under the new government he was to be chosen to preside over the Senate of Virginia which he had been so prominent in establishing, and his life thereafter was spent in retirement at "Amphill."

It is impossible in a brief paper to mention even the names of the long list of eminent Virginians who were members of the Convention and took a prominent part in its deliberations. Many of these enjoyed a local

celebrity as great as that of the actors on a larger arena; and a number of the latter even have been necessarily passed over. A few of those especially prominent were Edmund Randolph, William Cabell, Henry Tazewell,



COL. ARCHIBALD CARY.

*(Engraved for the December Magazine from the Portrait by Benjamin West.)*

Robert C. Nicholas, Richard Bland, Paul Carrington, George Wythe and James Madison, who was to preside as Chief Magistrate over the Republic of which he and his associates were laying the foundation.

Several of the members were also delegates to the General Congress

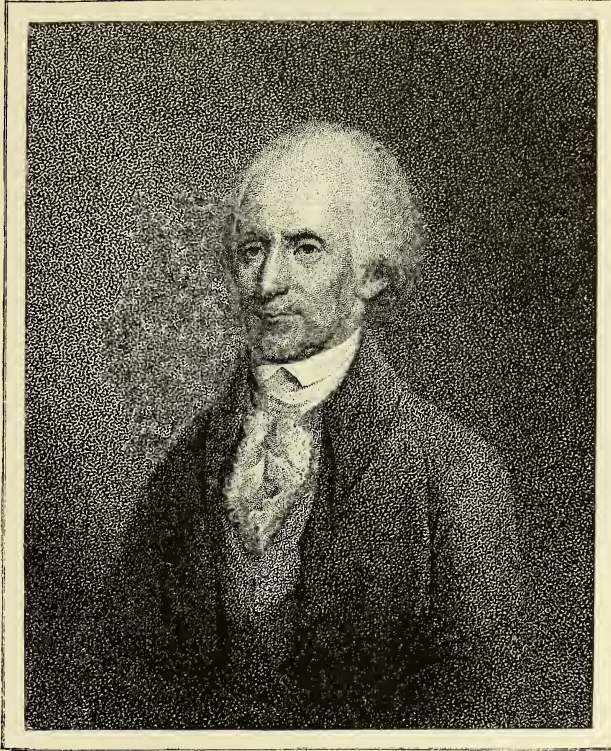
at Philadelphia—among them Benjamin Harrison of “Berkeley,” one of the most resolute patriots of the time; a man of the highest honor, for whom his most eminent contemporaries had the utmost respect, as full of humor as of determination, large of person, cordial in manners, who was to become one of the “Signers,” then Governor of Virginia, and to remain, through storm and sunshine, the friend of Washington. Two other great Virginians were also members of the Convention and of Congress—in which latter body they were so prominent that they were rarely able to sit in the former. Their names were, however, associated so closely with the great movement in Virginia, that in a paper treating of that movement it is necessary to speak of them, however briefly.

Richard Henry Lee, who offered the resolution proposing independence in Congress, was another of the Cavalier “butterflies” and “ciphers of aristocracy” who are said to have opposed resistance. He belonged to the family of Richard Lee, who had conspired with Berkeley to erect the flag of Charles II. in Virginia during the Commonwealth period, and every one of his name, for generations, had been a royalist and churchman. His early education was acquired in England, and thus he was the last man to look to as a republican leader; but it was soon seen that his views were as extreme as those of Patrick Henry. He had entered public life early, and as far back as 1768 had advocated the scheme of a “Committee of Correspondence.” In 1773 he procured its adoption in the Burgesses, and was thus the originator of the great engine of resistance which united all the colonies and brought on the struggle. He was at this time a man of forty-two, tall and graceful in person, and wore a bandage on one hand to hide a wound received in shooting on the Potomac. He was called the “Gentleman of the Silver Hand,” either in allusion to this or to his grace in speaking,—for he was one of the most eloquent orators of a period famous for eloquence. His residence was in Westmoreland, not far from the Potomac, and he had been chosen a delegate to Congress as one thoroughly in rapport with the views of the leaders, among them of Henry, with whom he enjoyed an intimate friendship. As a member of the first Congress in 1774 he had prepared the Address to the People of the Colonies, in which he had advised the Americans to “extend their views to mournful events.” Now the mournful events had come, and he was selected to propose the resolution of independence.

This was done, as has been seen, on the 7th of June, and on June 11th, “that no time be lost,” a committee was appointed to draw up the Declaration. Of this committee, Lee, by parliamentary usage, must

have been chairman ; and his known literary ability made his assignment to the work of preparing the Declaration a foregone conclusion.\* He was suddenly called away, however, by the illness of his wife, and "Richard Henry Lee, author of the Declaration of Independence," was not to be carved on his tombstone.

It was carved on the tomb of Jefferson. As in the case of Henry, the

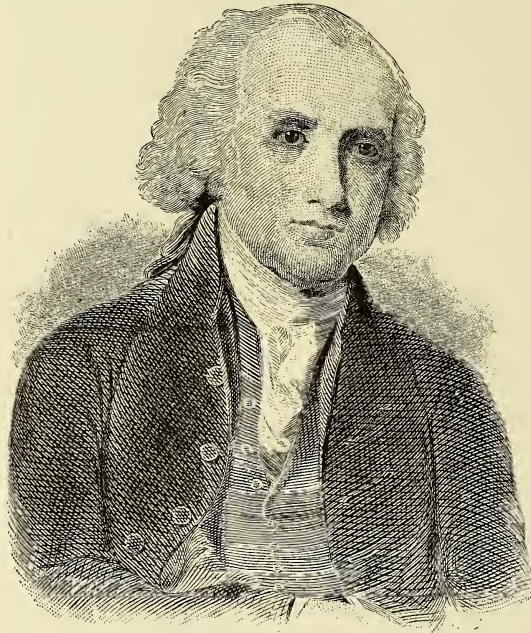


*Richard Henry Lee*

life of Jefferson is so familiar as to demand only brief notice. He was the son of a planter ; had practiced law with great success, though he was almost incapable of making a speech in public ; and entering the Burgesses when he was twenty-six, had become one of the extreme

\* The curious questions connected with this subject, so elaborately discussed in Mr. Randall's Life of Jefferson, cannot be noticed here for want of space.

leaders. From the constitution of his mind he was a radical in his social and political opinions. His "Summary View," of 1774, is as resolute as the Declaration of 1776; and it is the grand illustration of the hesitation of the time that the author of the former should, more than a year afterward, have written that he preferred a redress of grievances to independence. In person Jefferson was tall and slender, and his manners were plain and cordial. He was a tender husband, an affectionate father, a kind master, and personally beloved by his neighbors and friends, who



*James Madison*

were as warm in his praise as his political foes were rancorous in their abuse of him. Sent to Congress in the critical year 1776, when all things were narrowing to the crisis, Jefferson at once took his place among the leaders. His ability as a writer was seen from his "Summary View," and, when Lee was called away, the task of preparing the Declaration was assigned to him. It is impossible to read this famous paper without observing the resemblance of many of its phrases to those employed in Mason's Declaration of Rights, and Pendleton's resolutions to propose independence. A comparison will show this similarity.



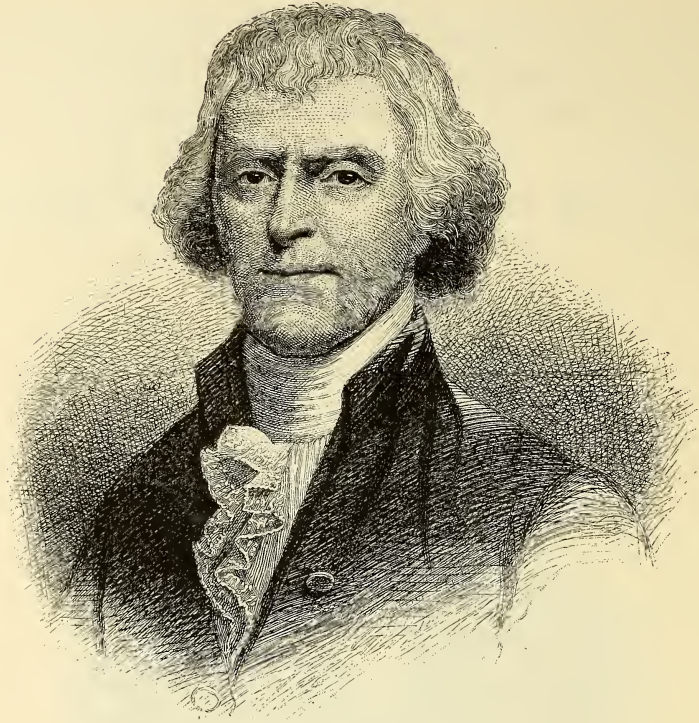
MASON.—“All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights of which they cannot divest their posterity, namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.” JEFFERSON.—“All men are created equal . . . are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” MASON.—“Government is or ought to be instituted for the



*Edm: Randolph*

common benefit.” JEFFERSON.—“To secure these rights governments are instituted.” MASON.—“When any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community have an indubitable right to alter, reform or abolish it.” JEFFERSON.—“Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.”

A similar resemblance will be seen between the following passages in the Declaration and in Pendleton’s resolutions of May 15th. PENDLETON.—“Appealing to the Searcher of Hearts for the sincerity of former dec-



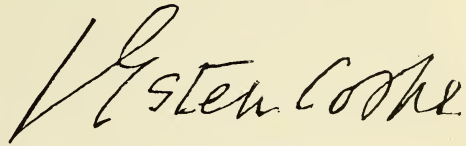
Th. Jefferson

larations." JEFFERSON.—“Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions.” PENDLETON.—“That the delegates . . . be instructed to propose . . . to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to or dependence upon the crown or parliament of Great Britain.” JEFFERSON.—“We therefore . . . do declare that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States absolved from all allegiance to the British crown.” Thus the general Declaration of all the colonies at Philadelphia was similar in many of its expressions to that made in Virginia.

In bringing this paper to a close it is necessary to notice a last point—the statement above quoted that the Virginia Constitution of 1776 was “the first written Constitution of a *free State* in the annals of the world.” This

is apparently contradicted by the fact that both South Carolina and New Hampshire had already adopted republican forms of government. But these were expressly declared to be void when the wrongs of the colonies were redressed; or, in the words of the Mecklenburg County Declaration of May, 1775, when "Great Britain resigned her unjust and arbitrary pretensions." The action in Virginia was without this limitation, since the preamble to the Constitution declared that all political connection with England was "totally dissolved." It has also been urged that the Virginia instructions to propose a declaration of independence had been anticipated by North Carolina about one month before. But the North Carolina instructions were only "to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence," which writers at that time complained of, as merely conferring a discretion to be exercised according to circumstances. But the questions here involved are more curious than important. The spirit of resistance was in the universal blood, and the colonies moved nearly together. Whether Virginia first took the decisive step of breaking with the past is simply a question of dates.

Was that step for good or for evil? Let the historical student of the twentieth century answer. It is certain that the action of Virginia erected a principle which has already leavened Europe, and transformed England into a republic under the form of monarchy. A force was unloosed which will eventually rule the world. When in May '76 the Virginians, in their Bill of Rights declared that all political power was vested in the people of a country, the republican world was born, and the American Republic of to-day is the result.



V. G. Steen Cooke

[The excellent portraits of Edmund Pendleton and Col. Archibald Cary, engraved expressly for our December Magazine of 1883, are by request republished to accompany the foregoing article, as these two gentlemen were prominent leaders in the Virginia movement toward independence, and the omission of their pictures in this connection would be almost inexcusable. For the rare copy of the portrait of Benjamin Harrison, from which the admirable engraving is made on page 371, the Magazine is indebted to the whole souled courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet—and also for copies of those of George Mason, Patrick Henry, and others not easily obtainable elsewhere.—EDITOR.]

## CHEROKEES PROBABLY MOUND-BUILDERS

In 1876, Prof. Lucien Carr, assistant curator of the Peabody Museum, opened a mound in Lee County, Virginia, in which he made certain discoveries that, taken together with the form of the mound and the historical data, led him to the conclusion that it was the work of the Cherokees.

This monument, as he informs us, was a truncated oval, the level space on the top measuring forty feet in length by fifteen in width.

“At a distance of eight feet from the brow of the mound on the slope,” Professor Carr says, “there were found buried in the earth the decaying stumps of a series of cedar posts, which, I was informed by Mr. Ely, [the owner] at one time completely encircled it. He also told me that at every plowing he struck more or less of these posts; and on digging for them, some six or seven were found at different places, and in such order as showed that they had been placed in the earth at regular intervals and according to a definite plan. On the top, in the line of the greatest diameter, and near the center of the mound, another and a larger post or column, also of cedar, was found.” \*

Quoting Bartram’s description (given below) of the Council House of the Cherokees in the town of Cowé, he concludes, and I think correctly, that this mound was the site of a similar building.

Bartram’s description is as follows: † “The Council or Town House is a large rotunda capable of accommodating several hundred people. It stands on the top of an ancient artificial mound of earth of about twenty feet perpendicular, and the rotunda on the top of it being above thirty feet more, gives the whole fabric an elevation of about sixty feet from the common surface of the ground. But it may be proper to observe that this mound on which the rotunda stands is of a much ancients date than the building, and perhaps was raised for another purpose. The Cherokees themselves are as ignorant as we are by what people or for what purpose these artificial hills were raised.

“The rotunda is constructed after the following manner: They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at the top to receive into them,

\* Tenth Report Peabody Museum p. 75.

† Travels, p. 368.

from one to another, a range of beams or wall-plates. Within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at the top to receive another range of wall-plates, and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and, lastly, in the center stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building and to which the rafters center at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross-beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all.

“There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry, small, sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak; all around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with matts or carpets very curiously made with thin splits of Ash or Oakwood, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the center the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and around about this performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year.”

From indications not necessary to be mentioned here, Prof. Carr argues that the mound could not have been intended for burial purposes, but was evidently erected for the foundation of a building of some kind.

In a subsequent paper, “Mounds of the Mississippi Valley,” \* Prof. Carr not only adheres to the theory advanced in the tenth report of the Peabody Museum, but gives additional reasons for believing it to be true.

As much additional data bearing on this subject has been obtained during the mound explorations carried on under the Bureau of Ethnology, I have concluded to discuss somewhat briefly this theory (which I am inclined to believe correct) in the light of these new facts.

As the mounds and other remains to be referred to are located in the northwest part of North Carolina and the northern part of East Tennessee, the first point to be established is that the Cherokees did actually at some time occupy this region.

In the first place, it is well known that they claimed all that portion of

\* Vol. II. of the Memoirs of the Kentucky Geol. Surv.

the country east of Clinch River and west of the Alleghanies, northward to Kanawha, and also the northwest part of North Carolina, at least to the Yadkin—a claim which was conceded by the whites and acted on officially by State and National authority, and denied by no Indian tribe.

Haywood expressly states that \* “ the Cherokees were firmly established on the Tennessee River or Hogohega [the Holston] before the year 1650, and had dominion over all the country on the east side of the Alleghany mountains, which includes the head-waters of the Yadkin, Catawba, Broad River, and the head-waters of the Savannah ”—a statement borne out by the fact that as late as 1756, when the English built Fort Dobbs on the Yadkin, not far from Salisbury, they first obtained the privilege of doing so by treaty with Attacullaculla, the Cherokee chief.†

Haywood asserts, ‡ upon what authority is not known, that “ before the year 1690 the Cherokees, who were once settled on the Appomattox River and in the neighborhood of Monticello, left their former abodes and came to the West. The Powhatans are said by their descendants to have been once a part of this nation. The probability is that migration took place about, or soon after, the year 1632, when the Virginians suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon the Indians, killing all they could find, cutting up and destroying their crops, and causing vast numbers to perish by famine. They came to New River and made a temporary settlement, and also on the head of the Holston.”

That they formerly had settlements on New River (Upper Kanawha) and on the Holston is, as I believe, true, but that they came from the vicinity of Monticello and the Appomattox River, were connected with the Powhatans or first appeared in Tennessee in 1632, cannot be believed. *First*, because Jefferson makes no mention of their having resided in this part of Virginia; on the contrary, he locates them in the “ western part of North Carolina.” *Second*, because John Lederer, who visited this region in 1669–70, speaking of the Indians of the “ Apalatean Mountains,” doubtless the Cherokees, as he was at that time somewhere in North Carolina, says: “ The Indians of these parts are none of those which the English removed from Virginia, but were driven by an enemy from the northwest, and invited to fix here by an oracle, as they pretend, above four hundred years ago; for the inhabitants of Virginia were far more rude and barbarous, feeding only upon raw flesh and fish until those taught them to sow corn and shewed them the use of it;” § and *third*, because it is evident that they

\* Natural and Aboriginal His. Tenn., p. 225.

† Ramsey, Annals of Tenn., p. 51.

‡ Nat. and Ab. Hist. Tenn., p. 223.

§ Discoveries, &c., p. 3. London edition, 1672.

were located in substantially the same territory when De Soto passed through the northern part of Georgia, as it is now admitted that the "Chelaques" or "Achelaques," mentioned by the chroniclers of his ill-starred expedition, were the Cherokees. That they extended their territory a considerable distance further southward after the time of the Adelantado's visit can be easily demonstrated, but it is unnecessary for me to present the proof of this assertion at this time, as I presume it will be admitted.

Their traditions in regard to their migrations are uncertain and somewhat conflicting, still there are a few items to be gleaned from them which, I think, may be relied upon as pointing in the proper direction. The first is, the positive statement that they formerly had a settlement, or were settled on or near the Nolichucky. The second is, that they were driven from some more northern section by their enemies; and third, their constant and persistent claim that, of right, the country northward from the Holston to the Kanawha belonged to them.

From all the light, therefore, that I can obtain on this subject, I am satisfied that the Cherokees had at some time in the past moved southward from a more northern location than that they were found occupying when first encountered by the whites. That they did at one time actually occupy the section in which the mounds to which we allude are situated cannot be doubted.

Turning now to the mounds of East Tennessee and North Carolina, to which allusion has been made, let us see what testimony they furnish on the point now under discussion.

The particular works to which we refer are located in Caldwell County, North Carolina, and Sullivan County, East Tennessee. A brief description of their construction and contents will be found in the *American Naturalist* for March, 1884, and *Science*, 1884. Although we cannot say positively that no other tribe occupied this particular section between 1540 and 1690, still the evidence and indications leading to that conclusion are so strong as to justify us in assuming it. We find their frontiers on the borders of Georgia in 1540; we can trace back their settlements on the Hiawassee to a period preceding 1652. We have evidence that the settlements on the Little Tennessee were still older, and that even these were made subsequent to those on the Nolichucky. We have their own traditions, as given by Lederer, that they migrated to this region about the close of the thirteenth century; and, finally, their uniform and persistent statement, from the time first encountered by Europeans, that when they came to this region they found it uninhabited, with the exception of a Creek settle-

ment on the lower Hiawassee. This clearly indicates a movement southward—a fact of much importance in the study of the history of this somewhat abnormal tribe.

If, therefore, we can show that these mounds, or any of the typical ones, were constructed since the discovery of America, we have good reason to believe that they are to be attributed to the Cherokees, notwithstanding their statement to Bartram that they did not build the one at Cowé.

At the bottom of one of the largest mounds found in this region, and by the side of the skeleton of the principal personage interred in it, as shown by the arrangement of the bodies of those buried with him, and by the ornaments and implements found with him, were discovered three pieces of iron. That one, at least, of the pieces is part of an implement of European manufacture, I think no one who examines it will doubt. It appears to be part of a sword-blade, or the blade of a large knife. Another of the pieces is apparently a large awl or punch, a part of the deer-horn handle yet remaining attached to it.

That these cannot be attributed to an intrusive burial is evident from the following facts: *First*, that they were found at the very bottom of the pit, which had been dug before depositing the bodies; *second*, that they were found with engraved shells, celts, and other relics of this character; and *third*, that they were deposited with the principal personage who had been buried in the mound.

In the same mound and under the same circumstances some large copper beads or cylinders were also found. A careful examination of these specimens shows, as I think, very clearly, that the copper plate of which they were made was not manufactured by any means at command of the Indians or the more civilized races of Mexico or Central America, as it is as smooth and even as any rolled copper; moreover, they appear to have been cut into the proper shape by some metallic implement. If this supposition be correct (and I believe an inspection of the specimens will satisfy any one that it is), it certainly indicates contact with civilized people. If so, then we have proof that this mound was made subsequent to the discovery of America by Columbus, and, in all probability, after the date of De Soto's expedition in 1540.

As I have shown, and I think satisfactorily, that the Cherokees alone inhabited this particular section from the time of De Soto's expedition until it was settled by the whites, it follows that if the mound was built subsequent to that date, it must have been by the Cherokees. The nearest neighbors of this tribe on the east, at the time the whites came in contact with them on their eastern borders, were the Tuscaroras. We learn



from John Lederer, who visited them in 1670, on his return from the Cherokee country, that they were in the habit of "decking themselves very fine with pieces of bright copper in their hair and ears and about their neck, which, upon festival occasions, they use as an extraordinary bravery."\*

It is well known that these two tribes were constantly at war with each other until the latter removed to the North and joined the Five Nations. But it is more likely that these articles of European workmanship were obtained from the Spaniards, who, as is now known, worked at an early date the gold mines in northern Georgia. We learn from Barcia's "*Ensayo Cronologico*" † that Tristan de Luna, who, in 1559, went in search of the mines of "Coza" (the name by which the region of northern Georgia was then known), succeeded in reaching the region sought and even heard while there of the negro Robles, who was left behind by De Soto. When John Lederer reached the borders of Georgia, the Spaniards were then at work at these mines, which fact, as he informs us, checked his further advance, as he feared he might be made a captive by them. As further and conclusive evidence of this, we have only to state that the remains of their cabins in the vicinity of the mines were found in 1834 with trees from two to three feet in diameter growing over them. The old shafts were discovered in which they worked, as also some of the machinery and implements which they used.‡ Be this supposition correct or not, if the articles we have mentioned were of European workmanship, or if the material was obtained of civilized people, we must take for granted, until evidence to the contrary is produced, that the mound in which they were found was built after the commencement of the sixteenth century, hence by Indians, and in all probability by the Cherokees.

Our fourth argument is found in the fact that in the ancient works of this region are discovered evidences of habits and customs similar to those of the Cherokees and some of the immediately surrounding tribes.

I have already alluded to the evidence, found in the mound opened by Prof. Carr, of its once having supported a building similar to the council house observed by Bartram on a mound at the old Cherokee town, Cowé. Both were on mounds, both were circular, both were built on posts set in the ground at equal distances from each other, and both had a central pillar. As confirming this statement of Bartram, we are informed in Ramsay's History of Tennessee § that when Col. Christian marched against the Cherokee towns in 1776 he found in the center of each "a circular tower rudely built and covered with dirt, thirty feet in diameter and about

\* Discoveries, London edition, p. 20.

† Jones, Southern Indians, p. 18.

‡ Pp. 33-39.

§ P. 169.

twenty feet high. This tower was used as a council house, and as a place for celebrating the green-corn dance and other national ceremonials." Lawson, who traveled through North Carolina in 1700, says, \* "They" [the Indians] "oftentimes make of this shell" (alluding to a certain large sea-shell), a sort of gorget which they wear about their neck in a string, so it hangs on their collar whereon sometimes is engraven a cross or some odd sort of figure which comes next in their fancy." Beverly, speaking of the Indians of Virginia, says, † "Of this shell they also make round tablets of about four inches in diameter, which they polish as smooth as the other, and sometimes they etch or grave thereon circles, stars, a half-moon, or any other figure suitable to their fancy."

Now it so happens, that in the same mound in which the iron specimens before alluded to were found, and in other mounds in the same section, the Bureau assistants discovered shell ornaments precisely of the character described by these old writers. Some of them smooth, and without any devices engraved on them, but with holes for inserting the strings by which they were to be held in position; others engraved with figures which would readily be taken for stars and half-moons, and one among the number with a cross engraved on it. The testimony in this case that these relics were the work of the Indians found in possession of the country at the time of the discovery is, therefore, too strong to be put aside by mere conjectures or inferences. If the work of Indians, then they must have been used by the Cherokees and buried with their dead. The engraved figures are strangely uniform, indicating some common origin, but the attempt to trace this is foreign to our present purpose. In these mounds were found a large number of nicely carved soapstone pipes, usually with the stem made in connection with the bowl, though some were without this addition, consisting only of the bowl, with a hole for the insertion of a wooden or cane stem.

By turning to Adair's "History of the North American Indians," ‡ we find the following statement: "They" [the Indians] "make beautiful stone pipes; and the Cherokees the best of any of the Indians; for their mountainous country contains many different sorts and colors of soils proper for such uses. They easily form them with their tomahawks, and afterward finish them in any desired form with their knives, the pipes being of a very soft quality till they are smoked with and used with the fire, when they become quite hard. They are often a full span long, and the bowls are

\* Hist. of Carolina. Raleigh. Reprint 1850, p. 315.

† Hist. Virginia. London, 1705, p. 58.

‡ P. 423.

about half as long again as those of our English pipes. The fore part of each commonly runs out with a sharp peak two or three fingers broad and a quarter of an inch thick." Not only were pipes made of soapstone found in these mounds, but two or three were obtained precisely of the form mentioned by Adair, with the fore part running out in front of the bowl; and another of the same form has been found in a mound on the Kanawha, which is at least suggestive. Jones says, \* "It has been more than hinted by at least one person whose statement is entitled to every belief, that among the Cherokees dwelling in the mountains, there existed certain artists whose professed occupation was the manufacture of stone pipes, which were by them transported to the coast and there bartered away for articles of use and ornament, foreign to and highly esteemed among the members of their own tribe."

This not only strengthens our conclusion drawn from the presence of such pipes in the mounds alluded to, but may also assist in explaining the presence of the copper ornaments in them. The writer last quoted says, † "Copper implements are rarely found in Georgia. The present" (a copper axe) "is the finest specimen which, after no mean search, has rewarded our investigations. Native copper exists in portions of Cherokee Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Alabama, but it is generally found in combination with sulphur and not in malleable form. We are not aware of any locality among those enumerated whence the Indians could have secured that metal either in quantity or purity sufficient to have enabled them to manufacture this implement."

Adair says, ‡ "From the time we supplied them with our European ornaments they have used brass and silver ear-rings and finger-rings; the young warriors now frequently fasten bell-buttons or pieces of tinkling brass to their moccasins."

From these facts I am inclined to believe that most of the copper used by them was obtained directly or indirectly from the whites, and hence subsequent to the discovery of America. But should this supposition be erroneous, the fact still remains that the Cherokees were in the habit of using just such ornaments as we find in these mounds. As showing that the Europeans began to trade copper to the Indians at a very early day, I call attention to a statement made by Beverly in his "History of Virginia." § Speaking of a settlement made at Powhatan, six miles below the falls of James River, in 1609, he says it was "bought of Powhatan for a certain quantity of copper."

\* Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 400.

† P. 228. ‡ Hist. of N. Am. § P. 13.

But we are not yet through with the items under this class of testimony.

Haywood says, in his "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee,"\* that "Mr. Brown, a Scotchman, came into the Cherokee nation in the year 1761 and settled on the Hiawassee River or near it. He saw on the Hiawassee and Tennessee the remains of old forts, about which were axes, guns, hoes and other metallic utensils. The Indians at that time told him that the French had formerly been there and built these forts." I am fully aware that this author cannot be relied on with implicit confidence; still, so far as I have tested his original statements of facts, I have generally found them correct. During the past year, one of the assistants of the Bureau was sent to this particular region, which is too limited to admit of the question of locality being raised. An overflow and change in the channel of the river brought to light the remains of old habitations, and numerous relics of the people who formerly dwelt there. Moreover, this was in the precise locality where tradition located a Cherokee town. Digging was resorted to, in order to complete what the water had begun.

Now let me mention some of the things obtained here:

10 discoidal stones, precisely like those from the mounds of Caldwell County, North Carolina.

9 strings of glass beads.

A large number of shell-beads, exactly like those from the mounds.

A number of flint arrow-points.

1 soapstone pipe.

Some pieces of rolled sheet copper.

3 conical copper ear-pendants, like those from North Carolina mounds.

3 buttons of modern type.

1 small brass gouge.

Fragments of iron articles belonging to a bridle.

1 bronze sleigh-bell.

1 stone awl or drill.

Fragment of a soapstone pot.

1 soapstone gorget.

Several polished stone celts, of the same pattern as those found in the North Carolina mounds.

Grooved stone axes.

A piece of sheet lead.

This admixture of articles of civilized and savage life confirms the statement made by Haywood, at least so far as regards the early presence of white people in this section. It follows from what has been before pre-

\* P. 234.

sented, that the Indians must have been Cherokees, and the fact that the implements and ornaments of aboriginal manufacture found here are throughout precisely like those found in the mounds before mentioned, affords a very strong proof that they were built by Cherokees.

Another fact worthy of notice is that close by the side of this wash-out stands a mound, but permission to open it has not yet been obtained.

Returning to our mounds, we note the fact that a large number of stones, evidently used for cracking nuts, were found in and about them; some charred acorns or nuts of some kind were also found in them. We have only to refer to Adair, and other early writers, to see how well the indications agree with the customs of the Cherokees.

As it may be claimed that the Creeks, the near neighbors of the Cherokees on the south, might have built these mounds, let us now see if we can eliminate this possibility.

According to the Cherokee tradition, there was a settlement of Creeks on the lower Hiawasse, when they reached that region, whom they drove away. Hence the southern boundary of their possessions, at this early date, which must have been before the time of De Soto's expedition, was about the present northern boundary of Georgia. That their borders, at the time of De Soto's march, did not extend as far south as Bartow County, can be shown from one somewhat singular fact, which at the same time will furnish strong reasons for believing the Creeks could not have built the mounds we have been considering. It will be admitted, I presume, by every one, that the people over whom the famous Cacicua of Cutifachiqui reigned could not have been Cherokees. That the town of Guaxule was within the territory of her tribe is expressly stated by the chroniclers of the Adelantado's expedition. I think it may be safely assumed that her people were Creeks; at any rate, if our Tennessee and Carolina mounds were built by any other people than Cherokees, it would most likely be by this southern mound-building tribe, call them by what name we may.

Garcilasso, who is our authority in this, says: "La casa estava en un cerro alto, como de otras, remejantes hemas dicho. Tenio toda ella al derredor un paseadero que podian pasearse por el seis hombres juntos." \* "The house was on a high hill (mound) similar to others we have already mentioned. It had all round about it a roadway on which six men could walk abreast."

This language is peculiar, and, so far as I am aware, can apply to no other mound in Georgia than the large one near Cartersville. The words "similar to others we have mentioned," are evidently intended to signify

\* Hist. Florida. Edn. 1723. Lib. III., Cap. XX., p. 139, and ed. of 1605.

that it was artificial, and this is conceded by all who have noted the passage. The word "alto" (high), in the mouth of the explorers indicates something more elevated than the ordinary mounds. The roadway or passage-way ("paseadero") "round about it" is peculiar, and is the only mention of the kind by either of the three chroniclers. How is it to be explained?

As Garcilasso wrote from information, and not from personal observation, he often failed to catch from his informants a correct notion of the things described to him; this is frequently apparent in his work where there is no reason to attribute it to his vivid imagination. In this case it is clear he understood there was a terrace running entirely round the mound, or possibly a roadway around the top outside of a rampart or stockade.

But, as neither conclusion could have been correct, as no such terrace has been found in any part of this region, and a walk around the summit would have thwarted the very design they had in view in building the mound, what was it Garcilasso's informants saw? C. C. Jones says "a terrace," but it is scarcely possible that any terrace at the end or side of a southern mound, forming an apron-like extension (which is the only form found there) could have been so described as to convey the idea of a roadway, as the mode of estimating the width shows clearly was intended.

The broad way winding around and up the side of the Etowah mound appears to answer the description better than any other in Georgia. It is a large mound, high, and one that would doubtless attract the attention of the Spanish soldiers; its dimensions indicate that the tribe by which it was built was strong in numbers, and might easily send forth five hundred warriors to greet the Adelantado. The locality is also within the limits of De Soto's route as given by the best authorities; and lastly there is no other mound within the possible limits of his route which will in any respect answer the description. As Garcilasso must have learned of this mound from his informants, and has described it according to the impression conveyed to his mind, we are justified in accepting it as a statement of fact. I am, therefore, satisfied that the work alluded to is none other than the Etowah mound near Cartersville, Georgia, and that here we can point to the spot where the unfortunate Adelantado rested his weary limbs and where the ambassadors of the noted Cacicua of Cutifachiqui delivered their final message.

Recently the smallest of the three large mounds of this group has been opened by one of my assistants, and the result tends very strongly to confirm the conclusion drawn from the historical evidence, as the contents

indicate very clearly that they are the work of a different people from those who built the Carolina and East Tennessee mounds.

The burials were found to be in rectangular stone graves similar to those found in middle Tennessee and southern Illinois, there are no celts or soapstone pipes, the copper found was in plates with elaborate indented figures on them, one unique, but another similar to others found in middle Tennessee. A carved shell was found, but it also differed from those obtained in North Carolina. In fact, everything found goes to prove that the builders were a different people from those who erected the East Tennessee and North Carolina mounds.

Numerous other corroborating facts might be mentioned, but our limits will not admit of this. I therefore close by referring to the historical evidence quoted by Prof. Carr, showing that notwithstanding the repeated assertions to the contrary, there were traditions among this tribe that their forefathers had erected mounds. Even at the present day, in the vicinity of one of the mounds opened in eastern Tennessee there is a tradition that it was built by Cherokees after a battle with some Indians who had invaded their territory. Although but little reliance is to be placed on such traditions, yet in this case, the burials in the mound agree very well with the tradition, as they were undoubtedly, as shown by the arrangement, made at one time.

*Cyrus Thomas*

## SLAVERY IN THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK

Twenty-five years ago the discussion, or even the historical unfolding of such a subject as the one announced above would have been the signal for an animated discussion throughout the United States concerning the moral right of "the divine institution." Now that slavery *de facto* has ceased throughout the land, the student of history may address himself without prejudice, and with unbiased judgment, to the narrative of the institution as it existed in the Empire State down to the year 1827. From that day to this the obsolete remnants of legislation on this subject have remained upon the statute-books; but the recent (1883) repeal of the Revised Statutes "concerning the importation into this State of persons held in slavery, their exportation, their services, and prohibiting their sale," makes an inquiry into the past particularly valuable and pertinent at the present time. The most natural division of the subject is that which takes note of the historical sequence, and considers, in turn, the periods of Dutch, English, and American domination.

I. THE DUTCH PERIOD—There is no doubt in regard to the responsibility of the Dutch for introducing slavery into several of the colonies. It is a well-known fact that one of their ships landed African slaves at Jamestown in 1620. As early as 1628 frequent mention is made of blacks owned as slaves in the colony of New Netherlands. Among the "Freedoms and Exemptions" granted by the West India Company, in 1629, "to all Patrons, Masters, or private persons who will plant colonies in New Netherland," is the following clause: "The Company will use their endeavors to supply the Colonists with as many Blacks as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper." In 1639, Jacob Stoffelsen, at the request of Governor Kieft, declared that he had employed negro slaves in the construction of Fort Amsterdam during the rule of Wouter Van Twiller. An inventory of the property belonging to the West India Company, in the same year, showed that the value of a negro slave was 40 guilders, or about \$16 of our modern currency. It also appeared that parties who leased land of the Company leased servants, or slaves, of individuals for a term of years. The Company, itself, was not above this business, since we learn that, in 1644, Nicholas Toorn, of Rensselaerwyck, acknowledged the receipt of a young black girl—to be returned at the end of four years, "if yet alive," to the Director-General or his successor.



The Governor and his Council, in 1648, granted a "dispensation" which required "private persons" to give security if they wished to transport slaves. Two years later "a provisional plan" was submitted to the States-General by the Deputies of the West India Company, in which it was recommended "that the Inhabitants of New Netherland shall be at liberty to purchase Negroes wheresoever they may think necessary except on the coast of Guinea, and bring them to work on their Bouweries on payment of a duty of — per head." In 1652, the Directors at Amsterdam—which was the Chamber, or Department, that controlled the trade with Africa—gave their consent to this in a communication to Director Stuyvesant. They also gave permission to import as many negroes as were required for the cultivation of the soil under certain "Conditions & Regulations." Unfortunately, these papers have not been preserved; but documents among the Colonial manuscripts show that the negro-dealing merchants of New Amsterdam were not to go farther than Popo Soude, on the African coast; and that they were excluded from the Gold Coast, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, the Pepper Coast, and the Qua Qua Coast. Whatever negroes were imported were to be taxed 15 guilders per head, to be paid in beavers or tobacco. These terms were so discouraging to the traders that, in the same year, Fiscal Van Dyck wrote: "No request for Negroes has been presented from Patrons or Colonists here, to my knowledge." A few years later the Amsterdam Chamber granted permission to Jan de Sweerts and Dirck Pietersen Wittepaert to take slaves from Africa to the colony, and their cargo is supposed to have been the first direct importation within the present territory of New York. Such direct importation, however, soon brought down the wrath of the Director-General and the Council, because the slaves had been landed without any revenue therefrom to the Company. The Directors then secured a monopoly by confiscating a slave ship fitted out under the auspices of the Department of West Friesland; and also by bearing three-fourths of the expense of sending a vessel to the coast of Africa—the magistrates of Amsterdam to bear the remainder.

The price of slaves, under the Dutch *régime*, was a varying quantity. In 1651, black women, between 18 and 30 years of age, sold at Curaçoa for a sum that is represented by \$200 of our money. At the same time negro men, between 16 and 40, brought \$100 apiece at New Netherland, nearly one-half of which value was to be the penalty of selling the purchased black out of the colony. We read of a public sale by the Directors, in 1664, at which payment was required "in good beavers at 3 guilders each; or in commodities at beavers' value, or in provisions." When the sale

took place, one negro was sold to the Rev. Johannes Polhemus, the Colonial Minister, for \$176, and the sum total of the sales was about \$5,000 in the mixed pay above noted. A later consignment of 300 negroes from Curaçoa brought fear to the Directors, lest "the largest part of them shall remain at our charge." In those days of barter, it was no uncommon thing for the traders of old and New Amsterdam to throw in a slave or two by way of making change when they balanced their accounts to date. In this manner many slaves strayed away from New Amsterdam in spite of the heavy penalties that were imposed in order to keep them there.

For the most part the slaves of the Dutch colony were employed as domestic servants, and theirs was not the hard condition of the slaves who worked out-of-doors in the more southern colonies. The records show that masters frequently applied to the court for permission to chastise their bondmen. The Governor and Council, in 1642, decreed that the extreme penalty "for inflicting wounds with knives" should be "to work three months with the negroes in chains." An offender received this sentence for a longer period "for killing a goat and wounding two of the Company's negroes." The treatment of the negroes was, on the whole, humane. If they were sick or insane it was allowable to transport them to the colony whence they came, so that they might be among their kindred; but it was stipulated that for each one so returned, another should be imported at once. The Directors also thought the slaves capable of caring for themselves when they made a number of grants of land to negroes, who, as a matter of public safety, had pulled down their houses "in the vicinity of the General's Bouwery;" and when Lieut.-Governor Beeckman made a piteous appeal to the Directors for slaves which he might use at his South River settlement, no one could expect other than kind treatment at his hands. In a word, the stories of cruelties by the Dutch are few and far between.

As early as 1644 an ordinance was passed which emancipated certain slaves who had served the Company eighteen or nineteen years, and who were burdened with many children. As a condition subsequent, each slave so released was required to pay to the Company annually during his life "thirty skessels of Maize, or Wheat, Pease or Beans & one fat Hog valued at 20 Guilders," failure to pay which caused the return of the laggard to slavery. The children of these persons were still held as slaves. The Governor and Council, in 1663, agreed to the request of a large number of slaves, "that they shall enjoy the half of their liberty; so that said negroes, when they shall have worked for the Co. during one week may then labour one week for themselves," and one month alternately in the same manner.

II. THE ENGLISH PERIOD—The era of the English domination in New York begins with 1664 (although the Dutch regained the New Netherland temporarily in 1673), and, for our purpose, ends with 1777. The “Duke’s Laws,” which were given in 1674 to the colony newly acquired by the English, thus defined the status of the slaves :

“*Bond slavery*, villinage or captivity, except such as shall be judged thereunto by Authority, or such as willingly have sold, or shall sell, themselves, in which case a record of such servitude shall be entered in the Court of Sessions held for that Jurisdiction where each Master shall Inhabit. Provided that nothing in this Law contained shall be to the Prejudice of Master or Dame who have or shall by such Indenture or Contract taken apprentices for terms of years, or life; and also Provided that this law shall not extend to set at Liberty any Negro or Indian Servant who shall have turned Christians after they have been bought by any person.”

According to the Minutes of 1679, it was resolved that all Indians within the colony were free—nor could they be forced to be servants or slaves—and if they were brought hither as slaves, a residence of six months should entitle them to freedom.

The first real enactment of the English General Assembly relating to slaves was that of 1683. This provided that “No Servant or Slave, either Male or Female shall either give, sell or trust any Commodity whatsoever during the time of their Service under the penalty of such Corporal Punishment as shall be ordered to be inflicted by warrant under the Hands of two Justices of the Peace of the County where the said Servant or Slave doth reside. And if any Person whatsoever shall buy of, receive from or trust with any Servant or Slave contrary to this Law they shall be compelled by Warrant, as aforesaid, to restore the said commodity so bought, received or trusted for to the Master of such Servant or Slave and forfeit for every such offence the sum of £5. And if any Person whatsoever shall credit or trust any Servant or Slave for Clothes, Drink or any other Commodity whatsoever the said Person shall lose his Debt & be forever debarred from maintaining any writ at Law against the said Servant or Slave for any matter or thing so trusted as aforesaid. If any Servant or Slave shall run away from their Master or Dame, every Justice of Peace in this Province is hereby authorized & impowered to grant Hue & Cry after the said Servant or Slave, the Master or Dame having first given in Security for the payment of the Charges that shall thereby attend. And all Constables & inferior Officers are hereby strictly required & commanded authorized & empowered to press Men, Horses, Boats or Pinnaces to pursue such persons by Sea or Land, and to make diligent Hue and Cry as by the Law required.”

A colonial act "for regulating slaves" was passed in 1702 which forbade all trading with those who were in bondage. Owners might punish, at discretion "not extending to life or member;" no more than three slaves were allowed to meet together under penalty of a whipping; and, to enforce the law, a "common whipper" was appointed who was paid by a tax levied upon all the slave owners. The slave who struck a man or woman "professing Christianity" must be imprisoned fourteen days and suffer corporal punishment; and whereas slaves were the property of Christians "it was provided that the owners should be responsible for any damage done by them." Nor was their testimony good save in cases of plotting among themselves. Another act forbade all slaves to be farther away from Albany than Saratoga. Any slave thus absenting himself, except with master or mistress "shall suffer the pains of death." The value of any slave executed for crime was assessed upon the whole number of slave owners—all slaves above the age of 15 being rated at £30 for that purpose. "An act to encourage the baptizing of Negroes, Indians and Mulatto Slaves" was passed in 1706—having been called for by a wide-spread opinion that much baptism conveyed freedom. The act states that such is not the case; that the children of any kind of slave woman shall follow the state and condition of the mother and be adjudged slaves; and that no slave shall be a witness against a freeman in any matter whatsoever. This latter provision was more strongly enacted in the law of 1730. The act of 1708 "for suppressing of immorality" relates the punishments (of the stocks, etc.), that shall fall to "all Christians whatsoever who shall be convicted of drunkenness, cursing or swearing," and then proceeds: "Every negro, Indian or other slaves that shall be found guilty of any of the abovesaid Facts, or talk imprudently to any Christian, shall suffer so many stripes," etc.

The most elaborate law of colonial times was that of 1730, which repealed and provided: that no person shall traffic with a slave, without the consent of the master—the penalty being £5 for each offence; that no one shall sell a slave rum or other strong liquor or take anything in pawn from him under penalty of 40 shillings for such offence; that the master may punish the slave but "not extending to life and limb;" that no more than three slaves shall meet at any one place; that each town or manor may have a whipper of slaves to be paid not exceeding three shillings per head for all slaves whipped; that any slave "presuming to strike any Christian or Jew" shall be committed to prison and shall suffer corporal punishment; that any one harboring a slave shall forfeit to the master £5 for every 24 hours—the fine not to exceed the value of the slave—and shall forfeit the entire value if the slave dies on his hands; that any attempt to compound

such harboring shall cost the master a fine of double the value of the slave ; that any person knowing of such harboring shall be fined 40 shillings if no information is given to the master ; that any free negro so harboring shall be fined £40 ; that every master, or the executor of a will, who frees a slave must give £200 security to the proper authorities, that such slave shall not become a public charge ; that masters or mistresses shall be liable for thefts by a slave to the value of £5 ; that the slave convicted of murder, arson or other terrible crimes shall be tried and executed summarily ; that the owners of slaves so executed shall be paid for the same ; that, if in the city of New York, the amount so paid shall not exceed £25 per slave ; and that no slave shall carry firearms.

As an undercurrent in this stream of legislation we find numerous petitions in the way of protests. Harmanse Fisher of Albany, in 1710, states that his negro "York" had been found guilty of burglary and sentenced to be whipped round the said city, receiving nine lashes on his bare back at each corner. This sentence, Fisher affirms, has never been executed ; and the sheriff is dunning him for £13 7 shillings on account of York. In the same year Joris Elswort of New York, petitions the Governor and Council relative to a suit brought against him by his negro slave and praying for the rendition of the said negro. Abraham Santford, a mariner, complains that his slave "Torey" has run away to England ; and he asks redress because "in the room of the said negro he is forced to hire another able-bodied man." Isaac Gouverneur and others whose slaves had been executed for conspiracy petition, in 1712, for compensation at the rate of £25 each, according to an existing law. Sundry free-born subjects of Spain who had been captured by privateers and held as slaves in New York, petition that they may be given their freedom. The Governor and Council are implored by slave owners in Ulster County to prevent the running away of slaves, who conceal themselves in the Minisinks, "where they intermarry with Indian women." It is also a subject of complaint, that the Indians of Pekkemeek secrete Indian slaves. Our sympathy goes out to Richard Elliott of New York, who, in 1693, petitions for the pardon of his two negro slaves, who have been convicted as abettors of a felony. Elliott sets forth his reasons as follows :—"Being now grown old and impotent and not able in the least to help himself, and hath a great family of children to maintain and hath no other help or dependence for getting of a livelihood but by the labour of two negro slaves, which by much pain he hath brought up to work at his own trade, that of a cooper."

On the 11th of April, 1741, the Common Council of New York offered rewards for the discovery and conviction of any parties concerned in setting

the recent fires in that city. Among the English manuscripts of the colonial period may be found nearly one hundred statements from various slaves relative to this insurrection of 1741, which time and space both forbid us to notice at length. There also appear several indictments against negroes for conspiring "to set on fire, burn and consume the House of our Lord the King, and also to kill and murder the inhabitants of the city of New York's aforesaid liege people and subjects of our Lord the King." These rewards and indictments led to a large number of confessions and arrests. Thirteen of the conspirators were burned alive, in some cases making confessions that are found among these manuscripts; eighteen were hung: and thirty were transported to the West Indies, with the following proclamation: "To be sold a parcel of likely young negroes, imported from Africa cheap for cash. Inquire of John Avery, also if any person have any negro men, strong and hearty, though not of the best moral character, which are proper subjects of transportation, they may have an exchange for small negroes."

The history of this almost baseless conspiracy and the vindictiveness displayed in suppressing it form the one dark chapter in the record of slavery as it existed in the English Colony of New York. It is absurd to believe that a white innkeeper should have conspired with a few negroes with any hope of arousing the two thousand negroes to kill the eight thousand whites in New York City—the sole hope of the white conspirator being the offer of a subordinate position under a negro king or dictator. Verily the tongue of Mary Burton was the forerunner of great evils.

Aside from the insurrection of 1741, both the city and Province of New York, under English rule, were remarkably free from the uprisings that troubled Virginia, and some of the other colonies, nor were the horrors of St. Domingo ever enacted on the soil of the Province, even on a smaller and less fiendish scale. Once more, in 1755, there was apprehension, which was soon terminated by a proclamation of Lieut.-Governor De Lancy, to the effect that the "law for the punishment for conspiracy" must be rigidly enforced. Instead of fearing their slaves, the English appear to have followed in the ways of the Dutch. Among the colonial records we find many orders of the Governor in Council declaring that when a black man declares himself to be free, the burden of proving him a slave shall lie with the master. In 1761 a law was passed which laid a fine of £10 on every master who allowed his slave to beg; and also punished, by double that amount, any collusion in the fraudulent sale of an aged or decrepit slave. Mrs. Grant, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady" published in 1764, bears witness to the happy condition of slaves in Albany.

As colonists the English did not to any great extent follow in the lead of Sir John Hawkins, the great negro importer of the sixteenth century. Still we find many allusions to the traffic in the manuscript records of the Province of New York. Complaint was made by the Royal African Company, in 1687, that their charter had been infringed upon by the importing of negroes and elephants' teeth from Africa. It was announced, in 1720, that Captain Van Burgh had arrived from Barbadoes with four negroes; but that "Simon the Jew don't expect his ship from Guinea before late in the fall." "Negroes are scarce," says another informant, "but Captain Hopkins will sell one for £50, cash." Between 1701 and 1725 an annual average of less than one hundred negroes was imported. The total number was two thousand three hundred and ninety-five, of which one thousand five hundred and seventy-three were from the West Indies and eight hundred and twenty-two from the coast of Africa. In 1712 the list for Kings County showed one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine "Christians" and two hundred and ninety-eight slaves; Orange County, four hundred and thirty-nine whites and forty-one slaves; Albany, two thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine whites and four hundred and fifty slaves; New York, four thousand eight hundred and forty-six whites and nine hundred and seventy slaves. In 1723 there were six thousand one hundred and seventy-one slaves in the Province, in a total population of forty thousand five hundred and sixty-four; in 1746, slaves nine thousand seven hundred and seventeen, total sixty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine; in 1774, slaves twenty-one thousand one hundred and forty-nine, total one hundred and eighty-two thousand two hundred and forty-seven. Virginia, at this time, had about two hundred and fifty thousand slaves, or forty per cent. of the whole number in the colonies.

THE AMERICAN PERIOD—Thomas Jefferson complained that the several colonies had never been allowed by England to put in operation any laws that were passed either to hinder or to prevent the introduction of slaves; and his original draft of the Constitution of the United States gave a terrible scoring to George III. for prolonging the existence of the slave trade. At this time New York was one of the eleven States which reluctantly yielded to the desire of Georgia and South Carolina for continuing the slave trade until 1808. When the constitution of the State of New York was forming—1777—John Jay urged the early abolition of slavery, declaring:—"Till America comes to this measure her prayers to Heaven will be impious." In 1786, Jay, Hamilton, Livingston, Duane and others memorialized the legislature for "those who although free by the laws of

God are held in slavery by the laws of this State," and adding, "We view with pain and regret the additional miseries which these unhappy people experience from the practice of exporting them like cattle to the West Indies and the Southern States."

The early laws of the State of New York relative to slaves referred to their service in the American army. Special privileges were given to the slaves of Tories. The act of 1788, revising the existing laws, provided that every negro slave should retain his condition until manumitted; that the children of a slave woman should follow the condition of the mother; that no one should sell within this State any person imported into this State after June 1st, 1785, under penalty of £100 for each offence; that no one should buy a slave for the purpose of selling him in some other State, under the same penalty; that the harbinger of a slave should be fined £5 for each twenty-four hours, and be liable for damages in case of his death; that the seller of rum to slaves should be fined 40 shillings for each offence; that the owner of a slave should be liable for all thefts, etc., committed by him to the value of £5 or under; that the slave who struck a white person should be committed and tried as for petit larceny; that slaves should be tried by jury in capital cases; that no slave should be a competent witness except as for or against another slave; that the owner of a slave should not allow him to beg, under a penalty of £10 for each offence; that no conspiracy should be entered into for the sale of a decrepit slave to a buyer who was unable to keep him, under penalty of £20, and the voidance of the sale; that the owner of a slave who desired to manumit him must first procure a certificate from the overseers of the poor or from the city authorities, stating that the slave is under fifty years of age and able to take care of himself; that a slave of this description might be manumitted by will; that the owners of any other kind of slave might manumit him by giving sureties in not less than £200 that said slave shall not become a public charge; and that the heirs and administrators should be liable for the support of a non-supporting slave who is freed by a will.

A law as stringent as the *Curfew* prevailed in 1793, binding all owners of slaves to have them housed at an early hour. A slave having attempted to poison the family of her master, and being unsalable, he petitioned to the legislature and a law was passed allowing the transportation of a slave convicted of a crime less than capital. In 1798 the manumissions of the Quakers were declared valid, but subject to the restrictions of the existing laws. At that time the corporations of Albany and New York frequently granted warranty deeds of slaves. Bills of sale were also given to these corporations. Advertisements for the sale of negroes seldom gave the



name of the owner; but reference was made "to the printer," who would furnish all particulars. The following is a specimen from the *Albany Gazette* :—

TO BE SOLD, A NEGRO BOY—For the term of fourteen years, at which period he is to go free. He is ten years old; very active, lively and honest. His master is forced to dispose of him only because the little fellow cannot please every person in the house. Price, £60.

The "act for the gradual abolition of slavery"—1799—provided, that any child born of a slave within this State after the next 4th of July should be born free; but such child should be the servant of the owner of the mother until he was twenty-eight years old, or, if a female, until she was twenty-five years old; that such proprietor should be entitled to the same service as if the child had been bound to him by the overseers of the poor. Provision was also made for recording the birth of all such servants and for supporting those who could not care for themselves.

In 1794, the Abolition societies of the various States sent delegates to a general convention in Philadelphia. The New York society sent Peter Jay Monroe, Moses Rogers, Thomas Franklin, and William Dunlap. John Jay was President of this society, until he was made Chief-Justice of the State; whereupon Alexander Hamilton became his successor. The society was incorporated in 1808 "for promoting the manumission of slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated."

The Legislature was petitioned in 1801, to take ground against the slave trade, and to throw safeguards around the law of 1799. A law was at once passed providing that no slave should be imported into this State, unless the owner came hither to reside permanently—any slave brought under other conditions to be free; that owners of slaves residing in other States might bring their slaves here but they must not leave them; and that owners of slaves residing in this State might take them to other States if they would bring them back. In 1804, the above law was amended so that any male servant born of a slave after July 4, 1799, might be abandoned at the age of twenty-one, and any female at the age of eighteen. In 1807, the Act of 1801 was still further amended so that the owner of a slave, who had resided in this State ten years, and had owned said slave during that period, might take with him said slave if he were about to remove permanently to some other State.

The law of 1809 provided that all persons who had been slaves within this State, and who had been or should be manumitted, were as capable of taking by devise as if they had been born free. They were also allowed to sue in the courts, and their marriages were to be considered as valid as free

marriages. In 1810, it was enacted that the slave of every person moving into this State and residing here for nine months should be free at the expiration of that period; and that no indenture for the services of a slave entered into outside this State should be obligatory within this State—any person so held to be free. Certain privileges were also granted to emigrants who brought their slaves from Virginia and Maryland to the western part of the State. It was also enjoined upon all masters to teach their slaves to read the Scriptures before reaching the age of twenty-one—the penalty for neglect being the freedom of the slave.

Governor Tompkins, in 1812, called attention to the injustice of the law authorizing the transportation of slaves. De Witt Clinton, also, while a Senator, introduced several bills to prevent the kidnapping, inhuman treatment or further importation of slaves. Laws were enacted in 1813 relative to vagabond slaves, and to the forfeiture of licenses by innkeepers who sold them liquor. Severe penalties were named for those who kidnapped free blacks. Still more severe penalties were named in 1817 in a new law which condensed all previous laws into one. A more important amendment—no less than a decree of the final abolition of slavery in the State of New York—was added in § 32: “And be it further enacted that every negro, mulatto or mustee within this State, born before the 4th day of July, 1799, shall, from and after the 4th day of July, 1827, be free.” This law was passed by twenty affirmative votes, out of a total of thirty-two in the Senate; and by seventy-five affirmative votes, out of a total of one hundred and twenty-eight in the Assembly. It was signed by Governor Tompkins.

In 1819, it was made a misdemeanor to send away from the State—save as the law provided—any slave or servant except such slave as might have been pardoned by the executive for some offence; and owners of slaves who resided for a time in other States were forbidden to sell to parties not resident within this State. This was the last enactment in regard to slavery. The institution ceased to exist in 1827, but the revised statutes contained the remnants of all the laws until they were wiped out by Chapter thirty-six of the laws of 1883.

While New York was thus taking steps to abolish slavery in her midst, meetings were held, in 1819, to protest against any farther extension of the slave territory in the United States. Both branches of the Legislature instructed the Senators and Congressmen to oppose the admission of any new State without a prohibition of slavery. Martin Van Buren voted for such instruction, but afterward, in his inaugural address as President, declared he would veto any measure to abolish slavery in the District of

Columbia. The leading Abolitionists of the State, under William Leggett, Beriah Green, and Gerrit Smith, redoubled their exertions in spite of mobs in Utica, Albany, and other places. Finally, in 1840, when Governor Seward refused to deliver to the Governor of Virginia three persons charged with the stealing of a slave in that State, there was no longer any doubt in regard to the attitude of New York on the question of slavery.

*En passant* we must devote a moment to the *status* of the free negroes in the State of New York. A law was passed in 1814 providing for the enlistment of slaves by the consent of their masters—manumission to accompany an honorable discharge. In the Constitutional Convention of 1821 the proper committee reported in favor of granting the franchise to every white male citizen 21 years old who had resided six months in the State and who had either paid taxes within a year or been enrolled and served in the militia. Peter Augustus Jay moved to strike out the word “white,” on the ground that such a restriction would give less liberty to the free negro than he already had in the States of Virginia and North Carolina. Jay’s amendment prevailed, Martin Van Buren and Abraham Van Vechten being among the affirmative voters, and Colonel Samuel Young, Elihu Root and J. C. Spencer among the negatives. A provision, however, was incorporated which required all colored voters to have a freehold of \$250, Van Buren, Young, and Root being in favor, and Chancellor Kent, the Patroon Van Rensselaer, Jay, Van Vechten and Platt being opposed.

At the breaking out of the Revolution (1775), each one of the original thirteen States allowed, if it did not welcome, the existence of slavery within its borders. The date and manner in which they respectively rid themselves of the institution may very aptly form the closing paragraphs of this article.

Massachusetts, of course, takes the lead, as might be inferred from her sending back a cargo of Africans that had been landed on her shores in 1646. The constitution of the new State was adopted in 1780, the first article in the Declaration of Rights affirming all men to be free and equal. Under this article the courts decided, in 1783, that slavery could not exist. An act to prevent the slave trade was passed in 1788. No compensation was paid to the alleged owners of slaves.

New Hampshire never had more than a sprinkling of slaves. By the census of 1767, there were 633 “negroes and slaves for life.” In 1775 there were 479, and in 1790 there only 158. An elaborate petition in the nature of an agreement for their liberty was sent to the Legislature by twenty slaves in 1779. The House, however, after a long delay, ordered that the matter “be postponed to a more convenient opportunity.” The

constitution of 1792 was understood as abolishing slavery without compensation to the owners of the slaves.

Rhode Island passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery in 1784, providing for the freedom of all children born of slave mothers after March 1st in that year. Subsequent legislation did not materially alter this provision, except as to the liability of towns for the support of the freed people. The exact date at which slavery actually ceased to exist does not appear. Many old persons continued in a state of nominal servitude because of their dependence upon their masters; but it is certain that nothing was ever paid by the State for their freedom.

In 1780, Pennsylvania passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery, which provided that after the passage of the act all children of slaves remained as persons bound to service until they arrived at the age of twenty-eight years. No compensation to owners was allowed.

New York finally abolished slavery, without compensation to owners, in 1827, as we have seen above.

New Jersey's act for the gradual abolition of slavery was passed in 1820, but the act for final abolition was not passed till 1846. No compensation was allowed.

Connecticut passed an act in 1784 liberating all slave children born after that year when they reached the age of 25. A similar act, in 1797, liberated all that were born thereafter, at the age of 21. The census of 1840 gave a total of fifty-four slaves in the State. Slavery was finally abolished in 1848 without compensation to the owners.

The manner in which slavery ceased in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas, as well as in the other States of more recent birth than the original Thirteen, is foreign to the scope of this paper. Although New York did not foresee the inevitable, and act upon that vision as early as four of her sister States, yet she must have the credit of voluntarily doing away with slavery seven years before the agitations of Wilberforce led the British Parliament to pay twenty millions sterling as the price of emancipating 800,000 slaves in the West Indies; nineteen years before the institution ceased in New Jersey; twenty-one years before it had an end in Connecticut, and thirty-six years before the American Republic was free within all its borders.

*Frederic G. Mather.*

## WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND

### HIS INFLUENCE ON AMERICA

The stern, tranquil, melancholy face of England's Dutch king, as shown in the frontispiece of the Magazine for this month, reminds us that nearly two centuries have elapsed since this royal personage stood before the world in the attitude of a revolutionary leader; and that the remarkable influence he exerted upon the forming institutions of America deserves grateful recognition from the millions of liberty-loving people who inhabit our vast national domain. He was a Prince of Holland birth, cradled and bred in a country where principles of personal freedom had long since become potent forces, possessed the ambition of a genuine ecclesiastical reformer and also the qualities of a great ruler. The English nation, over which he was called so mysteriously to reign, was at that period in a peculiar struggle for the proper adjustment of the rival claims of Church and State. The revival of letters and the Protestant Reformation had recently given an impulse to activities of every character. Intellectual restlessness pervaded the atmosphere of society. An irresistible tendency toward a democratic condition of affairs—where the people were to be lifted into higher political privileges—created extraordinary antagonism, nowhere more pronounced and apparently unmanageable than in England. The intelligence of the realm was divided on the questions at issue, one of which was the vindication of its right to administer its own government without dictation from any foreign ecclesiastical power. And the hostile parties on either side were unable rightly to interpret the meaning and the direction of the great movements which were to reflect themselves so forcibly and permanently upon the progress of mankind.

William, Prince of Orange, had been a close student of politics and of military science. He believed himself able to lead enthusiastic Protestants on a crusade against Popery with the good will and good wishes of every Papist government, and even of the Pope himself. He was less than forty years of age, physically feeble, with a hoarse asthmatic cough, the victim of severe nervous headaches, could only breathe in the purest air, and never slept unless his head was propped with numerous pillows. He was the son of William II. Prince of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of Charles I. of England. But it was chiefly because his wife was the daughter of James II. that he was called to the rescue of Protestantism and constitutional

liberty in the British kingdom. When he married his cousin Mary he was a cold, sullen, apparently unhappy, and a very unattractive young man of twenty-seven, while the bride was but fifteen years of age. It was nine years afterward that William fell romantically in love with Mary—but it was not until she had signified her disposition to endow him with all governing power should she in the natural course of events become Queen of England. Thus his invincible will was soothed and fortified for the critical future, and the sympathy and confidence of Mary was through his suddenly awakened and sincere affection permanently secured, which proved of vital consequence to the success of his wonderful schemes.

The coronation of William and Mary, and the inauguration of Washington as first President of the new Republic of the Western Continent, occurred just one century apart—two great events in the history of the world which may almost be defined as the two sides of one event. From 1689 to 1789 the march of human affairs was no less rapid and marvelous than in our own century following; and the tendency, with all its manifold interruptions, was in one general direction. How the revolution in which William III. was the central figure bore upon the revolution in which Washington was the hero, will ever prove a source of useful and fruitful study. The imposing ceremony at Whitehall in February, 1689, found a fitting centennial celebration in the imposing ceremony in Wall Street in April, 1789. The scene when the Lords and Commons assembled in the magnificent Banqueting House to consign the destinies of England to a Dutch prince was one of great brilliancy. Entering by the northern door, William and Mary, side by side, advanced and took their places under the canopy of state. Both houses approached, bowing low. Halifax spoke for the Convention, which, he said, had agreed to a resolution, and he prayed their Highnesses to hear it. William and Mary signified assent. The Clerk of the House of Lords then read in a loud voice the Declaration of Right. When this was concluded Halifax, in the name of all the estates of the realm, requested the Prince and Princess to accept the crown. William responded in his own name and in that of his wife, saying: "We thankfully accept what you have offered us." For himself personally he assured the Lords that his study should henceforward be to promote the welfare of the kingdom, and that he should constantly recur to the advice of the Houses and be disposed to trust their judgment rather than his own.

His words gave great satisfaction. The Lords and Commons at the conclusion of the ceremonies reverently retired from the Banqueting House and proceeded in procession to the great gate of Whitehall. All

the space as far as Charing Cross was one sea of heads. The Garter-King-at-Arms, in a loud voice, proclaimed the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, charged all Englishmen to pay faith and true allegiance to the new sovereigns, and besought God, who had already wrought so signal a deliverance for the Church and nation, to bless William and Mary with a long and happy reign.

The American colonies were jarred as by the shock of an earthquake. The notion of equality took sudden form, and its seed fell in fertile places. Liberty became a charmed word, however imperfectly understood. In Boston it speedily meant insurrection. The people assembled, arrested and imprisoned the royal governor and his advisers, and officered a "Council of Safety" to rule the colony. Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut reconstructed themselves on a similar basis. New York fell into a significant tangle of confusion which nearly rent the colony in twain. Two years later William ordered a government for New York, which continued substantially in operation for nearly a century, and under which the new political creed of the sovereignty of the people broadened with each rolling decade, until it finally developed into a power that proved one of the chief pillars of the structure erected on our soil—an independent empire. William's brilliant career as king covered a period of thirteen years, and in the meantime the Bank of England was created; the modern system of finance introduced; the coinage purified; the liberty of the press established; a standing army constitutionally formed; the independence of the judiciary secured; and the English Constitution adapted by a natural, gradual, peaceful development, to the wants of modern society. Freedom of conscience, and freedom of discussion existed at the time of William's death to an extent unknown in any preceding age. America, even more than England, profited through the triumphs of his sagacious statesmanship. It was the leaven of the loaf. Ere the century closed action had been given to the political machinery of a new form of government capable of developing the resources and insuring the prosperity, power and permanence of a great people. With the sublime ceremonial of 1789 (the anniversary of which we are even now preparing to celebrate), when Washington, standing on the balcony of the old Federal Hall in Wall Street, in the center of a group of American statesmen, took the impressive oath of office and entered upon his presidential career, the life current of liberty leaped into a perpetual flow.

## THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND

“The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England in America,” was incorporated on the third day of November, A.D. 1620. There were forty members of the Corporation, some of them being of high rank. The territory placed under their control extended from ocean to ocean, between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of north latitude.\* Between the date of the charter of the Corporation, and the date of its surrender, on the seventh day of June, A.D. 1635, many grants of land were made, bearing the broad seal of the Council, yet but one of all these seals is known to be in existence, and that is in such an imperfect state that it has hitherto been thought that the device upon it was undecipherable. The seal referred to is in the Recorder’s office at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and was formerly attached to the patent procured by Isaac Allerton, who was sent four times to England by the Pilgrims to obtain a patent from the Council for New England, enlarging their original grant, and establishing the boundaries of the “Old Colony.” † This patent, which bears date January 13, 1629, was in the possession of the family of Governor Bradford till 1741, when, Josiah Cotton says, “after a deal of labor and cost,” it was found at Plympton, and used in the litigation respecting the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Since 1820 it has been in the office of the Registry of Deeds at Plymouth. By order of the General Court, the seal, of brown wax (being broken and defaced), was repaired by a watchmaker ‡, who probably warmed it, thereby rendering the figures which were in bas relief so indistinct § that antiquarians interested in the matter have given up all attempts to decipher it. The fate of the original seal of the Council is unknown. It is not to be found in the British Museum or in any other public institution of England. We know that in 1632 it was in the possession of the Earl of Warwick, one of the most prominent members of the Council, who, it would seem, had a misunderstanding with his associates, and retained the seal against their wishes. The following record explains the situation:—“Att y<sup>e</sup> Lord Great Chamberlains House in Chan-

\* Hazard’s Hist. Coll. 1, 103-118.

† Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, p. 60 et seq.

‡ The following statement accompanies the seal :

“Salem, Octr., 1818.

This Seal was repaired by Theodore Morgan, Watchmaker.”

§ Mass. Hist. So. Proceedings, 1866-7, p. 469.





THE SEAL OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND WHICH WAS ATTACHED TO THE PATENT OF JAN. 13TH, 1629,  
NOW AT PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS.

nell Rowe, the 26 of Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1632," it was resolved, that, "In regard y<sup>e</sup> Companyes great seale remained in the Earle of Warwicks hands, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Great Chamberlain was intreated to move y<sup>e</sup> sd Earle of Warwicke effectually for y<sup>e</sup> delivery of it unto S<sup>r</sup> Ferdinando Gorges, T<sup>r</sup>er, into whose hands itt ought to remaine; also S<sup>r</sup> Ferdinando Gorges promised to desire y<sup>e</sup> sd Marshall to joyne w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L. Great Chamberlaine in shewing y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Warwicke, y<sup>e</sup> necessity of haveing y<sup>e</sup> seale delivered forthwith unto y<sup>e</sup> T<sup>r</sup>er, in regard of pattents w<sup>ch</sup> at every meeting were desired." This was the last of several attempts which the Council made \* to obtain the seal, and it was finally successful in obtaining it, for "At a meeting in the Earl of Carlile's Chamb<sup>r</sup> at Whitehall, the 26th day of April, 1635," the order was passed for "The Earl of Arundell, with Sec<sup>ry</sup> Windebanke, to deliver the Great Seale to S<sup>r</sup> Ferd: Gorges." †

\* Records of the Council, pp. 62, 63, 65.

† Records of the Council, p. 74.

Of course great curiosity has existed to learn the design on this important seal, and much has been written about it. The late Dr. Palfrey prefaced the title-page of his *History of New England* with the following "Advertisement." "The title-page to this edition \* is embellished with an engraved copy of what was probably the seal of the Council for New England. When I was in England I took great pains to find an impression of that seal, but without success; which surprised me, the patents issued by the Council having been so numerous. An impression of the seal in wax is attached to the patent of Plymouth Colony, issued in 1629; but it has been so broken and defaced that the device is undistinguishable. Mr. Charles Deane believes that he has discovered this in an embellishment of the title-page of two of the publications of Captain John Smith. I might do injustice to Mr. Deane's ingenious argument (which, I understand, will soon be published in a volume of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*), should I attempt to exhibit it. It will be found to have great force.

J. G. P.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1865, July 21."

This advertisement was inspired by the following letter from Charles Deane, LL.D., the eminent historiographer, whose contributions to New England history are invaluable: †

"Cambridge, 10<sup>th</sup> June, 1865.

Dear Dr. Palfrey,—You have made inquiry, during the last few years, concerning the seal of the 'Council for New England,' which was incorporated 3d November, 1620,—whether any impression of it in wax, or any representation of it in any form, is extant among us, my search for such an impression of it has hitherto been fruitless; but I venture the opinion that I have now discovered or identified it.

My attention, a few weeks since, was called anew to the arms impressed on the reverse of the title-page of Captain Smith's 'Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of *New England*, or anywhere,' . . . London . . . 1631; the same arms being also displayed in the body of Smith's *Map of New England*, in the two latest editions of it. Copies of the former of these two editions of the map had probably been first issued in the 'Advertisements,' in 1631. I knew that these arms were not the arms of Smith, or of any one to whom he had dedicated his book; and I was curious to ascertain for what reason they were here placed in such intimate connection with the memorials of New England. I then examined with fresh interest, what I had seen a hundred times before,—the beautifully engraved title-page of Smith's 'Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Iles, . . . London, . . . 1624,' and I there observed these same arms represented, along with those of Virginia, which bear the motto, 'En dat Virginia quintum,' and also with the arms of Bermuda (or, 'Summer Iles') Company, bearing the motto, 'Quo fataerunt.' The inference is, therefore, irresistibly forced upon me, that the arms referred to are those of the

\* See Advertisement preceding the Preface, *Hist. N. E.*, large paper Ed., 1865, or *Mass. Hist. So. Proceedings*, 1866-7, p. 469.

† *Mass. Hist. So. Proceedings*, 1866-7, p. 469.

seal of the Council for New England. I will add, that, after the fashion of the time, there is delineated, on the engraved title-page of the 'Generall Historie,' an abridged map of Virginia and New England. Near the part representing Virginia are the arms of Virginia; and near the coast of New England are placed the arms, which I now venture to call the arms of the Council for New England, an impression of which I now send you in one of Smith's books.

I supposed this seal was affixed to the principal grants of the Council; but the original parchments of most of these grants are not known to be in existence; and those which I have examined are deficient in the wax impressions of the seal. The Patent of New Plymouth, of 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1629-30, has the seal; but it is so broken and defaced that I understand the impression cannot be made out.

With great regard, I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

Charles Deane.

Hon. J. G. Palfrey."

In a communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society in March, 1867, Dr. Deane, calling attention to the seal on Smith's Map, said, that "Since addressing the above letter to Dr. Palfrey, I have inspected the impression of the seal of the Patent at Plymouth. It had been broken in pieces; and, some years since, an attempt was made to restore the fragments to their original position, but with little success. I will add, that the present appearance of the wax exhibits but little resemblance to the device above referred to, or indeed to any other heraldic figure.

"I made inquiry at the Heralds' College, in London, last year, and at other places in that city where I thought there was a probability of obtaining information on the subject of this seal, but without success.

"Mr. John Bruce, a distinguished antiquary, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries, kindly interested himself in my subject, and suggested some sources of inquiry. In a note to me he says: 'In Edmondson's Heraldry, London, 1780, folio, vol. 1, which you have probably consulted, amongst the arms of societies and bodies corporate established in London, occur the arms of the Virginia Company and the Bermudas Company, but, strangely enough, not those of the New England Company. The two former agree, I believe, with the representations on Smith's title-page. In that case, your inference as to the last being the subject of the third coat given by him, seems almost conclusive.'"

Since the time that Dr. Deane made this communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the seal found on Smith's Map has been adopted by writers\* as the veritable seal of the Council for New England. A few months since, in preparing the Trelawny Papers for publication, my

\* Memorial Hist. of Boston, vol. 1, p. 92. Publisher's Preface to Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of N. E. Boston, 1865, et passim.

attention was drawn to several fragments of the seal appended to the patent granted by the Council December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1631, to Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, and a careful comparison of these fragments with the arms on Smith's Map, led me to suppose that the latter was not the seal of the Council, and in February, 1883, I called attention to the subject in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*.

The reasons there given for my supposition were, that on one of the fragments the letters A G N appeared in juxtaposition, and that on the Smith arms such letters did not so appear. A figure on another fragment appeared with legs crossed, and neither of the figures on the Smith arms so appeared, nor was there on these arms the figure of a ship, which one of my fragments bore.

After instituting a careful search through a correspondent in London for information respecting the seal of the Council, I determined to visit Plymouth and inspect the seal which was said to be undecipherable, and, much to my satisfaction, I found that the figures upon my fragments were, without doubt, borne by the seal at Plymouth. In fact, by the aid of these fragments, I was enabled to make out a considerable portion of the design on the Plymouth seal, which consists of a ship at the bottom, and two figures, an Indian on the left, and, probably, a European on the right. Both the figures appear to have their legs crossed, which would indicate that they were supporters to a shield. Over their heads appeared to be a scroll, and about them fragments of what seem to have been mantlings to a shield, while the whole is surrounded by a bordure bearing a legend unfortunately not decipherable. From a critical examination of the Plymouth seal, I am of the opinion that the dexter figure is misplaced, being too near the sinister, and placed too high, and that it should occupy a position as near the bordure as the sinister figure occupies, and stand on the same level. The mantlings, if such they are, which are broken up and mixed in confusion about the figures, should be placed above them, supposing, of course, these figures to be supporters. It should, however, be observed that there is barely room within the bordure to place them thus. The question will, of course, arise, What, then, are the arms on Smith's Map, which have hitherto been supposed to be those of New England? In order to meet this question understandingly, it may be well to refresh our memories by reconsidering briefly the history of the three chartered corporations called in their charters the "First and Second Colony" and the "Council" established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, "for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England in America," \* or, popularly, the

\* Hazard, 1, pp. 103-118.

South Virginia Company, the North Virginia or Plymouth Company, and the Council for New England or Plymouth Council—all distinct corporations, although the two latter were located at Plymouth, and their charters embraced the same or nearly the same territory.

Both the two first companies were incorporated April 10, 1606, under one charter, called the First Charter of Virginia\*—the first company, it is said, “consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers of our City of London and elsewhere,” and the second of “sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth and other Places.”

The territory granted to the two companies extended from the sea inland fifty miles—that to the first Company lying between the 34th and 41st, and the second between the 41st and 45th parallels of north latitude. Subsequently, the rights of the two companies were confirmed and enlarged under separate charters.† We will not follow the history of the South Virginia Company, since we know that the arms found on Smith’s map near Virginia represent the seal of that Company.‡ The Northern Virginia Company sent out in the spring of 1607, from Plymouth, three ships with a hundred colonists, accompanied by two natives whom Gorges had instructed as interpreters, and carrying everything needful for the establishment of a colony. After a successful voyage, the colonists arrived at the mouth of the Kennebec, and, August 8th, began a settlement there under George Popham as president.§ The history of this unfortunate undertaking is given by Gorges in the graphic expression, “our former hopes were frozen to death.” The death of Popham, and the breaking up of the settlement, so paralyzed the Northern Virginia Company, that it was unable to raise men or means to undertake another settlement, when Captain John Smith, having left the employ of the Southern Company, to whom he had rendered important service, returned to London and determined to visit the country granted to the Northern Virginia Company. Obtaining two ships, he set sail, and, in April, 1614, reached Monhegan, near the mouth of the Penobscot.¶ During the summer he ranged the coast, trading with the natives, and laying in a supply of fish, at the same time making the map of the country which has before been mentioned. Returning to Plymouth after a successful voyage, and giving an enthusiastic

\* Hazard, vol. 1, pp. 50-58.

† Ibid, 1, pp. 58-81.

‡ The Virginia Company of London, Albany, 1869, p. 154 et. seq., and Stow’s Survey of London, 1632.

§ Brief Narration, Me. Hist. Coll. p. 20.

¶ A Description of New England, 1865, p. 19.

description of the country, he says, that "it pleased Sir Ferdinando Gorge and Master Doctor Sutcliffe Deane of Exeter, to conceive so well of these projects, and my former employments there, to make a new adventure with me in those partes, whither they have so often sent to their continuall losse." \* This adventure proved unsuccessful, and he returned to Plymouth, where with unabated enthusiasm he endeavored to arouse the spirit of colonization.† It was at this time (1616) that he published his map of New England, comprising the grant to the Northern Virginia Company, that is, the territory lying between the 41st and 45th parallels of latitude. He prefaces his book with an address to this Company, in which, he says, "I have made knowne unto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission." It is but proper to state that this map, which bears the date of Smith's first voyage to New England, namely, 1614, does not show the arms which have been supposed to be those of the Council for New England, nor do we find them until they appear upon the elaborately engraved title-page of Smith's General History, published in 1624, and this has been properly taken as an argument in favor of the theory that they were the arms of the Council, which, at that date, had been in existence three years and over. It should, however, be observed, that Smith had been intimately acquainted with the Northern Company of which the Council was the successor, though the charter of the latter covered a larger territory, and so must have been familiar with the arms of the old Company, while the Council for New England, as a different organization, was, perhaps, almost unthought of by him. By this it is not to be supposed that he was ignorant of the existence of the Council, which we are told, "was substantially a reorganization of the Adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia,"‡ for this reorganization, with certain exclusive privileges not formerly possessed, was the subject of active opposition in Parliament, and doubtless attracted public attention; but that he regarded the new Company simply as a reorganization of the old one, in order to gain larger privileges, and, hence, saw no special distinction between them. Although Plymouth was the locus in quo of the Council, its meetings were held in London, and we are informed that "The attendance on these meetings throughout was most meager. Sometimes only two members, and barely more than half a dozen at any time being present."§ In fact but little interest was felt among the members outside of Gorges and one or two others whom Smith had always known as leading spirits in colonization, during the existence of the old Company. To one, then, conversant with

\* Ibid. p. 67.

† Generall Historie, vol. 2, p. 2.

‡ Vide Records of the Council, p. 7.

§ Ibid. p. 13.

the indefinite and loose method of doing things at this time—and no better example can be cited than the manner in which the Council for New England transacted its business—it may not seem strange that the title-page of Smith's History of 1624 should have impressed upon it the arms of the Northern Virginia Company, near the territory which had belonged to it a few years before. Of course, it is quite probable that Smith had nothing to do with the embellishment of his book, and that his enterprising publisher, Sparks, attended to this duty, who, if he knew, as perhaps he did not know, that a new coat of arms had been adopted by the new Company, did not deem it important enough to take the trouble which might have been necessary to procure it; indeed, we have a curious instance of the slight importance attached to accuracy in the use of embellishments, in the employment of this very coat of arms which we are considering to decorate the title-page of a medical book published in 1637.\*

But there is still another question, which is, when did the Council for New England procure a great seal? We have proof that it did not possess one a year after its incorporation, since the Pierce Patent, so called, which was issued June 1st, 1621, bore the individual names and seals of the governing board of the Council.† That the Southern Virginia Company did not adopt a coat of arms until it had been in existence for thirteen years we know from the following extract from the Company's record of November third, 1619. "Whereas formerly a seale for the Company called the Legall Seale was referred unto a committee to consider in what manner should be, and nothing as yet done therein. It was agreed that Mr. Harecutions be intreated to give the Auditors sometime a meeting at S<sup>r</sup> Edwin Sandis, where they will devise to take a Cote for Virginia and agree upon the seale," and November fifteenth, "Touching the Legall Seale spoken of in the Last Court, the Auditors at their Assembly have therein taken some paynes to w<sup>ch</sup> they now presented to this Courte; and whereas they had spoken to me for the cutting of it, there is one Mr. Hole ‡ who would appropriate that unto himselfe under pretence of hav-

\* This book, a copy of which is in the Congressional Library at Washington, is entitled, "A Briefe and Necessary Treatise, touching the cure of the Disease now usually called Lues Venerea, etc., etc., newly corrected and augmented in the yeare of our Lord 1596. By William Clowes, one of her Maiestie's Chirurgiensi. The Third Edition, London, 1639. Printed by M. Dawson."

The arms appear on the reverse of the title-page of this book, and "are identical in every respect, even to measurement, with that on the reprint of Smith's Advertisements." See Letter of Chas. E. Banks, M.D., to the author.

† Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, p. 40.

‡ This was William Hole, who engraved the map in Smith's *Generall Historie* of 1624, the title-page of which bore the arms of the Southern Virginia Company as well as those under consideration. Both coats may have been engraved about the same time, viz., 1619-20; indeed it would

ing a Patten for the engraving of all seales w<sup>ch</sup> hath the kinges arms, but not for any part thereof, and therefore appointed them to repaire to Mr. Xtopher Brooke, of Lincolne's Inn, to examine it, and to bring his opinion under his hand in writing, and accordingly it should be determined." There is nothing apparent in the records of the Council up to June 29th, 1623, at which date the incorporators had just succeeded in arranging their individual interests, to indicate that they possessed a great seal, while in the latter portion of their records one is frequently alluded to. The patent, however, to Gorges and Mason, granted August 10th, 1622,\* purports to have been sealed with the common seal of the Council. It is proper to remark that a seal is spoken of in the records to be used in certain mercantile transactions, † but in such matters the great seal of a corporation was not used, that being affixed to important instruments only, like grants of land. From all this, then, the conclusion seems forcible that the arms found upon the title-page of Smith's *Generall Historie* of 1624 are those of the Northern Virginia Company rather than those of the Council for New England.

seem that the Northern Virginia Company, imitating its more successful sister Company, would be likely to adopt a coat of arms if she did, in which case both seals were comparatively new when used in Smith's title-page in 1624. When the seal of the Southern Virginia Company was presented to King James, it bore on one side St. George slaying the dragon, and the motto, *Fas Alium superare draconem*, referring to the unbelief of the natives. This motto the king ordered to be omitted, but was pleased with the motto on the other side, *En dat Virginia quintum*, having reference to the four crowns. This coat of arms may be also seen in the Dowse copy of Stow's Survey of London, Ed. 1633, p. 620, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

\* Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, vol. I, pp. 10-17.

† Records of the Council, p. 28.

James P. Baxter.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 352, Vol. XI.)*

*Captain Marquard to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith.*

D<sup>r</sup>. B.

*Morris House,\* 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 1781.*

I have not mistaken E. B. as to the encampment on the other side of the North River. † I was very particular in questioning him about its situation, and he told me that it was on the *West* side of Hudson's River; almost opposite, but higher up, than Teller's point. ‡

About Norwik, or Norwalk, am of your opinion. E. B.'s information about the French being there was only grounded on the talk of the country people.

The place where Gen<sup>l</sup>. Howe's Continental Regiments are now, is not *Sewarock* but *Scrubbock* § plains, a place well known between Peekskill hollow, and Crompond. My spelling, or rather hurry, was the cause of this mistake.

E: B: has made out a man on the other side the Croton, where he himself dares not come, || from whom he hopes to get all possible information. The money you mention he shall have the first time I see him.

Y's &c

Marquard.

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith. 23<sup>d</sup> June 1781.*

Elias Botner of Philadelphia, came to this city last evening from Shrewsbury. ¶ Says he left Phil<sup>a</sup> about three weeks ago, and came to Bucks County, where he remained till the 19<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>, and then came off for New York. On his coming to Bristol [he] observed some French soldiers, light-horse men, and some baggage

\* On the Heights near Fort Washington, New York Island, now known as the "Jumel House."

† "E. B."—*Eli Benedict*. See note to entry of 7th June, *ante* p. 167.

‡ Near Verdrietige's Hook, below Haverstraw.

§ "Scrub Oak," now called "Shrub Oak," mentioned before in entry of 20th June and note, is here meant.

|| This was probably one of the Strangs, a good yeoman family of Westchester, of French origin, which was very much divided in politics at the time of the Revolution, and whose members took very decided views of things.

¶ In Monmouth Co., N. J.

waggons, and was informed they were part of Troops that were at Christiana Bridge in Newcastle County.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> he was in company with a person who left Baltimore in Maryland last week, who informed him, that when he left Baltimore, a number of British vessels, and flat bottom boats were in sight of Baltimore, & that the Inhabitants of that town were removing their effects.

The militia of Pennsylvania and Jersey are not called out. Few recruits have been raised for the Pennsylvania line.

The Soldiers in that line have not received their pay, and are very mutinous and dissatisfied. It is said the French have promised to pay them in hard money; but he understood this to be thrown out to keep them in good temper.

New York 23 June 1781.

S. S.

*From Colonel Robinson to Captain Beckwith.*

New York 28<sup>th</sup> June 1781.

David Gray is just come in from the State of Vermont, which place he left this day fortnight.

He says that the people of that State are very quiet. Judge Jones\* and Col: Wells † both desired him to give their compliments to Col: Robinson, ‡ and to tell him that the State of Vermont would certainly come to an agreement of neutrality with the British in the Assembly that was to sit at Bennington last week, but they could not publish it 'till the army moved from Canada. Col Ethan Allen went with a flag to agree upon terms, and was returned the day before he came away. They are collecting arms & ammunition from New England, under pretence of defending themselves against the Indians.

He (Gray) passed through Hartford, Saturday the 23<sup>d</sup>. Three hundred of the French troops that day got to East Hartford, where they stopped, and were pulling out the pews, &c. of a meeting house to make barracks. § He was told 4000 were to march for head quarters. He left the Rope ferry || last Saturday. He did not hear of the French troops having marched on from Hartford.

The French Fleet still at Rhode Island. At Hartford he saw and spoke to

\* Judge Daniel Jones.

† Colonel Samuel Wells, of Brattleborough.

‡ Col. Beverley Robinson.

§ This "meeting house" is thus spoken of by *Claude Blanchard* in his "JOURNAL," p. 110, under date of 19th June: "Before reaching Hartford and crossing the river we find a village called East Hartford; it is there that our troops are to encamp. This village has only thirty houses and a temple" (*the French name for a Protestant Church*). Rochambeau's chief commissary left Hartford on the 22d, so that he did not see the pulling to pieces of the "temple," which Gray witnessed the next day. "Meeting houses" suffered in the Revolution from "friends" as well as from "foes," it would seem.

|| Across Niantic Bay, about three miles west of New London. Gray probably crossed the Sound to Lloyd's Neck, and came to New York via Long Island.

Col: Sheppard, who was mustering the recruits of Massachusetts State ; who told him Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had sent orders for that State to raise 1500 recruits for the Continental Army ; also for forwarding all the artillery stores ; that he must have men enough to attack New York to prevent the British sending men to the southward.\*

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Beckwith (on the same paper) 23<sup>d</sup> June '81.*

On the 19<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> a frigate arrived from Boston at Newport, in the evening, and after taking ten pilots on board, sailed the next morning, & its imagined they are bound to the West Indies to pilot a fleet from thence before the Hurricane months.

The French troops that were at Providence when we gave you the last intelligence remained there the 21<sup>st</sup> Inst. Two hundred of the troops which were left at Newport have since joined them, and 200 of those which lately arrived at Boston, came to Newport by land the 19<sup>th</sup>. There are now on the Island 400 French troops and 500 militia.

In the fleet of 12 transports which arrived at Boston, mentioned before, only 600 Recruits for the Army arrived, and some for the Navy : the number uncertain.

The 200 arrived at Newport are all that at present are fit to march from Boston.

The fortifications, shipping, &c., remain in the same situation they were in the 13<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>.

*Intelligence received from Mr. R. Alexander.† New York, 23<sup>d</sup> June, 1781.*

“The gentleman who sent the newspapers to Mr Alexander, requests he may be informed that Gen<sup>l</sup> Green is on his return from S. Carolina ; the reason of which as alledged here is, that the Militia in that quarter are turned out in numbers sufficient to keep in awe the Garrison of Charlestown. That a fleet of British ships

\* This refers to Washington's call upon the Governors of the Eastern States of 24th May, for the troops specified, by the 1st of July, 1781.

† This was Mr. Robert Alexander, of Baltimore, Maryland, a lawyer and a gentleman of property, position and influence. He was prominent in Baltimore affairs for many years prior to the war. In 1774 he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence on the Boston Port Bill, and also chosen the same year a representative for Baltimore at the Annapolis Convention, which passed non-importation resolutions, took measures for the relief of Boston, and chose delegates to the Continental Congress. In September, 1775, Mr. Alexander was elected a member of the Provincial Convention, and in December of the same year was elected by the Convention a delegate to the Continental Congress, and again chosen to the same position on the 14th of July, 1776. On the 27th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was first promulgated and publicly read at Baltimore. Alexander did not approve it, for on August 19th, 1776, the Journal of the Baltimore County Committee says : “It having been represented to this Committee that Robert Alexander, Esq<sup>t</sup> has uttered several reprehensible expressions in a speech made to the people at the close of the polls for delegates for Baltimore Co. in the Provincial Committee, this Committee think it their duty to take notice of the matter.” and they summoned five gentlemen “to give evidence relat-

are, within a few days past, arrived in Chesapeake. That, a number of British vessels with troops on board, are in Potowmack.

That the *Hermione*, after her arrival at Newport, had sailed with all the small ships of the French fleet, on some private expedition. That the French troops from Newport were on their march to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. That a ship and two Brigs arrived this day from the Havanna.

Phil<sup>a</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> June 1781."

27 June, 1781. *Observations made by a person who went to Verplanck's Point, the  
—— in a flag of truce.*

"Sailing about between Stoney & Verplanck's Points I had a fair view of them both. At Stoney P<sup>t</sup> I counted 35 in number, men, boys, and blacks: and saw the appearance of 2 pieces of cannon. At Verplanck's, counted 25 in number, and 2 pieces of cannon: and by what I could learn from the Guard, the number of men I saw was near or quite the full complement of men they had. But they said they had 4 pieces of cannon at Verplanck's, and 2 at Stoney pt. A Cap<sup>t</sup>, Lieu<sup>t</sup>, & Ensign, at each post, with a Lieu<sup>t</sup> of Artillery for both."

Opposite Tarrytown on the West Shore he saw 6 Whaleboats, and about 42 men in all. No appearance of any of them fitted for carrying swivels or wall pieces.

He was by a mistake admitted into the Blockhouse near Sneathing's Landing.\* It is a Redoubt about a mile & a half from the landing, on a very rough Rocky height, Picketted in all round with tops of trees and branches; no way to get in without climbing over: About 4 Rods within this circle, is a round breastwork running quite round the height, 8 feet high, with a gate to pass in on the west side. Within that circle about 3 Rods, is another breastwork running round the top of the height, about the same height as the other, on which is wooden embrasures built, in which they have one piece of Cannon on a travelling carriage. On the South side [of] the inward work a gate opens into the first breastwork. The rise of the height is so much as to cause the top of the first breastwork to be no higher than the bottom of the second.

At this time it was commanded by a Lieu<sup>t</sup>: 2 Serg<sup>ts</sup> 2 Cap<sup>ts</sup> and 25 men in the works.

ing to it." What the result was, is not given, but Alexander afterward left Maryland, came to New York, and subsequently went to England. In 1783 he was appointed by the Maryland loyalists agent for Maryland to obtain compensation from the British Government for their losses, and as such his name appears in the official proceedings of the Board of Agents before the "Commission for Enquiring into the Losses of the American Loyalists." *Scharf's Chronicles of Baltimore, Force's Archives, Fifth Series, I. 1057. Wilmot's Historical View of the Commission for the Losses and Claims of the American Loyalists, 46, II. Sabine, p. 470.*

\* Sneden's Landing, or Paramus Landing, on the west side of the North River, opposite the village of "Dobbs Ferry" on the east side. It was the western landing place of the ferry called Dobbs Ferry.

*Intelligence by E. Yeomans, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1781.  
Rec<sup>d</sup>. from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith the 25<sup>th</sup>*

“The word is that Washington is moving to Peekskill.\* That a scout is expected to the White-plains on the East side of the River, another on the West side thro’ Tappan. That the French from Rhode Island are coming to West p<sup>t</sup>. There is nothing particular from the Southern parts.”

30<sup>th</sup> June, 1781.

Lieut. Fulton of the King’s American Dragoons,† informs, that he left this city in the month of April last, and went into the Province of New Jersey, to enlist men for his Majesty’s service, that he proceeded thro’ the country to Phil<sup>a</sup> and from thence to Baltimore, where he endeavoured to execute the purpose of his errand. That he communicated his intention to a man of considerable consequence and influence in that country, and received the most flattering promise of assistance. That he afterwards had a free intercourse with many of the principal inhabitants of Maryland, and particularly with Mr. Jas. Clarke, a man of great eminence there as a merchant.‡ That they invariably assured him of their readiness to assist him, but suggested the impracticability of his recruits making their escape. They were uniform in their opinion that if an opportunity was given by a movement of the British troops in their favor, that a very large proportion of the inhabitants would join them. That his own observation convinced him that the oppressions by taxes and otherwise were intolerable; and that the people were thereby rendered desperate. That a very great number made their proposals to him at different times to form into bodies, and to destroy the leaders of the Rebellion there, and to endeavour at an escape. Many of the gentlemen (among others a Cap<sup>t</sup>. Scott,§ formerly an off<sup>r</sup> in the army, and a Mr. Hammond ||) were so sanguine as to affirm positively that 1000 men might be immediately collected, was there a possible chance of their getting off. That, there is a Magazine for the French and Continental troops in the town of Baltimore, consisting of about

\* Washington, as we know by his Journal above mentioned, ordered a camp laid out at Peekskill on the 16th June, brigaded his troops and made his arrangements on the 18th, dispatched his first division to the new camp on the 21st, his second on the 23d, and his third on the 24th; the latter was the very day before this letter was received from Capt. Beckwith. So very early and very correct was Clinton’s intelligence of Washington’s first movement in the campaign of 1781.

† James Fulton of New Hampshire. He was proscribed and banished in 1778, entered the King’s American Dragoons, became captain in the same regiment in 1782, and went to Nova Scotia after the peace.—II. Sabine, 450. His was the regiment commanded by the celebrated Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.

‡ James Clarke came to Baltimore about 1771, and was at this time one of its leading merchants.

§ Capt. George Scott, who, in 1782, with his family of six, went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia.—II. Sabine, 575.

|| “Mr. Hammond” was William Hammond, a prominent man at Baltimore, belonging to an old Maryland family.

5000 barrels of flour, and a large quantity of bread; and that there is besides considerable quantities of flour in the mills; and other valuable articles in the various stores. Also that at Chester\* there is another large Magazine of flour belonging to Congress, &c. That the most respectable characters with whom he conversed (anticipating some movement of the British troops toward Baltimore) had deliberately laid a plan of co-operating with them, and giving every assistance possible.† That at Patuxent there were five outward bound vessels loading with flour. That the defence of Baltimore consists of a Fort mounting ten or 12 guns. That 100 men commanded by a Cap<sup>t</sup> Wells are doing duty there, and that they are building a galley to carry four 18 Pr<sup>s</sup>

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Beckwith, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1781.*

E. B.‡ informs me that Washington came to Peekskill on Friday.§ Headquarters are at Cortland's house, and the Park of Artillery is now there. The troops are now chiefly upon the East side of the River, in many different encampments from Peekskill to Crompond. The Rebels assert that they have 8000 men, but they have by no means so many. King's ferry is the most frequent one at present.

He heard nothing of the French troops.

\* In Pennsylvania.

† The entry of this letter is dated June 30th, 1781. Six days before, on the 24th, Lafayette wrote Washington his views of Maryland at this juncture. Their comparison with Lieut. Fulton's is of interest. The object of Lafayette's letter was to give his "sentiments" how "to improve Count de Grasse's assistance"; it was written from Mattapony, Va., on June 24th, and sent to Washington by Col. Morris of New York. He says, in stating his numbers: "The Marylanders will be six hundred. \* \* \* As to the militia, a demand from you upon the State of Maryland will procure one thousand well-armed militia. The conduct of some people in that State, appears to me very injurious to the public interests. The new levies have been every day delayed, every petty pretence employed to prevent their joining either General Greene or this army. The danger of Baltimore upon which I was not very hasty to quiet them, brought on a confession that the men were ready. I then demanded them in the most urgent terms. At last I sent George there, who wrote me that they make a beautiful battalion. But he could not obtain a promise to send them in three or four days." Spark's Rev. Corr., 342-3. They still held back, and two months later, on 21st of August, La Fayette again writes to the Commander-in-Chief, "Some days ago, I sent Washington to contrive the Maryland new levies out of their State. These Marylanders will be five hundred; Virginians, four hundred; Pennsylvanians, six hundred; light infantry, eight hundred and fifty; dragoons, one hundred and twenty. (2,470 *in all*.) Such is the Continental force; \* \* \* \* Maryland would send six hundred militia at least. *Ibid.*, 391.

‡ The Eli Benedict mentioned before, in the entry of 7th June and note.

§ This was June 29th. Washington's Journal does not state the day he came to Peekskill. He was at New Windsor on the 25th, and his first letter dated Peekskill was on the 27th, so that "E. B." was wrong by two days in this particular, but right as to Cortlandt's being the headquarters. This entry also shows how early Clinton had notice of Washington's movement to Westchester County, from a different source than that mentioned in the above entry of 27th June.

*Letter from Lt. Col. Upham to Maj. Gen. Riedesel.\**

Lloyds Neck, 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1781.  
(Received 1<sup>st</sup> July.)

SIR :

Immediately on receipt of yours of the 27<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>, I looked for the means of obtaining the intelligence you was pleased to require. Two Refugees of fair character went to the opposite shore, saw several friends to Govern<sup>t</sup> who reside in that country, from whom they rec<sup>d</sup> the following information which may be relied on.

That the French troops have marched from R. Island in 4 divisions. That the 1<sup>st</sup> div<sup>n</sup> said to consist of 1000 men arrived at Danbury the 29<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>. The 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> were at Hartford the 28<sup>th</sup> following the first. The 4<sup>th</sup> was also on its way ; but its particular route or progress not known.†

The enclosed New Haven paper of the 28<sup>th</sup> accounts for the Legion of 600 commanded by the Duke DeLauzun.‡

Every third militia man in Connecticut to be drafted before next Monday Evening. One third part to Garrison West Point, the other two thirds to join the Continental and French troops.

Their object is universally believed by the Rebels, and friends of government to be New York.

Could not learn whether the Recruits lately arrived in Boston have joined the other troops.

N. B. The New Haven paper mentions the Legion being at New Haven.§

\* Major General Frederick Adolphus von Riedesel, Baron Eisenbach, the Commander of the Brunswick Troops. *In Oct.*, 1780, Maj. Gen. Riedesel, who had been captured with Burgoyne's Army at Saratoga three years before, was duly exchanged, and Clinton immediately appointed him a Lieut. General, with a command in Long Island with headquarters on Brooklyn Heights. Hence his order to Lieut. Col. Upham which produced this report. On July 22d, 1781, he sailed for Quebec to assume the command of the German troops in that Province, and continued there till 1783, when he accompanied the troops on their return to Germany, arriving at Brunswick in September of that year. He subsequently served in Holland, became a Lieut. General in Germany, and died Commandant of the City of Brunswick, on January 1st, 1800, in his 62d year.—*Von Elking's Memoirs of Riedesel, translated by W. L. Stone.*

† These movements are those made by the French forces, after Rochambeau received Washington's letters by Col. Cobb, informing him of his proposed plan to surround De Lancey's corps at Kingsbridge, in connection with proposed attack on Fort Washington by Lincoln, from the Jersey side of the Hudson, which caused the French General to change his route and hasten his march.

‡ It was a legion of cavalry.

§ The Lt. Col. Upham who writes this report was Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, a lawyer and a very able and distinguished man, the father of Charles Wentworth Upham, the author of the Life of Sir Henry Vane, and who was successively President of the Senate of Massachusetts, and a Member of Congress from the same State. Joshua Upham was opposed to the tyranny of the British Ministry, but refusing to take up arms against the king was proscribed and banished. He joined the Provincial forces, and rose to be Lieut. Colonel of the King's American Dragoons, of

*Neh: Marks to Major De Lancey. Lloyd's Neck, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1781.*  
(*Rec<sup>d</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> July 1781.*)

SIR

This moment a flag returned from Stamford. One of the officers belonging to the Keppel Sloop of War informs me that there are 4000 French troops on their march from Rhode Island, and that the 1<sup>st</sup> division has arrived at Danbury. The Rebels are drafting one in every three men. In case he refuses to go, he is to pay a fine of £70, hard cash. Am this moment going out, and if I can land, shall immediately inform you of my proceedings. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Glover will inform you of our last cruize.

I am etc.,

Maj. De Lancey.

N. Marks.\*

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*To Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith, Phil<sup>a</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1781.*  
(*Rec<sup>d</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> July.*)

Your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> May came to hand, but not till the 23<sup>d</sup> ins<sup>t</sup>. I return you many thanks for your readiness to serve me with supplies, etc. Nothing material since my last from the southward, nor indeed from any other quarter. The purport of the Dispatches which came over with the French Admiral I gave you in my last. Those which came by the *Alliance* to Boston are nearly the same, with only a few additional circumstances.

Congress are advised that Spain is not so friendly to them as they expected. They have signified to M<sup>r</sup>. Jay, their doubts whether or not America would not

which Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford, was Colonel, who was another proscribed and banished New England man of note. As such officer, Col. Upham was Deputy Inspector General of the Refugee corps at Lloyd's Neck, in 1781, and from there sent Gen. Riedesel the above report. He was engaged with Winslow in the attack on Norwalk, and with Arnold in that on New London. After the war he went to New Brunswick, where he became Judge of the Supreme Court and a Councillor of the Province, and was highly esteemed for his probity and learning. Called upon to go to England on public business in 1807, he died there in the performance of his duty. One of his daughters became the wife of the Hon. John W. Weldon, Speaker of the Assembly and Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick; and their son is the present Charles W. Weldon, one of the most eminent lawyers of the Dominion of Canada and Member of the Dominion Parliament for the City of St. John, New Brunswick, to whom the writer is indebted for very many of these facts, communicated under his own most hospitable roof at St. John, a few years ago. A good sketch of Judge Upham is given in II. Sabine's *Loyalists*, p. 372.

\* "N. Marks" was Capt. Nehemiah Marks, a Connecticut loyalist of Derby, who held under Clinton precisely the same position as Lt. Caleb Brewster, mentioned in entry of 4 Feb., 1781, did under Washington—agent on Long Island Sound for obtaining and sending intelligence and despatches from within the enemy's lines—and like him was bold, determined and successful. Marks went to Nova Scotia after the war, and thence to St. Stephen, New Brunswick, where he died in 1799, leaving a large and highly respectable family.—II. Sabine, p. 47. "Capt. Glover" is the same mentioned before in entry 1st March and note thereto.



take some advantage of their South American colonies, in case their Independance was established. Those jealousies Congress are about to remove if possible. What offers they will make to Spain to do it, is not yet known. They are advised by their great and good Allies the French that every nerve is strained in order to obtain good terms for them. The queen of France has wrote a letter with her own hand to the Emperor, in order to soften and bring him over to our interest. The King of France has instructed his ministers at the different Courts, who are to be mediators at the grand Convention, to endeavour to find out without loss of time what the temper of and dispositions of those Courts were towards America, and to make it known to him as soon as possible. That as soon as this is known, he promises to forward to us a Dispatch boat, with the opinion and advice of his Court on the Subject; and this Dispatch boat is actually expected in two or three weeks at furthest.

The Dispatches mentioned in my last letter, are not yet gone. There are frequent requisitions from Virginia for Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington to go to the Southward, but to no purpose. I think Congress will not order them there yet; whatever they may do some time hence.

Agreeably to your request I shall in future keep a watchful eye over the trade, and constantly give you a state of the Ports. You will observe that the Ports in the Delaware are all now on the Continent, from which any exports of consequence can now be sent. Therefore there is no other place so material for your Navy to attend to.

Captain —— has been very unwell at his house in Lancaster County for two months past, otherwise I think I should have been able to have mentioned him to you in a way which would give you satisfaction. He has got much better, and is expected in *town*. As soon as he is able to come, I shall then consult him fully and advise you accordingly. I promised to draw on you quarterly, &c., therefore please to give a quarters pay to the bearer, who will bring it to me. I have endeavoured to charge the bearer with as many verbal hints as I can.\*

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*Copy of a letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beckwith.  
(Rec<sup>d</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1781.)*

Congress are extremely anxious upon the subject of the grand Convention at Vienna. They look upon it that the rise or fall of our new Empire solely rests

\* As the intelligence in this letter was communicated to Congress only, whose sessions were secret, the writer must have had it from one or more of its members. The same remark is applicable to the succeeding letter from "a gentleman in Philadelphia." The difference in the style of the two letters, however, indicates that both are not written by the same person. All the foreign matters referred to in these two letters, both received the 1st of July, 1781. at Clinton's headquarters, will be found in the second Volume of the Secret Journals of Congress, under different dates running from 28th May to 29th June, 1781, pages 404 to 458.

with them. They have lately rec<sup>d</sup> Dispatches from Dr Franklin, a part of which are in very angry terms: he complains that they have sent a boy to inspect and watch over his conduct; therefore he sends them his Resignation. At the same time he advises them to appoint Commissioners immediately to attend the Convention, and to send over with all possible Dispatch their ultimate instructions upon the subject of peace, &c., &c. Therefore, JOHN ADAMS and JOHN JAY\* are appointed, and a third person is about to be appointed, to represent our New Republic in that Convention. The member which they are about to appoint is to proceed immediately with their dispatches. They are making up the Budget, and Duplicates are to be sent different ways; one to go from this place, one from Boston, &c.†

It is feared that these Commissioners will not be admitted to a seat in that Convention; but in that case it is intended to have them at hand, in order that they may influence and assist the Commissioners of our allies, in all such matters as may relate to America. (Will not those Commissioners be too late in getting there?)

Congress are convinced that the Emperor of Germany is not friendly to them, and they fear much that he will have too much influence over the Empress of Russia.

Our assembly as well as those of New Jersey, and the Delaware States, are now sitting upon the subject of the Paper money. They have it in contemplation to repeal all tender laws, and levy their taxes in hard money. To take off all restrictions on trade, except to what they call the *common enemy*, and to give every possible encouragement to the trade of the French and Spanish Islands. The late very great success which the traders of this place have met with, has led to this measure. A number of arrivals from the Havanna very lately (I believe since my last to you) have brought not less than 200,000 Dollars, besides a very large quantity of sugars, ‡

\* These names are doubly underscored in the MS.

† The answer of Congress to Franklin's indignant action, on account of their sending the younger Laurens on a special mission to France, is in these calm words: "A compliance with your request to retire from public employment would be inconvenient at this particular juncture, as it is the desire of Congress to avail themselves of your abilities and experience at the approaching negotiation. Should you find repose necessary, after rendering the United States this further service, Congress, in consideration of your age and bodily infirmities, will be disposed to gratify your inclination." II. *Secret Journals of Congress*, p. 256, under date of 19 June, 1781. The appointment of Jay and Adams as his co-commissioners is notified to Franklin in the same letter.

‡ The late venerable Major James Rees of Geneva, New York, was at this time, though quite young, a confidential clerk of Robert Morris "the Financier," to whom as a merchant these sugars came consigned. The sugars were but a cover arranged by Morris to get specie. The hogsheads of sugar when they arrived were placed in a particular store of Morris's; and there, at night, Morris and Rees with their own hands broke open the hogsheads and picked the dollars out of the sugar; then re-filled the hogsheads and headed them up. The secret was known only to Morris and Rees, and was never discovered. These among other facts were told the writer of these notes by Major Rees himself, whom he knew intimately for many years. Rees entered the

&c. West India goods are generally as cheap here as in time of peace. I should then, expect that your business as POLITICIANS\* would be to counteract this plan as much as possible, as well by encouraging the sending the produce to you, as by cruising against all such as was intended to be sent for the immediate supply of your enemies.

You will observe that this trade enabled the Spaniards at the Havanna<sup>d</sup> to fit out their expeditions against Pensacola; and without it, they could not have gone at that time. At least  $\frac{3}{8}$ <sup>ths</sup> of the provision trade out of the Delaware for six months past, has gone dear.

The present appearance of crops all over the middle colonies, are as great as they ever were in the world.† For Carolina news, I refer you to the Prints, which I expect you will receive herewith. We have nothing more from that quarter, unless it be that Green is making the best of his way back to join the Marquis, &c. We have no very late accounts from him, the communication between that place and this being very much obstructed.

About 30 sail of transports, supposed to be from Europe, with troops, &c., on board, arrived in Hampton road about 10 days ago.

All the late accounts from Virginia agree that Lord Cornwallis is in the neighborhood of Hanover Courthouse, about the head of York River; that the Marquis keeps 30 miles from him, and as near the mountains as he can possibly get.

The militia of Virginia turn out badly. A very vigorous attempt will shortly be made to get the militia of Maryland and this State out. How they will succeed God knows: but I think it will be very badly.

Col<sup>o</sup> Tarleton very lately made an attempt to surprise the Assembly of Virginia who were sitting at Charlotteville; however, they escaped, and got over the mountains, all except 8 or 10, who fell into his hands. He had nearly taken the whole of them.

The Convention troops are just removed into this Province; where they will be stopped, I believe is not yet determined.

I am sorry that I have cause to complain of the treatment of the gentlemen of your Navy. The conduct of the officer of the *Royal Oak*, who was prizemaster on board our Brig<sup>no</sup> The *Adventure* when she was taken into your port, was very unaccountable. He certainly did go on board the prize ship and declared in the Presence of the Prisoners, that [the] *Adventure* had a permit on board, and was loaded with an intent to go to you.‡ This account has been brought here by

counting-house of Morris in 1776, and continued there throughout the Revolutionary War. The warmest of friendship and confidence ever existed between them. It was to attend to Morris's landed interests in western New York, that Rees removed to that region, and he ever after remained there. Many of Morris's letters to Rees were given to the writer by the latter, who was one of the most honorable and high-minded of men.

\* Doubly underscored in the MS.

† The harvest of 1781 proved to be one of the largest in the last century.

‡ The following is the notice of the capture of the *Adventure* in the New York papers: "*New*

sundry persons (since exchanged) and a complaint lodged with Council; which makes much noise here. What the event will be when the hands return God knows. I fear the Ostensible owners of her will be obliged to go over to you, at least. I stand very clear of suspicion myself, having always kept a good Whig between me and those matters.

The conduct of the Navy officers in this instance seems as if the granting such permits was only intended as a Decoy to get the property of your friends on this side into their hands; in this case the encouragement for people to risk their lives in supplying your garrison with provisions is really bad. If protection and encouragement was given, you might certainly supply your whole army with flour from this quarter. This I apprehend would not only supply you with it cheaper than you get it from Europe, but it would be taking off hundreds of our busy men \* and bringing them over to your interest.

The war in America is now become a meer Partizan war; therefore it then remains with you, to make use of every political means in your power to bring over to your party as many as possible of the Inhabitants; so different is my opinion from that of the officers of your Navy.

PHILADELPHIA, 19 June, 1781.

*York, May 16*, yesterday arrived the brig Adventure laden with 900 barrels of flour, from Philadelphia; she is a prize to the Royal Oak, taken off Egg Harbour." *Royal Gazette, Wednesday, May 16th, 1781*; *Gaine's Mercury of 21st May, 1781*, copies the above verbatim. This is an example of the trading carried on during the whole war, both by sea and land. Naval officers got no prize-money if the vessel taken proved to have "a permit"; hence they refused to recognize the permits whenever they possibly could. In this case it seems it *was* recognized at first and then refused, hence the trouble in Philadelphia. Two years before, in February, 1779, Gen. Maxwell, then at Elizabethtown, N. J., thus vividly describes the *land* permits: "I have had my own troubles with them, but I hope the impropriety of it is properly seen through, and that no person will be permitted to pass into the Enemy's Lines but on very extraordinary occasions, and their business vouched for by some good disinterested person, or persons, before they obtain their pass. But why need I urge these restrictions? They will then deceive you, or any one, though probably not in such numbers. I verily believe if it were possible for the angels of light and darkness to reside together on this earth, and should those of darkness be about to present a Petition to Heaven, they would get some of the angels of light to vouch for the justness of their Business or intentions."—VII. *Penna. Archives, 178*.

\* "Business men" is here meant.

(To be continued.)

## MINOR TOPICS

### THE SOLDIERS' HOMEWARD VOYAGE

A THRILLING EXPERIENCE AT THE CLOSE OF THE LATE CIVIL WAR

On Thursday, November 9th, 1865, the steamer *Merrimac*, Captain Van Sice, laden with cotton, left New Orleans for New York, with thirty officers and 900 men of the Forty-third United States Colored Troops, and some thirty other passengers, civilians and soldiers, on board. The soldiers were in high glee. Many of the officers had been continuously in service since the fall of Sumter, and were weaving webs of brilliant fancies, in which home and wives and sweethearts formed glowing figures of happiness. Marching to the steamer, they passed in review for the last time, the reviewing officer expressing cordial approval of their soldierly bearing. With well-brushed uniforms, good music, the consciousness of passing under the eyes of one of our most brilliant commanders, and above all the bright anticipations of the immediate future, combined to make this the most successful review of our period of service. We left a good impression, and were proud as well as happy.

At the levee the great ship was ready, with steam on and the great cables fastened with a half-hitch. As soon as the major, who superintended the embarkation, stepped upon the deck, we were off, amid the cheers of our men and the multitude of lookers-on, and the strains of "Home, Sweet Home," from the band. It was a novel scene to most of us. In coming from Texas to New Orleans we had passed up the river at night, and had no opportunity for examining the features of that terra incognita which stretches from the Crescent City to the Gulf. The three hours of daylight left us after our departure from the levee were fully occupied in shooting alligators, or rather in shooting at them, for the monsters were little disturbed by our shots. This was fun for the boys, but by no means death to the 'gators.

Our first duty and pleasure was to make ourselves acquainted with our fellow-voyagers, for while our regimental officers were sufficiently numerous for companionship, there were those with whom an enforced residence of a week rendered it desirable that we should know. To this task our evening was devoted. Of the military there were half a dozen young officers of the general staff, whose fair complexions and dapper whiskers formed a striking contrast to our visages, bronzed and hardened by a summer on the Mexican frontier; a stunted Israelite returning with the shekels gained as a camp follower; a Polish lady from Mexico, resplendent in jewelry; a lady from New Orleans, taking the remains of an honored uncle to his old home in New York for interment; a soldier's wife, hastening to the death-bed of her mother; the lieutenant-colonel of a negro regiment just mustered out;

four Yankee "school marms," thoroughly sated with six months' experience in the unreconstructed South; a St. Louis physician and his wife—the latter a lady who preferred the solitude of her state-room to association with "nigger officers," and who exhausted her ingenuity in the effort to deprive her husband of the pleasure of our society—and a dozen or more young business men and commercial travelers. Before retiring we had succeeded in welding the whole into a tolerably pleasant association, with a sincere desire to entertain and be entertained.

On the morning of the 10th the stoppage of the steamer to take on a pilot brought most of us on deck, and in a period all too brief for us, who had hoped to get at least one square meal before reaching New York, we were pitching and rolling in a fierce, chopping sea in the Gulf. A fruitless effort to swallow a few morsels of food was followed by retirement to our state-rooms. We heard that the storm was increasing in violence; that the men who had spread their blankets on deck in order to escape the stifling atmosphere of the steerage had been compelled to go below; that the regimental horses had been thrown overboard, and then all was a blank. Existence was narrowed down to the berth, the deck above, and the dim rays which penetrated the dead-light.

About four o'clock of Saturday, the 11th, our quarter-master, one of the few who had escaped the horrors of sea-sickness, entered a certain state-room, and said to its occupant: "Don't you think you can get up? The steamer heads north-west now, and the captain is very anxious. I am sure something has happened, and I have been prowling around to solve the mystery, but at every turn some of the ship's officers head me off."

"Have you told the major?"

"Yes; but he is too ill to take any interest."

"Well, find out what you can, and let me know. I'll get up if I must, but at this moment even sinking would be a relief."

The officer was not startled. Nothing could startle him in his intense suffering, but the information set him thinking in a slow, confused way, and presently he became aware that there was a change in the motion of the ship. Instead of riding lightly over the waves, she seemed to be butting against them, and would stop and shiver as she struck, and then move heavily, groaning dismally. But the "*ker-ker-chug! ker-ker-chug!*" of the huge propeller was maintained with monotonous regularity, and as thought even was painful, the officer gave it up, and lapsed into the semi-unconscious condition from which he had been temporarily aroused.

About eleven o'clock there was an ominous silence. The ship labored as usual; the great waves dashed against her sides as before; the timbers creaked and groaned; but still there was something missing from the category of sounds. What was it? Gradually the idea took shape. The propeller no longer revolved. What did this mean? But even as the fact forced itself upon the sick man's brain—" *Ker-ker-chug! ker-ker-chug!* "—the engine had again started. At this moment

the quarter-master again appeared. "Cap, you must get up now. The matter is serious. The ship has sprung a leak, and the water gained so much that the fires were damped so that the engine had to be stopped more than an hour. The major is up, and wants all the officers on deck."

"Have the men (soldiers) been roused?"

"No; that is, not all of them. Captain Van Sice is afraid they will be panic-stricken, and will not consent to have them told. He has only permitted us to tell fifteen or twenty of the non-commissioned officers, and they are now bailing out with buckets."

"Are the pumps going?"

"Yes; but they are in bad condition."

There was no help for it. There are some things worse than sea-sickness, one of which is to be drowned like a rat in a hole; so, choosing the least evil, the officer dragged himself into his clothes and staggered into the saloon. On each side of the companion-way was a line of men passing empty buckets with one hand and filled buckets with the other. Most of these men were of the crew, and it was noticeable that the laggards in the work were entirely among them. It was not encouraging, but it was evident that the seamen had lost heart. In the captain's cabin were gathered the military officers, while huddled together in groups, with pale faces, disheveled hair, and scant raiment, were the other passengers. The consultation in the captain's cabin was brief but eminently satisfactory. The captain was still loth to call the soldiers, while acknowledging that the water was gaining and that he could hope to keep the fires alight but a short time longer. An indignant intimation from one of the younger lieutenants that we were in the majority, and could take matters into our own hands, may have influenced his decision, for he soon gave a reluctant consent, and issued the necessary orders for so preparing as to enable the soldiers to work to the best advantage. It was determined that of the Forty-third, seven hundred men could be relied on for work; but as the captain's plans contemplated the use of not more than three hundred at once, the regiment was divided into two reliefs, and appropriately assigned to duty. The fore, after, and main hatches were opened, and bales of cotton taken out and thrown overboard, until in each a well was made of sufficient depth to allow a hogshead to be lowered into the water. Stout hogsheads were then slung to strong ropes, which were rove through blocks attached to the spars, and then through blocks fastened to the decks. At each fall was stationed a company of men. Besides the gangs at the cabin stairs, gangs were stationed at each corner of the great engine—two men on each of the iron platforms by which every part of the machinery of an ocean steamer is reached,—and at the opening into the hold through the fore-castle. When all was completed, there were eight gangs of men with buckets and three hogsheads, with which to keep up the work of bailing.

But it was nearly morning when these preparations were completed, and meanwhile the water was slowly creeping upward, taxing the ingenuity of the firemen to keep it from splashing into the doors of the furnaces.

The officer who had been directing the men at the cabin stairs, overcome with nausea, had been compelled to seek temporary relief in his state-room. Lying in his berth, he was thinking with bitterness of his young wife, now in daily expectation of his home-coming, when the door opened and again the quarter-master, who had been indefatigable in his efforts to stimulate courage, entered to say that the engineer had just reported the water in the ash-boxes, and he would be able to keep the engines in motion but a few moments longer. While speaking the propeller stopped, and nearly a thousand souls were at the mercy of the winds and waves, with nothing to hope from but their own exertions, and the goodness of Divine Providence.

As the propeller ceased revolving, the Israelite passenger burst into the state-room with a face the incarnation of horror, wringing his hands and exclaiming: "Ach, mein Gott! mein Gott! we are got trowned! We are at the bottom of the sea!" and trembling in abject terror. We endeavored to calm him, urging him to help save the ship, but he only asked the question: "Af we gets back der New Orleans, vill dey give me pack my monish und let me go mit der river?" A well-directed boot gave him present pain rather than future safety to think of, and his auditors gave way to hearty laughter.

Pale and trembling, the suffering military captain again took his station on the dining-room table, directing the buckets. A brother officer passing noticed his pallor, and presently returned with a common tumbler three-fourths full of brandy. "Drink that and be happy," said the good Samaritan, and even as the fiery liquid passed down his throat the distressing sensations commenced to disappear. In ten minutes the sea-sickness had given place to a feeling of positive exhilaration, the one thought uppermost being, "We must save the ship." All night long the bucket gangs labored, and the work of preparing the hatches went on, and at daylight every man of the relief on duty was at his post working earnestly at what seemed to be a hopeless task. As the gray light of the dawn began to creep over the mist-covered sea, Captain Van Sice turned to a regimental captain standing near him, saying: "You say you are familiar with the sea?" An affirmative answer being given, he continued, handing him a binocular: "Then, for God's sake, keep a sharp look out for a sail, for if we don't meet one to-day I am afraid we never will."

"Do you consider our situation as bad as that?"

"Yes; the water has gained on us steadily since the engine stopped, and is now washing into the flues of the boilers. If it had not been for your regiment I should have abandoned the ship last night."

"But the hogsheads are at work now; won't they make a difference?"

"I hope so, but there is barely room for the hope. If we can keep the water down to its present level and we escape a severe storm, we may get through, but the chance is a slim one."

The officer obeyed instructions, carefully sweeping the horizon, limited by the



falling rain, while at the same time directing his company, which, manning the falls at the after-hatch, every three minutes brought up a hogshead of water from the hold. Walking away cheerily, and with the trained military step of veterans, they accompanied their monotonous tramp with a plantation melody, occasionally varying the strain by a sudden burst into one of the glorious army songs which had, and still have, so great a power to stir the blood. The triumphant strains of "Marching through Georgia," seemed a singular accompaniment to a fifty-foot tramp forward and backward on the slippery deck of a half-swamped steamer, but it was inspiring, and in the enthusiasm of the moment it is doubtful if many of the men remembered that there was nothing between them and eternity but that constant tramp.

More than one binocular swept the gray horizon that Sunday morning. From the rail, from the quarter-deck, from the shrouds, from the tops, from the cross-trees glasses ranged the surface, but all to no purpose. No sail appeared, and gradually the conviction grew upon us that we would be forced to spend another night in the sinking ship.

All day long the ceaseless tramp of three companies hoisting from the hatches, the great splash of the water from the hogsheads, the rattle of the buckets, and the songs of the men told of the mighty struggle going on. But it was not all discouraging. At noon came the welcome tidings that the water had been lowered three inches. It was no longer a question of doubt. It was a matter of endurance alone, and not a man in that great company thought of fatigue. Every two hours the workers were relieved, and threw themselves down, anywhere, for a brief two hours' repose. As they came off duty each was served with a cup of coffee. As they went on a "jigger" of spirits gave them renewed energy. The log, thrown at intervals during the day, showed our progress to be four miles an hour, with a considerable drift westward. As we were two hundred and forty miles from the Mississippi at the time of the discovery of the leak, and the drifting would carry us some forty miles west of the river, it was calculated that it would require forty-eight hours to strike the coast. Could the men maintain their strength under the constant strain of two days? It was a problem of which none dared attempt the solution. We could only work on until nature refused to obey the will, and then, as Captain Van Sice expressed it, "all go down together."

No change occurred in the situation during Sunday. No harbinger of hope, in the shape of a sail, appeared. The men worked hard and cheerfully. There were but few skulkers, and they were promptly reported by their indignant comrades and dragged out by the officers.

The examinations of the carpenter had developed the fact that the leak was caused by the breaking of the iron supply pipe through which the water for the condenser was taken from the sea. As this pipe passed through the bottom of the ship, it could not be reached. A stream of water six inches in diameter was rushing into the ship, to offset which three hundred men were required to work con-

stantly. Late Sunday afternoon a startling discovery was made. But a few barrels of water remained. As the condenser was relied upon, and that without fire was useless, the torments of thirst stared us in the face. Every two hours a barrel and a half of water was required for coffee. There was barely enough to last till Monday morning. A guard was placed on the supply, with instructions to permit no one to use it except the cooks. It was still raining, and the ship's boats were nearly full. This was so mixed with sea water as to be useless. It was emptied, the boats wiped as dry as possible, and again allowed to fill; the covers were taken from the life-boats housed on the main deck, and arrangements made to save all the water caught in the bellying sails. A full supply of water was insured so long as the rain continued. Fortunately, the rain continued without cessation. To be sure, the dashing spray would saturate the sails, and send bucketfuls of sea water into the boats, but it was, compared with the sea water, fresh, and if the coffee did have a queer taste, it was hot.

And so passed the day, drearily, painfully, but not discouragingly. We had the water under control, and as night fell we felt that thirty-six hours more would put us upon the mud banks of the coast of Louisiana.

The scene on deck as darkness settled down was singularly picturesque and thrilling. Lanterns and torches illuminated the ship from stem to stern, the lurid glow seemingly reflected back from the outer wall of darkness, and causing the ship to appear the center of a halo of her own creation. The dark figures of the men, bowing to the strain as the huge hogsheads were swung from the depths of the dismal hold, and walking leisurely back while the great bucket was again lowered; the shrinking figures of the women passengers, watching with anxious timidity the movements of their preservers (in intent, at least), the restless, nervous movements and sharp commands of the officers, and the constant and cheerful songs with which the labor was accompanied, altogether formed a scene which will remain impressed upon the memory of the actors as long as memory has a place in the economy of life.

In the engine-room the scene was, if possible, still more striking. The vast pile of machinery, fifteen or twenty feet square, and extending from the deck far into the depths of the hold, was surrounded at regular intervals by light iron-work platforms, for the convenience of the engineers in inspecting the various portions of the great engine. Immediately beneath the lowermost platform was the plank flooring, resting upon the ribs of the ship. At each corner of the engine this planking was taken up, in order to permit the men to fill the buckets. The water rushed to and fro with the motion of the ship, usually rising to the waist of the lowermost man, and frequently dashing entirely over his head. The gangs of men were stationed at the corners—two men at each corner of each platform. The buckets were passed upward from man to man until the deck was reached. A man rarely remained at the bottom longer than three minutes. Blinded and half strangled with salt water, bruised with lumps of coal dashed about by the water, he was glad

enough to make room for his relief. On each platform an officer or sergeant saw that no hitch took place in the passage of the buckets. At regular intervals torches were lashed to the railings surrounding the platform. The glare of the torches, the smoke, the dusky yet shining visages of the men formed a picture worthy of the gallery of the Inferno. The roar of the water, at this point unobstructed by cotton bales, was deafening, and yet above it all rose the harmony of fifty voices blending with the deep bass of the rushing waters and the shrill tenor of the tempest.

“There I shall bathe my weary soul  
In seas of heavenly rest,  
And not a wave of trouble roll  
Across my peaceful breast.”

About nine o'clock Sunday evening came the welcome sight of the beautiful lights of a steamer on our larboard quarter. Appearing to be on our own course, and not more than half a mile distant, we felt certain that our extreme perils were over. The captain ordered the ship's number to be burned in colored lights, and the gun to be fired. The latter was no easy task. Spray dashed over the fore-castle continually. It was difficult to convey the cartridges into the gun before they were saturated. There were no primers on board, and musket cartridges had to be used to prime the gun. While a hat was held over the vent-hole, the gun was touched off with a cigar. The beautifully colored lights of the steamer came nearer and nearer, we meanwhile sending up rockets, burning blue lights, and firing our gun. But we were doomed to disappointment. The stranger kept on her course, and left us involved in a gloom deeper than the night. We afterward learned that her captain disregarded our appeals because our gun was not fired exactly once a minute.

Another long night passed, and at daylight the water had been reduced a foot. As the light grew stronger, to our intense joy we noticed that the blue water had given place to water of a light green shade—a certain indication of shoaling bottom. Our enthusiasm was somewhat damped, however, by the statement of the captain that the water shoaled very gradually in this part of the Gulf, and we were still nearly a hundred miles from land. It was shoaling, however, and as the men were still good for another day's work, and perhaps more, we were under no further apprehensions, so long as the wind held.

During these anxious hours on deck, how was it in the cabin? To their shame be it said, the only skulkers were those who should have set an example of courage and endurance. One officer of the Forty-third only was included in this category. With the exception of the discharged lieutenant-colonel, an officer of the Forty-fifth Colored, well known to us, and two or three of the business men and drummers, the passengers remained in their state-rooms, resisting all appeals to assist in the labor of saving their own lives. The wife of the St. Louis physician, in response to a request for her husband to join the working force, replied, “There are plenty of

niggers to do that." The staff dandies resolutely kept their berths. The cabin cooks and stewards struck, and moped in their quarters, declining to make any effort to refresh the exhausted officers, when, relieved from a tour of duty, they sought food and repose in the cabin. Learning of this, the New Orleans lady, aided by the school-teachers, went into the galley, routed the cravens, and with their own fair hands prepared food and coffee for the men. From that time until we grounded, there was not a moment when there was not an abundance of food to refresh exhausted nature.

All day Monday the water gradually shoaled, the men working with such energy that at nightfall the water had been reduced another foot. Without water, and the whisky being exhausted, recourse was had to private stores. Twenty barrels of oranges belonging to the captain, and a quantity of lemons belonging to the regiment served to quench the thirst of the men, and twenty or thirty cases of French brandy, the private property of the military officers, purchased in Matamoras, supplied the necessary stimulant. Toward evening a light was seen, and, satisfied that it was a light-house, the captain brought the ship to an anchor. Soon after midnight, for the second time, a steamer was discerned approaching us. Our rockets, blue lights and signal guns soon brought her alongside, when we learned that she was the *Morgan*, bound from Galveston to New Orleans, and upon learning our danger promised to lay by us until morning, and then take us in tow. At daylight a few barrels of water and all her spare buckets were sent to us, and we presently started upon the last stage of our momentous journey. We had struck the Timbaler Light, forty-five miles west of South-west Pass, and were about twenty miles from shore. As the men were all willing to prolong their efforts a few hours, it was decided to make the run to the river, rather than beach the ship where we were. Another long day passed, but all fear had disappeared. There was nothing now but continued exertion necessary. So much was the situation improved that even the skulkers came on deck and attempted to save some remnants of their reputation by proffering their services. The five foolish virgins, however, did not have a harder time of it.

The great ocean steamer, so nearly water-logged, proved a heavy load for the little coasting steamer *Morgan*, and though our progress was as rapid as it had been under sail, we seemed only to creep. At 4 P.M. of Tuesday, Nov. 14, the towing hawser gradually tightened, the ship glided gently upon the bar with an even keel, and we were safe, after sixty-five hours of hardship and toil and peril. Strong men, who had worked constantly with songs and smiles, threw themselves into each other's arms and wept. Others fell on their knees, and with streaming eyes returned thanks to the Almighty. The officers, more accustomed to self-restraint, clasped hands, and congratulated each other upon the courage and perseverance mutually displayed. In half an hour, and for ten hours afterward, there was scarcely a man in the ship who was not locked in heavy slumber.

The striking incidents of our peril were numerous. The little Israelite men-

tioned was a source of perpetual amusement and the butt of many practical jokes. He ran about, wringing his hands and bewailing the loss of his passage money, and received more cuffs and sly trips than sympathy. Wandering near where a company of men were engaged in hauling up one of the hogsheads, a lieutenant seized him, and in stern tones ordered him to assist, under penalty of being thrown overboard. Terror-stricken, the poor fellow laid hold of the rope, but attempted to pull in the wrong direction. As a consequence he was knocked down, the entire company tramping over him, administering sundry kicks and thumps as they passed. Bruised and sore, he drifted into the engine-room. The captain in charge cut the interview short by promptly dropping him down to the next platform, with orders to have him relieve the man in the well at the bottom of the gang. In three minutes, half drowned and bruised with the buckets dropped on his head and shoulders, he was dragged out more dead than alive, and disappeared in the cabin, to be seen no more during the voyage.

The corpse was a standing terror to the seamen. With the superstition of their class, they attributed our disaster to the presence of the "cadaver." On Sunday night, while one of the captains was standing near the case containing the body, an old salt touched him on the shoulder, with the remark: "Say, Cap; we'll never reach shore with that 'ere stiff on board." The lady in whose care the body was being taken to its destination had been so self-sacrificing in her efforts to contribute to our comfort, that there was not a soldier in the regiment who would have stood by and permitted her precious charge to be tossed overboard. The captain who had been addressed settled the question by stationing a guard, with instructions to permit no one to touch it.

On that same Sunday night, when hope was at the lowest ebb, after our desertion by the steamer signaled, an officer lounging about the quarter-deck noticed some of the cabin servants placing bags and kegs in the boat hanging from the stern davits. Examining the packages, he found that they contained provisions and water. It was evident that their intention was to desert the ship. While they were of no use to us, the moral effect of their desertion would have been disastrous. Accordingly each boat was guarded, the sentries having instructions to shoot any man that should attempt to cast them off. The crew were then called together, and made to understand that all would be saved or go to the bottom together. There was no further trouble on that score.

On the 16th, just a week after our departure, we were finally landed once more in New Orleans, minus nearly all our baggage, half of the regiment bareheaded, and many with little save the clothing on their persons. The losses exceeded those of an ordinary battle, and the terror inspired was infinitely greater.

R. G. DILL.

## AARON BURR AT QUEBEC IN 1775

*Letter from James Parton*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

In your Number for April, Major-General Cullum calls in question my statement that Aaron Burr, at the assault upon Quebec in 1775, attempted to carry off the body of General Montgomery. I beg to remind your contributor that the chief authority for this part of my narrative was Rev. Samuel Spring, chaplain to the expedition, who saw Captain Burr make the attempt and actually carry the body some distance down the hill. Samuel Spring was father of Dr. Gardiner Spring, long the pastor of the Brick Church in New York. The conduct of Colonel Burr on that occasion made a vivid and indelible impression upon the mind of the young clergyman. I printed a statement to this effect by Dr. Spring in my life of Burr, Vol. I., p. 374. I may add, that the late Rev. Dr. Van Pelt, who attended Burr in his last sickness, and conversed freely with him on all subjects, told me that Burr on his death-bed mentioned that he was close to General Montgomery when he fell, and declared that if he had been in command he would have gone on, after the General's death, and taken the place.

Allow me, Madame, to congratulate you on the growing power and interest of the Magazine so ably conducted by you.

JAMES PARTON

NEWBURYPORT, Mass., March 30, 1884

*Letter from William Morton Fullerton*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

The recent death of Wendell Phillips has awakened in many minds recollection of those stirring days before the war, in which the sparks that had been smouldering for years finally began to brighten and to send forth brilliant flashes of light. The riots in Boston streets and the agitation through all these Eastern States, many of us can vividly recall, and among the exciting incidents of that period, none aroused more interest than the case of Anthony Burns.

It is told in history that this slave, having escaped to the North, was seized and lodged in the court-house at Boston; that, after the news of his detention became known, the excitement was so intense that a great mass-meeting was held in old Faneuil Hall, and Wendell Phillips sought to check the headstrong recklessness of the citizens, and deter them from attacking the court-house that night, by telling them that "the zeal which would not keep till the next day would never free a slave;" that, on the following day, battering-rams were used against the court-house by a mob; that one man who opposed the abolitionists was killed; that,

notwithstanding the efforts of these Boston patriots, Burns was carried back to Virginia by order of the President, and restored to his former owner.

Just here the histories stop. The cause of this silence is not because the subsequent circumstances of Burns's life are of no interest, but because it has curiously escaped the notice of historical writers. As far as I know, nothing has been published concerning the slave's life after he was remanded to his former owner. Indeed, no one seems to be aware that he was freed from bondage and came North a second time. Acquainted as I am with these facts, I send you this brief account, believing the readers of your Magazine will be interested in the sequel to his career. Burns, as we have said, was restored to his master, Charles F. Suttle, of Alexandria, Virginia. His return to the South took place in 1854. In Amherst dwelt a Miss Ball at the time, who corresponded with her cousin at Alexandria. The latter being an extreme partisan of slavery, mentioned in one of her letters that Anthony Burns was back with his former master, and she "guessed he would stay there now." To a Northerner such a remark was displeasing, and Miss Ball at once became eager to discover some means of gaining the freedom of the slave. The letter was shown to her father, Rev. Mr. Ball, and to Rev. Mr. Stockbridge, both of Amherst, and through the efforts of these two gentlemen enough money was obtained to purchase Burns. Twelve hundred dollars was the price of the negro, and for this amount Suttle gave him his freedom. Burns immediately came to the North, and for a time lived at Mr. Ball's home in Amherst. This sale of Burns reveals a change of sentiment with Suttle, for when the poor slave was in the slave-pen at the court-house in Boston, negotiations were made in vain with his master for his purchase. The following hand-bill, posted about the streets of Boston, is interesting in this connection :

"THE MAN IS NOT BOUGHT.

"HE IS STILL IN THE SLAVE-PEN IN THE COURT-HOUSE.

"The kidnapper agreed, both publicly and in writing, to sell him for twelve hundred dollars. The sum was raised by eminent Boston citizens, and offered. He then claimed more. The bargain was broken. The kidnapper breaks his agreement, though even the United States commissioner advised him to keep it. *Be on your guard against all lies.* WATCH THE SLAVE-PEN. Let every man attend the trial. Remember Monday morning at eleven o'clock."

It is evident that Suttle, after he had triumphed over the Northern abolitionists by recovering Burns, had no further wish in regard to him, but was easily induced to sell him for the twelve hundred dollars before demanded. Burns was sent to a Western college to be educated. Here he was taken sick, after a very few months of study, and died.

WALTHAM, Mass.

WILLIAM MORTON FULLERTON.

## NOTES

PHILENIA—Among the manuscripts of an old Kinderhook gentleman long since deceased, who was a great admirer and bosom-friend of John Jay, was the following poem dedicated to the latter gentleman, and written nearly a hundred years ago by Mrs. Morton (“*Philenia*”), of whose literary productions a critical notice appeared in a recent number of this Magazine. H. C. V. S.

TO THE HON. JOHN JAY, ESQ.

Born through the paths of fame to move,  
 Grac'd by a grateful people's love  
 Whether the helm of State you guide,  
 Or bid the stormy war subside,  
 Or, to the clement virtues dear,  
 From *Afric* catch the falling tear,  
 Or, with a voice whose dulcet strain  
 Might soothe the sad'ning soul of pain,  
 O'er the stern Courts of Law preside  
 Nor seem to lean on Mercy's side,  
 Or, in thy soft retirement blest,  
 Feel all the Father warm thy breast ;  
 Thine is fair Virtue's noblest cause  
 And thine the summit of applause :  
 Nor shall a factious, fraudulent sway  
 E'er tear one Laurel'd wreath away.  
 To thee the generous heart extends,  
 For thee, the patriot's prayer ascends,  
 On thee the *rightful* suffrage falls.  
 For thee the *sacred People* calls.  
 Wronged of their hopes the num'rous band  
 Determined wait thy guiding hand  
 E'en while degraded *Freedom* turns  
 To where defeated *Friendship* mourns ;  
 Thus when the midnight's vap'ry breath  
 In clouds obscure the Sylvan heath,  
 No strains of music cheer the vale,  
 No flowret scents the fresh'ning gale,  
 Till the Bright Sun's benignant ray  
 Dispers the gloom and pours the day.

PHILENIA

THE ZERO OF BAPTISMAL NAMES—  
 Zurishhaddi Key, (Tape Weaver from

Manchester) Being about to set up his Trade in Norwich Landing, wants to purchase a Quantity of Linen Yarn.—  
*Connecticut Gazette, August 29, 1777.*

PETERSFIELD

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON—Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis in his article entitled, “Governor Thomas Hutchinson,” in the current number of the *Atlantic* : “Though it may seem to be in defiant reversal of the contemporary and the historically renewed and popularly accepted judgment passed upon Hutchinson, the writer will plainly and frankly express the opinion which a careful and candid study of the subject has led him to adopt. Having accepted his office, and bound himself by his official oath to his sovereign, no charge of faithlessness, self-seeking, inconsistency, duplicity, or intentional wrong of any kind can be sustained against him. He neither said nor did, proposed nor advised, adopted nor pursued, anything beyond or inconsistent with the purpose and the duty of a thoroughly upright, well-intentioned, and kindly hearted man. For the most part he controlled his temper, and guarded his utterance under exasperating provocations.” The Diary and Letters of Hutchinson, recently published, which inspired these words from an eminent scholar, furnishes ample proof, we are further told, that all Hutchinson's “advice and influence with king and ministry, official and social friends, indicate a man of high integrity, of good judgment, and of noble magnanimity. Not one word or utterance of an embittered or resentful feeling comes



from his pen. When he is brooding over the scrutiny, to which his private correspondence for eight years of contention would be subjected by his heated enemies, he cheers himself with the thought 'that they would find nothing there untruthful, dishonorable, or malicious.' "

GORDON'S HISTORY—Dr. Gordon of Roxbury, near Boston, has, for some time past, been collecting materials for an History of the late Revolution, and, we are told, is now employed in writing this necessary but arduous work. Congress have permitted their Secretary, conformable to the petition of the Doctor to that august body, to lay before him, in order to assist his undertaking, any papers or files, excepting instructions to the ministers at foreign Courts, and acts or records which hitherto have been considered as confidential or secret.—*N. Y. Packet, Sept. 2, 1784.* W. K.

REVEREND STEPHEN JOHNSON—On page 331 of the April Magazine I notice reference to Rev. Stephen Johnson, son of Nathaniel Johnson and Sarah Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey, and sometime a minister at Lyme, Connecticut, and think it possible that the accompanying letter from him to his brother-in-law, David Gardiner, may be of interest in this connection. Rev. Stephen Johnson was a man of refinement, culture and of considerable parts. Previous to the breaking out of the Revolution he was

active in advocating resistance to the king, and was the author of the first printed article pointing toward unqualified rebellion. After the commencement of the struggle for Independence he was chaplain in the Continental Army. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Diodati, a descendant through a long line of Italian Counts, Generals, Gonfaloniers, etc., from Cornelio Diodati of Lucca, 1300. His second wife was Mary Blake, daughter of John Gardiner, 5th Lord of the Manor of Gardiner's Island.

DIODATI

(*The letter.*)

Dear Brother,

I sho'd have been glad of a few lines from you by our Hon<sup>d</sup> Father, but am free to Excuse it on account of the Unexpected hurry in which he came away—but hope you will make up for Silence in a personal Visit to us in a little while. I forgot to send your Smollet last fall but have Sent it by this opportunity. Give you thanks for the use of it—have tho't of making our Visit to my Parents in the Jersies the beginning of June by the way of Long Island. On that supposition we hope to see and spend some time with you upon the Island.—No remarkable news—Excepting by conversation with some of the Judges of our Superior Courts and Some other Gent<sup>n</sup> the Last week I perceive 'tis pretty probable the Government in this N. America will Likely have Some new modeling at home, if so the Colony of Connecticut perhaps may be more interested in it than some others—'tis a very remarkable time of health Thro' the Country—Your Sister is with me in our Kind Love to—

Who am Your  
Affectionate Brother  
Stephen Johnson.

Lyme in Connecticut  
12 April, 1763.

## QUERIES

BROWN (ix. 71.)—Through my pamphlet on "Oliver Brown"—who served in the Revolutionary War from Lexington to Yorktown, destroyed the statue of George III. in New York, settled and died in Virginia on the Ohio River—a very interesting fact has lately come to my knowledge. In the band of "Mohawks" who destroyed the tea in Boston harbor (at which Capt. Oliver Brown was present), there was another person named *Brown*, who also became a Captain in the Revolutionary Army, and was stationed on the Ohio River in Virginia before and after the close of the war. He moved subsequently to Florida, married, and at his death in 1835 left one son.

The friend who narrated his history to me says: "Brown was a tall, strong, and sinewy man when I met him at St. Mary's, Georgia, in 1834; even in his extreme age full of interesting anecdotes, honest and simple, with not even a spice of boasting. His son had 'taken up' with a colored woman, and the old father declared that the property he had worked hard to accumulate should not go to these mulattoes. He was then on his way to Massachusetts in pursuit of some relatives for his heirs—if haply he might

find some—when he was taken sick at St. Mary's and had to return to his plantation on the St. John River. At St. Mary's he met a young physician from Bridgeport, Conn., Dr. Fredrick I. Judson, who attended him back to his plantation and was afterward called to visit him professionally, and as a friend. Capt. Brown took a strong liking to Dr. Judson and by will left him his plantation and negroes worth about \$20,000. The son entered suit for the estate, and after a tedious trial a compromise was effected. Brown, Jr., enjoyed the estate for his life-time and then it came to Dr. Judson. The "Brown-Judson negroes" were for years a nuisance along the St. John's River almost down to the Civil War. Subsequent to the death of Brown, Jr., and Dr. Judson, the widow of the latter, his third wife, moved to New Haven to educate her children. Dr. Judson was graduated from Yale College, A. B. 1824, M.D., 1829, and died 1862.

Who was this Brown?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

CAN any of your readers inform me what became of the plates of the portraits contained in Herring and Longacre's "National Portrait Gallery"? F.

## REPLIES

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xl. 360]—Soon after my marriage (a quarter of a century ago) a kind parent handed to me Daniel Webster's directions for boiling potatoes. I have followed the recipe with approbation and now venture to send it as a proof that Mr. Webster was skilled in

the culinary art. "Let the potatoes be peeled early and thrown into a basin of cold water till time to cook them. Let them be boiled in a good deal of water. When done, pour off all the water, shake up the potatoes a little, hang on the pot again, and let the potatoes dry two or

three minutes, and then bring them to the table."

I am sure Mr. Webster made a delicious chowder, and would like the recipe.

LUCRETIA

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xi. 360]—Daniel Webster *was* famous for his chowder, and I append his own recipe for it for Minto's particular benefit.

"DANIEL WEBSTER'S CHOWDER for a large fishing party—Cod of ten or twelve pounds well cleaned, leaving on the skin, cut into slices of one and a half pounds thick, preserving the head whole, one and a half pounds clear fat salt pork cut in thin slices; do the same with twelve potatoes. Take the largest pot you have, try out the pork first, take out the pieces of pork, leaving in the dripping; add to that three parts water, a layer of fish so as to cover the bottom of the pot, next a layer of potatoes, then two tablespoonfuls of salt, one teaspoonful of pepper, then the pork, another layer of fish, and the remainder of the potatoes; fill the pot with water enough to cover the ingredients, put it over a good fire, let the chowder boil twenty-five minutes; when this is done have a quart of boiling milk ready and ten hard crackers split and dipt in cold water, add milk and crackers, let the whole boil five minutes, the chowder is then ready and will be first rate if you have followed the directions. An onion is added if you like that flavor."

M. G. P.

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xi. 360]—Webster learned the art of making good chowder from his neighbors at Marshfield. The people were in the habit of

coming seven or eight miles across the country for a day's fishing in the sea. It was customary on their return to the shore to have a chowder cooked. Webster had a stable near his boat-house on the beach, which the farmers were allowed to use for their teams. Harvey relates an anecdote of Webster sending fish from his house to a party of these excursionists who were unsuccessful in their sport, that they might enjoy their usual pot of chowder.

M. E. T.

MRS. WEBSTER MADE THE CHOWDER [xi. 360]—Daniel Webster wrote from his home at Marshfield, July 29th, 1851. "We went a-fishing yesterday and brought in a good fare; but we did not catch a halibut, nor did we see or hear of a single haddock; there are a few mackerel in the bay, of an uncommonly large size, and we have just had one for our breakfast \* \* \* \* Mrs. Webster is making us a nice chowder for our dinner to-day out of a codfish, very large and grey, which Mr. Blatchford took yesterday at a quarter past two o'clock. \* \* \* \* It is likely that after the dish of chowder we shall be so fortunate as to have some nice baked beans with a little slice of pork. If you were here we should invite you to partake of these good things."

The Mrs. Webster referred to was his second wife Caroline, daughter of Herman Le Roy, of New York. His guest was the well known Richard M. Blatchford, father of the Hon. Samuel Blatchford of the U. S. Supreme Court.

It is singular that the names of three distinguished men, who have been honored with statues in New York city,

should have been identified with preparations of food, viz.: *Webster* with chowder; *Washington* with pie; and the illustrious liberator of Colombia with the school-boys' favorite *Bolivar*.

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PETERSFIELD

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xi. 360]—It is a well-known weakness of all true lovers of angling not only to direct how to catch, but to properly cook fish. Daniel Webster used to boast that he could "plank shad" with any Negro on the Potomac. He early experimented in improving the old convenient dish of boiled fish, pork, and potatoes, that had been a favorite at Plymouth and its vicinity, since the Pilgrims on their arrival there boiled clams with corn after the Indian fashion.

Yachters, piscators and artists, during their summer trips, often attempt, with varying success, a concoction of fish and clams for an out-of-door lunch. The amateur cook has generally to consume most of the preparation as a proof of his skill. Members of the "Pot-Luck Club" frequently give points to verdant reporters as to the proper condiments necessary for a perfect success. The true "*Webster chowder*" has preserved its reputation, and will pass down to future generations of picnickers as a perfect and wholesome dish.

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MONTAUK

FLAGS OF THE REVOLUTION [xi. 260, 360]—The letter of the American Commissioners is dated Passy, 9th October, 1778. The correspondence is printed in the diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution, I. 469. MINTO.

FIRST PIECE OF ARTILLERY [xi. 360]—A twenty-four-pounder was cast at Reading Furnace, Pa., March 21, 1776. During the same year there were thirty-one 12-pounders, and sixty-one 18-pounders cast at Warwick and Reading furnaces for the State of Pennsylvania. Joseph Huff writes under date of "Hibernia Furnace, N. J., Nov., 21, 1776.—The above works are now employed in making cannon, large round shot, grape-shot, etc." Dec. 20, 1776, Daniel Joy makes report to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania of the proving of two brass cannon cast by Major Doxley. One of the guns burst, and the muzzle of the other was injured so that it had to be sawed off. Cannon were cast in Virginia about this time, but I am unable, at this moment, to find the account.

It may be proper, although it does not come within the request made by Dorp, to state that Captain B. Stoddart, in a letter to Gov. Clinton, dated New York, July 30, 1750, says: "Three leagues to the westward of this [Trois Rivières] there is a very fine iron mine, where they have a large furnace and fine forges, and there is a report current that they cast cannon, etc., at that place; I saw the moulds of several, and one (cannon) which they had attempted to cast but was spoilt in the casting. This mine is the sole property of the king, and I was told that four hundred of his men were daily employed here."

I. C.

ALLEGHENY, Pa., March 29, 1884

## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular meeting of the Society, April 1, the chair was taken by Benjamin H. Field, Esq., Second Vice-President, who announced to the Society the decease, at his residence in this city, on Thursday, March 28, of the Hon. Augustus Schell, President of the Society.

On motion of Dr. George H. Moore, it was referred to the Executive Committee to prepare a suitable memorial notice of the late President for the records, and provide for such further action on his death as may be proper on the part of the Society.

The paper of the evening was a most interesting one, contributed by the eminent scholar Dr. John Gilmary Shea, on "Columbus and the Men of Palos," in which, in his usual concise and perspicuous manner the learned lecturer gave the results of recent examinations of the Spanish archives bearing upon the ever-interesting subject of the great navigator's career, especially upon his relations with the Pinzons.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society: Capt. Cesareo Fernandez Duro, of Madrid, Spain; Rev. John Livingston Willard, Thomas L. Feitner, Alrick H. Man, Charles C. Beaman, Frederick S. Church, Bleecker N. Mitchill, Henry Walter Webb, Hamilton McK. Twombly, George W. Vanderbilt and Rev. W. R. Huntington, D.D.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular quarterly meeting of this Society was held on the evening of April 1, in the Cabinet building, President Gammell in the chair. After the

business session, which embraced a discussion of the proposed publication of a volume on early Rhode Island history, by the Society, several members read brief papers or made short addresses on various interesting topics. Dr. Parsons read two or three grandiloquent elegies written on ancient celebrities, including a quaint set of verses on Thomas Savage, one of the old Massachusetts sages of 1682, in which the poet lamented the fact that death should have the audacity to take men of high degree instead of confining his attacks to the "peasantry," as he should; also some amusing though intended serious verses on Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York city. It was incidentally mentioned that the Newport Magazine will hereafter be called the "Rhode Island Magazine," and the interest and support of the members of the Society were bespoken for it.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular April meeting was held on the evening of the 7th at Hodgson's Hall, President General Henry R. Jackson presiding. Among other communications was one from W. Grayson Mann, accompanying the specimen of bog oak found buried near Lake George, Florida, and presented to the society. The communication also referred to an ancient cannon, a 32-pounder, supposed to have been Oglethorpe's cannon, which Mr. Mann presented to the society.

J. J. Abrams, Esq., presented to the society the original drawings made by the Engineering Department of North-

ern Virginia, showing the lines of the armies in a number of important battles during the war. A copy of the transactions of the Oneida (N. Y.) Historical Society was presented by its Secretary, C. W. Darling. T. M. Cunningham, Esq., presented to the society a box of curiosities, including a number of slate impressions of ferns and plants, iron ore, etc., from this State and Alabama.

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CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A monthly meeting of this society was held in its hall, 140-142 Dearborn Avenue, on the evening of March 18, 1884. Hon. John Wentworth, Vice-President, occupied the chair. A resolution of thanks was tendered Mr. James H. McVicker for the presentation of a life-size oil portrait of the late Hon. John B. Rice, ex-Mayor and member of Congress from Chicago. General Geo. W. Smith was introduced and read an interesting paper and extracts from letters, formerly belonging to Elias K. Kane, the first Secretary of State of Illinois. The thanks of the society were tendered to General Smith for the large and valuable collection of letters donated to the society.

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ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY — The regular monthly meeting was held in the Library building, at Utica, on the evening of March 31. Hon. Warner Miller, of Herkimer; Geo. W. Schuyler, of Ithaca; and Solomon Griffiths and N. Curtis White, of Utica, were elected members. Valuable donations were acknowledged by Secretary Darling, after which Mr. Batchelor offered resolutions as follows:

*Resolved*, That the standing committee on the Oriskany monument be appointed as the permanent committee of arrangements to perfect and carry out the details of the formal dedication.

*Resolved*, That said committee shall have power to add to its number such persons as it shall select.

Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley presided at the meeting in the Hall, and first introduced Thomas W. Seward, who, in a short address, paid an admirable tribute to the memory of the late S. Wells Williams. Rev. S. G. Visscher then read an able and valuable paper on "The Military Record of Colonel Frederick Visscher," which touched upon many historical events in the Mohawk Valley. At the close of the exercises the following resolution were adopted:

*Resolved*, That the society is pleased to learn that much progress has been made in the arrangements for the celebration of the centennial of the settlement of Whitestown; that the monument is nearly completed, and that speakers have been engaged who will be likely to contribute materially to the interest of the occasion. As much of the promised pleasure of the anniversary will consist in the gathering of descendants of the early settlers for the purpose of an after-dinner review of the events of our early history, and as many of these descendants are now living in far distant places, and the addresses of some of them not easily obtained, we would respectfully request the general committee on the celebration to initiate measures for the selection of the most proper persons to be invited, and to ascertain their addresses in order to transmit them seasonable invitations.

## BOOK NOTICES

MEMOIR OF THURLOW WEED. By his grandson, THURLOW WEED BARNES Vol. II. 8vo, pp 617. New York, 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This volume is an interesting study from whatever standpoint it may be regarded. It is something more to the reader of to-day than the pen portrait of a great politician. It would be impracticable for a grandson to sketch such a life as that of Thurlow Weed and fill the full measure of public expectation. The very nearness of the author to his subject precludes certain possibilities attainable in biography only through longer range of vision. Mr. Weed was in many respects an intellectual giant. He was also a man to be loved; and those who knew him as a father and a friend best understood the secret of his hold upon the human heart. His great strength, his self-control, his forgiving and redeeming characteristics, and his uniform kindness and generosity, endeared him to his family in the same ratio as he commanded the homage of admiring contemporaries to his latest breath. It is the man rather than the memoir that interests the world. Mr. Weed's own magnetic words as given in the first volume of the work—the autobiography—will eclipse any memorial composition that may ever follow, whatever its merits. Mr. Weed's opinions of other men whet the appetite more sharply than any biographer's opinion of Mr. Weed. Mr. Barnes, in recognition of this fact, has quoted scraps of autobiography not hitherto published, and letters of public and private significance; his aim seems to have been to fill the gaps in the volume of autobiography, and to carry out as far as possible the original purpose of his grandfather—interrupted to the regret of all—in the continuation of the story of his public career. Mr. Barnes has executed his work with zealous and scrupulous fidelity, and, although in handling the great mass of priceless historic material which, during the last half century and more, has accumulated in Mr. Weed's library, he has not distinguished himself always by the wisdom of his selections, he has certainly produced a book of value. It overflows with nuts of history. The generation of readers who have just escaped (by coming upon the stage too late) familiarity with the stirring events of the period when Mr. Weed was a political power in himself, individually, will appreciate the information contained in this stately volume. Mr. Barnes may be fully pardoned for his enthusiastic and affectionate sympathy in the political methods and prejudices of his subject. He could not have written otherwise. The knowledge of the near past which the work unfolds commands respect all the same; and it is the special

knowledge that when presented in authentic guise becomes fascinating in the same ratio as it is more difficult to obtain than well-cured and more remote history.

PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA. A Study of Historical Biography. By EUGENE SCHUYLER, Ph.D., LL.D., 2 vols., octavo, pp. 1,000. With upward of 200 illustrations. 1884. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The papers which form these handsome volumes originally appeared as a serial in the *Century*, from which magazine they have been collected, re-arranged, largely re-written, and are now given to the world in convenient and permanent form. Mr. Schuyler has made good use of his opportunities, and the production is creditable to American scholarship. The career of Peter the Great spanned so long a period of time, and was so completely identified with the development of Russia, that it could not fail to interest the reading public, even if the story had been told in a much less concise and pleasing style. The truth has in it all the elements and fascinations of romance. Peter was many-sided, and there are dark pages in his history. But the author, in confining himself to well verified statements and facts, as he evidently has done, could not otherwise than make from such material an attractive book. We miss color and warmth and enthusiasm in many instances from its pages, and are frequently tempted to complain of the want of a general summary of Peter's contradictory and extraordinary characteristics; but we find the life we are following so full of incidents—from boyhood to the grave—that we become absorbed in its perusal and instead of criticising, heartily commend the care and industry and skill which has brought so much of useful information into so compact a compass. The peculiar circumstances of Peter's boyhood, his travels and sojourn in Holland and England, his reformatory measures, his troubles with other nations, the rapid growth of his power, his court intrigues, and conspiracies, and his barbarous punishments, are faithfully recorded in these pages. The illustrations add greatly to the satisfaction of the reader. Particular mention should be made of an elaborate map of Europe, prepared especially for this work. There is also a very fine map of Russia in the time of Peter, at the close of the first volume, and a genealogical table of the Romanoff and Holstein-Gottorp Dynasties at the close of the second volume. The work has also an admirable index.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS. Vol. II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ENOCH LONG. An Illinois Pioneer. By HARVEY REID. 8vo, pp. 134. Vol. III.—THE EDWARDS PAPERS. Being a portion of the Collection of the Letters, Papers, and Manuscripts of Ninian Edwards, presented to the Chicago Historical Society by his son, Ninian Wirt Edwards. EDITED BY E. B. WASHBURN. 8vo, pp. 633. Chicago, 1884. Fergus Printing Co.

These valuable contributions to the historic literature of our country are elegantly printed, and illustrated with fine steel portraits. Enoch Long was associated with the first Sunday schools in Illinois, with the early Temperance and Anti-slavery movements, and with educational matters of moment. He was born in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, in 1790, and died in Sabula, Iowa, in 1881. In 1813, he traveled on foot to what was then the "far West," a little beyond Rochester, New York; and soon after joined the American army on the Niagara frontier, serving honorably his country until the close of the war. His life, from that period until his death, was one of substantial worth and work, and Christian usefulness; and it was closely identified with the marvelous development of the great Western States. The author and the Chicago Historical Society acknowledge their indebtedness to the public-spirited generosity of the scholarly Levi Z. Leiter for the means with which to publish this volume.

The Edwards manuscripts, which form the noble Vol. III., are of exceptional interest and importance. No more competent editor could have been secured for their arrangement and preservation in book form than Elihu B. Washburne, so long in the public service of the nation. Ninian Edwards was the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky; the first and only Governor of Illinois Territory; one of the first two United States Senators from the State of Illinois; and the third Governor of Illinois as a State. He was born in Maryland in 1775, and at the age of twenty removed to Kentucky, where he was elected a member of the State Legislature before he was of age. President Madison appointed him in 1809 to administer the government of the Territory of Illinois, which position he held until 1818. During the early years of our century he held friendly relations with Henry Clay, John Pope, Albert Gallatin, John J. Crittenden, Joseph Charless, the founder of the *Missouri Republican*, Daniel P. Cook, Thomas H. Benton, and other men of eminence, and many of their letters are here published for the first time. As we turn the pages, we find also letters from President Monroe,

Daniel Webster, Sidney Breese, Martin Van Buren, Rufus King, William Wirt, John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Hugh Nelson, and many others of national fame. The book is literally a historic mine, and will be priceless to all students who seek for a clearer view of the movements and events of the epoch which its contents cover. The publication of the volume was at the individual expense of Chicago's great merchant, Marshall Field; and not only the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago herself, and the surrounding West, but historical scholars everywhere and the general public, may be congratulated on the intelligent liberality of Chicago's esteemed citizen. The manuscripts were contributed by Ninian Wirt Edwards, the son of the distinguished Governor.

THE DEARBORNS. A Commemorative Discourse of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Occupation of Fort Dearborn, and the First Settlement at Chicago: Read before the Chicago Historical Society, December 18, 1883. BY DANIEL GOODWIN, JR. With remarks by Hon. John Wentworth, J. Young Scammon, E. B. Washburne, and Isaac N. Arnold. Pamphlet, pp. 56. Chicago, 1884. Fergus Printing Co.

Major-General Henry Dearborn, we are told by the eloquent orator, from his twenty-fourth to his thirty-third year, was personally present and personally fought with gun and sword at Bunker Hill, Quebec, Saratoga, Monmouth, and Yorktown; and his commanders were as varied as the territory over which he fought. In March, 1783, he wrote in his journal: "Here ends my military life." He was sent to Congress in 1792 and 1795, and held the office of Secretary of War from 1801 to 1809. In 1812 he was appointed senior major-general of the army raised to carry on the war with Great Britain; and his son, Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn, at the age of twenty-nine, was made collector of the port of Boston, and commander of the military of that city. They were both remarkable men, and their united history represents two generations of the military, political, social, and business operations and vicissitudes of America. The discourse of Mr. Goodwin is one of great power, admirably presented, and of the highest interest—"A prose poem, with the accuracy of history." The work contains a well-made index, and also the tablet accompanying the portrait of General Henry Dearborn copied from Gilbert Stuart's painting, which was presented to the Chicago Historical Society by Wirt Dexter, Marshall Field, John Crerar, N. K. Fairbank, E. W. Blatchford, Daniel Goodwin, Jr. and Mark Skinner.







THE DUMPLINGS TOWER.

During King Philip's war of 1675-'76, inland stockades and earthworks were constructed, but no sea-coast fortifications.

In 1690, the year in which James II. was defeated at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, a French fleet having made its appearance off our coast, some of the seaports were put in a state of defense by temporary batteries. No permanent works, however, could have been erected in Rhode Island, for, in answer to the rebuke of the mother country that the colony "had not supplied her quota of men and money in aid of the king," the Assembly, in 1696, stated "that the exposed condition of Rhode Island, with forty miles of coast line and three great inlets from the sea *undefended*, had demanded all her strength for self-protection."

The treaty of Ryswick having restored peace to all Europe, October 30, 1697, there seemed to be no pressing necessity for fortifications in Narraganset Bay. This general pacification, however, was of short duration; hence it was deemed prudent to provide for the defense of Newport harbor by erecting an earthwork on Goat Island.\*

The Earl of Bellomont, a man of singular ability and strength of character, had been appointed by William III., March 16, 1697, "to be Governor of the Provinces of New York, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, and to be Captain-General, during the war, of all of His Majesty's forces, both there and in Connecticut and Rhode Island." The latter colony he visited in 1699, and January 10, 1700, the lords of trade made a report to the king on the forts in the Plantations, in which they say "Rhode Island being the most important place on the south-west side of Cape Codd, is so situated as to be a very convenient harbour for shipping and security to that part of the Country in case it were put in a state of

\* CACHANAQUOAT, a Chief Sachem of the Narraganset Indians, sold to Governor Benedict Arnold and John Greene, May 22, 1658, three small islands in the Bay, *Nuntee-Sinunk*, alias Goat Island, *Weenat-Shasitt*, alias Coaster's Harbor Island, and Dyer's Island, for six pounds and ten shillings. Greene, May 27, 1672, transferred to Arnold his entire claim to enable the latter "to pass over his right in ye sayd two islands (Goat and Coaster's Harbor) unto ye Town of Newport if they will pay him ten pounds in current pay for the six pounds and ten shillings which he disbursed yeares agoe on ye acompt." The town of Newport, May 1, 1673, made the purchase of these islands from Arnold. The middle part of Goat Island was reserved for the fortifications, and the two ends, containing about ten acres, were laid out in forty-three building lots. After the Revolution (1794) the State of Rhode Island transferred to the United States the existing fortifications and the land occupied by them; and, April 16, 1799, the town of Newport sold to the United States, for \$1,500, the remainder of the island, no payment, up to that time, having been received from the purchasers of the lots on the two ends. The breakwater and lighthouse pier, running from the north end of Goat Island, were built by Captain (now General) Cullum, in 1836-'38, and a part of the superstructure and lighthouse were completed by Lieut. James L. Mason, of the United States Corps of Engineers. On Henry Jackson's Historical Map in the Redwood Library, Newport, R. I., it is stated that they were constructed by Alex. M. McGregor, who was only the master mason.

defense, which *it has never yet been*, by the mean condition and refractoryness of the inhabitants," and "recommend an appropriation of £150 for fortifications for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

Doubtless, in consequence of this report, Colonel William Wolfgang Romar, "His Majesty's Chief Engineer," was sent to examine Narraganset Bay; for, June 22, 1700, the Earl of Bellomont says to the lords of trade: "I send your Lordships Coll. Romar's Memorial (marked H), which I have turned into English, wherein he gives so particular an Account of the principal Rivers, Bays, and places fit to be fortified, that there is little to be said or remarked by me."

The small appropriation of £150 for fortifying Rhode Island waters probably did not supply more than enough for an earthen battery on Goat Island, Newport Harbor, the first notice of which is to be found in a bill, passed May 7, 1701, by the Assembly of Rhode Island, to sustain the governor in enforcing the navigation act, which provided that "the commander of the fort to be appointed by the governor" should have power to bring to any inward bound vessel by the usual mode of firing "a shot afore her foremast," etc. This small earthen battery (probably thrown up in 1700) the first erected on Goat Island, being found inadequate for the defense of the harbor, a new one was ordered to be constructed, May 6, 1702, by the Assembly, which enacted: "That for the better defense of his Majesty's interest and good subjects, against the public enemy that shall endeavour to invade or assault his Majesty's subjects in this Collony, there shall be a fortification or battery built at the charge of the Collony, in such convenient place near the harbour of Newport, sufficient to mount twelve pieces of ordnance or cannon." This was a small work, but it must be remembered that the population of the colony did not then exceed ten thousand.

Though "*his Majesty*," William III. had died, March 8, 1702, over eight weeks before this enactment, the news had not then reached the colony. As soon, however, as the new work was completed, it took the name of Fort Anne, after the queen of England, who succeeded William III. Subsequently it was much enlarged by appropriations made from time to time by the Assembly. When peace was restored to the world, in 1714, by the Treaty of Utrecht, its garrison was disbanded.

Upon the accession of George II. to the British throne, June 10, 1727, Rhode Island voted an address to his Majesty, in which it is stated that "a regular and beautiful fortification of stone with a battery" had been built at Newport, capacious enough for mounting fifty cannons, which his Majesty was asked to supply.\* Not till three years later was its name of Fort

\* Some of the guns were subsequently supplied through the influence of Sir Charles Wager, who was First Lord of the Admiralty in the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole.

Anne, which it had borne through two reigns, changed to Fort George, a designation which it retained till the outbreak of the Revolution, when and until 1784, it was called Fort Liberty. This work was completed in 1735, though not fully armed, its cost having amounted to £10,000 in the depreciated currency of the colony.

War having been declared in 1739 between England and Spain, the Assembly of Rhode Island ordered Fort George to be repaired and furnished without delay with ammunition and suitable guns; and, in 1740, watch towers were directed to be placed on Point Judith, Castle Hill, Brenton's Point, Sachuest Point, and "on Conanicut Island," to transmit intelligence of every hostile demonstration. Soon after, January 27, 1741, pending the second war with Spain and in anticipation of hostilities with France, the Assembly of Rhode Island directed the battery at Fort George to be enlarged so as to mount ten or more additional cannon. In 1749 the work was reported to be provided with twenty-five guns in the lower battery and twelve cannon on platforms.

The war of England against Spain and France now extended to both hemispheres, and the colonies were required to do their part on this continent. Rhode Island had her share in the colonial expedition of 1745 against Cape Breton under William Pepperell, afterwards knighted for his brilliant capture of the strong and costly fortress of Louisburg. The year after, Rhode Island was to have taken part in the fourth attempt against Canada; but the public mind was soon to be diverted from schemes of conquest to the more imminent necessity of defense against the great armada with which France threatened to retake Louisburg and conquer New England. The greatest alarm pervaded the colonies, and the Assembly of Rhode Island, convened in extra session, ordered that a new battery be added to Fort George, a large garrison be provided, and an ample supply of ammunition be procured for the work. Upon the news of the armistice between the belligerent powers, which preceded the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the garrison of Fort George was disbanded; but a few years later the work had again to be prepared for the renewal of hostilities between England and France on the question of the boundaries of their North American possessions.

The "Old French War" followed, during which Braddock was defeated, Fort William-Henry captured, Abercrombie repulsed at Ticonderoga, Fort Du Quesne taken, and Canada conquered. In this long struggle the colonies materially aided the mother country, besides providing for the defense of their Lake and Atlantic coasts. No point along the latter was more important than Narraganset Bay. Hence Fort George was fully repaired and almost rebuilt by liberal appropriations made by the Assembly

of Rhode Island. In 1761, this work was reported, with "twenty-six mounted guns," to be in excellent fighting order. The Peace of Paris, in 1763, thanks to the genius of Chatham and the valor of Wolfe, had transferred all of French North America to Great Britain; but this colossal contribution to the power of the latter was attended with consequences which were destined to wrench an empire from exulting Albion. In the nine years' contest which had just terminated, the colonies had realized their military prowess, became acquainted with the customs of martial life, were taught to endure the hardships of the camp, had learned the stern lessons of self-sacrifice, became habituated to discipline and to confidence in themselves, and though sometimes defeated and thrown to the ground, Antæan-like they rose renewed in their strength for new contests.

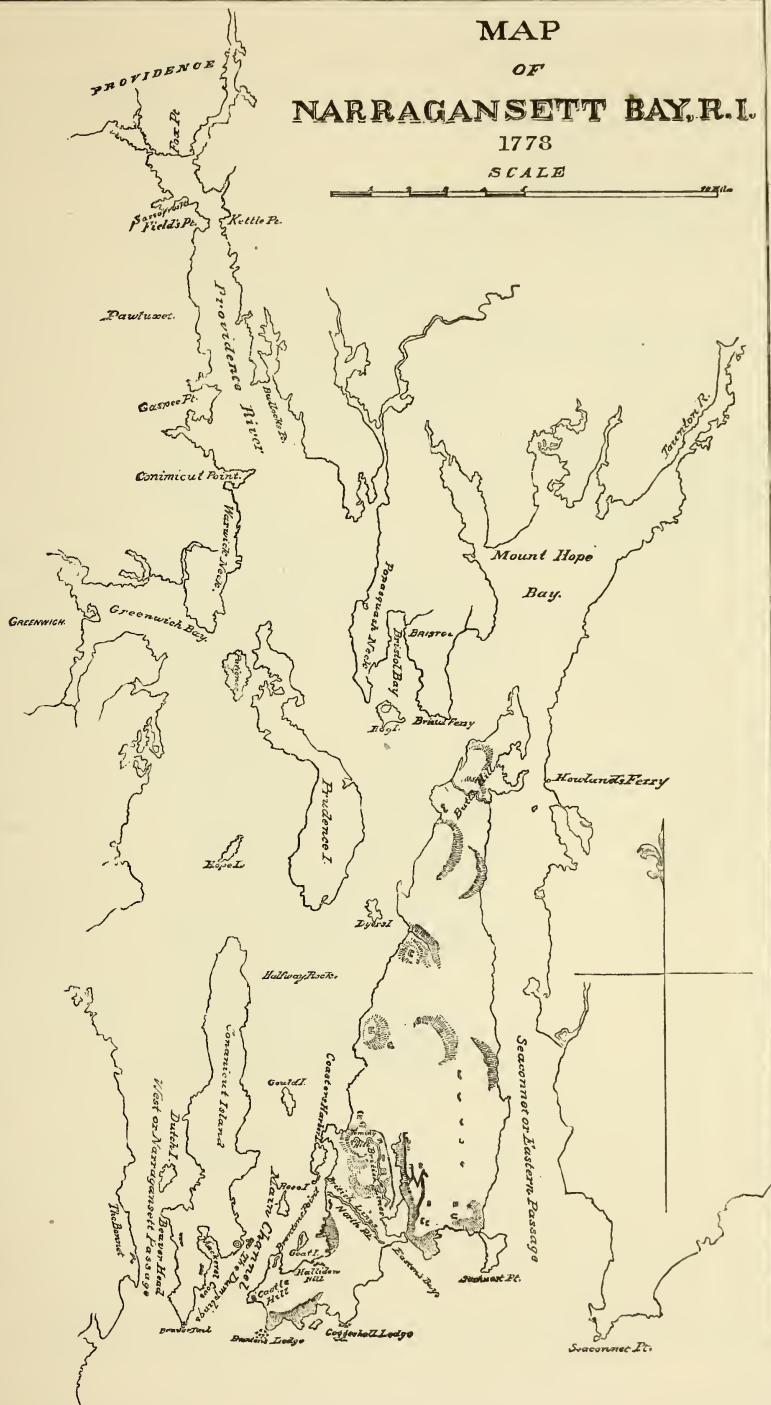
Only two years had elapsed after the Peace of Paris before ungrateful Britain began that series of oppressions which culminated in American independence. Of that attractive history we must limit ourselves to narrating the heroic part taken by little Rhode Island on the shores of Narraganset Bay. The first act of its open resistance was a *mêlée*, July 9, 1764, between a boat's crew of the British schooner *St. John* attempting to carry off an alleged deserter from Newport, which was forcibly resisted, and led to the seizure by the town's people of Fort George, whose guns were trained upon the admiral's ship—the *Squirrel*—against which eight shots were fired. The next year a mob of sailors took possession of and destroyed one of the boats of the English ship of war—*Maidstone*—engaged in impressing seamen in Newport harbor; then, in 1769, came the scuttling of the British armed sloop—*Liberty*—and the dragging of her boats in triumph through the streets of Newport; and, three years later, the *Gaspée* was captured and burned by armed Rhode Islanders in the upper part of Narraganset Bay. All of these daring acts took place long before the battle of Lexington opened, in 1775, the grand drama of the American Revolution.

Foreseeing that the die must soon be cast, the Assembly of Rhode Island, December 5, 1774, ordered the dismantling of Fort George to prevent its use by the enemy, and for safety, removed to Providence its forty cannon and a large supply of ammunition. Batteries were erected also on Fox, Sassafras, Field, Kettle, and Bullock's Points, to defend Providence river; upon the west side and southern end of Popasquash Neck to guard the passage between it and Prudence Island; and upon the southern extremity of Warwick Neck to command the entrance to Greenwich Bay. In quick succession, other places were so protected as to guard against the aggressions of British ships, whose crews were burning houses and barns,

MAP  
OF  
NARRAGANSETT BAY, R. I.

1778

SCALE



plundering the islands and shores, keeping the watch-worn inhabitants in constant alarm, and even threatening to destroy Newport. Such were these depredations that the Continental Congress was memorialized to protect Rhode Island with its one hundred and thirty miles of coast-line and two navigable rivers exposed to the enemy.

Early in 1776, the Marine Committee of Congress, by active exertions and at great expense, had fitted out a squadron of eight vessels, mounting over one hundred guns, which sailed upon a cruise under Commodore Hopkins of Rhode Island. He had been very successful in making captures; and, being desirous of obtaining a supply of powder, then very scarce, he made a descent upon Nassau, New Providence, the capital of the Bahama Islands, captured its two forts with over an hundred cannon and a large amount of military stores, besides taking many prisoners of war, including the governor and lieutenant-governor. On his return, he encountered a British frigate of twenty guns, off Block Island, which escaped from him and ran into Newport harbor. This was the signal for the British fleet to go out in pursuit of the audacious commodore. The night after, April 6, 1776, a slight battery was thrown up on Brenton's Point and armed with several pieces of heavy artillery, which compelled the frigate Hopkins had encountered to retreat further up the bay; but the next day she escaped to sea. Shortly after, the Scarborough of twenty, and Cimetar of eighteen guns, with two prizes, anchored in Newport harbor a little to the south of Rose Island. Two row-galleys from Providence recaptured these prizes, and, with the assistance of a battery thrown up on North Point\* (present site of Fort Greene), compelled the enemy's vessels to seek refuge under Conanicut Island. From this position they were driven by a battery erected at the Dumplings, and were obliged to put to sea, April 14, 1776, under a vigorous cannonade from Brenton's Point and Castle Hill, where a small earthwork had been hastily thrown up, the remains of which are still to be seen. Narraganset Bay was now free from all British cruisers, and on *May* 4, 1776, Rhode Island, by a solemn act of the General Assembly, declared her independence of the mother country, two months preceding that by the Thirteen United Colonies.

Howland and Bristol ferries had already been fortified, and, to prevent further incursions through the main entrance to the bay, old Fort George, now called Fort Liberty, was immediately reconstructed; a stronger earthwork was erected upon Brenton's Point; and the battery on North Point † was enlarged and armed with thirteen of the guns captured at

\* From this point a royal salute was fired, March 18, 1766, upon the repeal of the British Stamp Act.

† See Fig. 1 of Illustration upon opposite page.

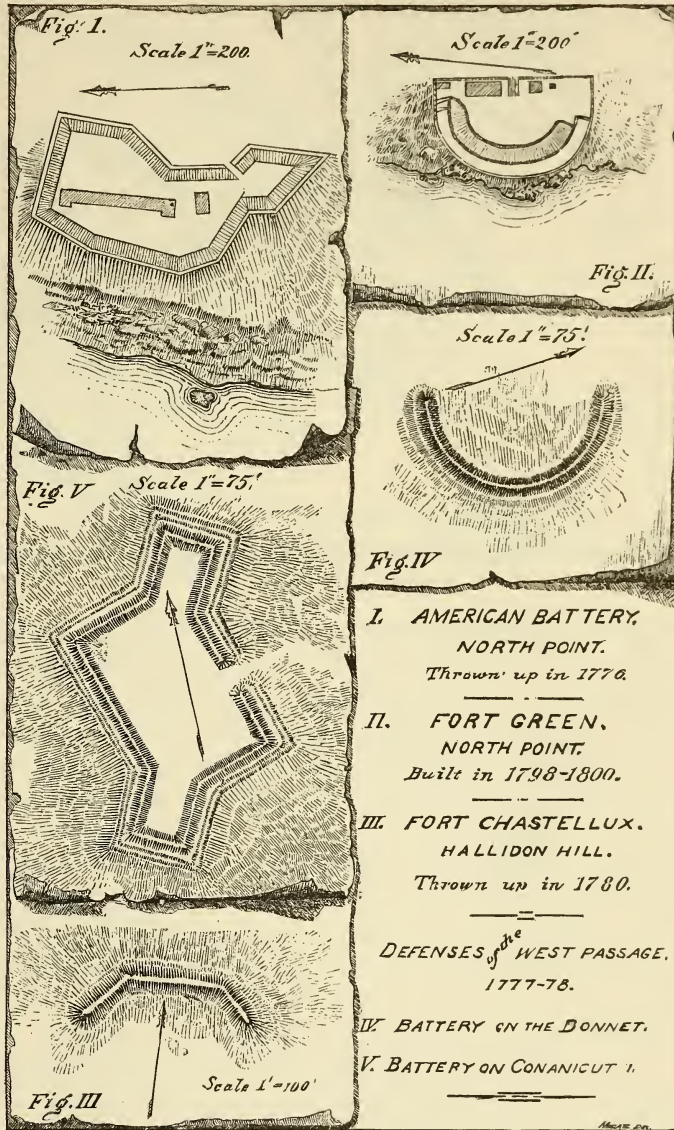


Nassau by Commodore Hopkins. These defended Newport harbor and the middle entrance to the bay; but the west passage was without fortifications.

The British army, March 17, 1776, had been driven by Washington from Boston; or, as the Earl of Suffolk absurdly spoke of this inglorious retreat in the House of Lords: "General Howe thought proper to shift his position in order, in the first place to protect Halifax, and after that object was secured, to penetrate by that way into the interior country."

It now became necessary for the fleet of England to possess some more secure and

capacious roadstead. No place offered such great advantages as Narraganset Bay, where her ships could ride at anchor within its land-locked waters; and no safer base was to be found for the lodgment of her army than the sea-girt isle of Rhode Island. Once in possession of this natu-



THE FIVE BATTERIES.

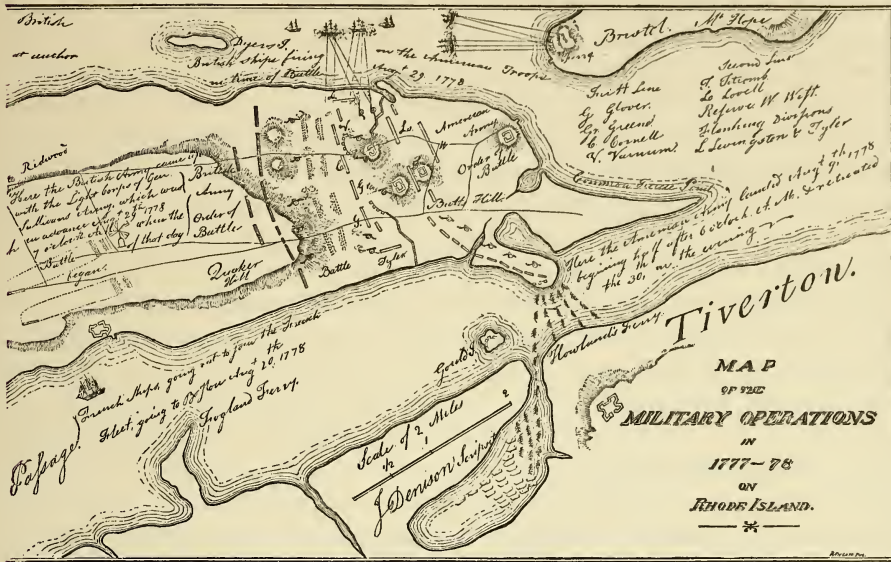


MAP OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN 1777-78 IN RHODE ISLAND.

ral fortress, Britain, with her army and navy, could menace every Atlantic port, and almost bid defiance to the United Colonies. Accordingly, December 7, 1776, while Washington was in the Jerseys with most of the American army, Sir Peter Parker, with a British fleet of eleven vessels of war (seven line-of-battle ships and four frigates), convoying seventy transports having on board six thousand troops, passed unobstructed through the west passage into Narragansett Bay and rounded the north end of Conanicut. On the following day the British and Hessian troops, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, disembarked on Rhode Island and marched into Newport. Consternation spread on every side; the islanders fled, with their effects, to the main land; every defensible point on Narragansett Bay was occupied by American troops; and the entire State of Rhode Island became a vast camp confronting the enemy.

Upon the few remaining inhabitants of Newport the British troops were unceremoniously quartered, and such houses as were wanted were promptly seized. Those who had fled from their once peaceful homes were wanderers in the wide world, depending chiefly upon charity.

Brigadier-General Mulmudy, a French officer, reported at Providence, December 13, 1776, as chief engineer and director of the American forces, and was vested by the Assembly with plenary powers "to erect such works and at such places as he shall think proper." According to



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Blaskowitz's Chart of Narraganset Bay, made in 1777, the following American forts and batteries existed, viz.:

	Guns.	Caliber.
Providence Fort.....	50	18 and 24 p'ds.
Popasquash Battery.....	6	18 pounders.
Bristol Fort.....	8	18 pounders.
Batteries at either end of Bristol Ferry.....	3	18 pounders.
Howland Ferry Defenses.....	7	18 and 24 p'ds.
Fort Liberty, Goat Island, in Newport Harbor.....	25	18 and 24 p'ds.
North Point Battery (site of present Fort Greene).....	20	18 and 24 p'ds.
Dumplings Rock Battery.....	8	13 pounders.

The armament of the American batteries at Fox, Sassafra, Field, Kettle, Bullock and Warwick Points are not included in the above.

Upon the British occupation, the works on Conanicut, Goat, and Rhode islands fell into their possession. At the same time that the Americans were erecting defensive works, the British engineers were not idle. They soon began to throw up redoubts on the east side of Rhode Island near Fogland Ferry; on the left bank of Lawton's Valley; and on Butt's Hill near the north end of the island. In 1777 they intrenched Newport with a strong continuous line, which ran northerly along the crest of the height

rising above the right bank of the inlet to Easton's Pond, then turned westerly toward Wonumetonomy (corrupted to Tomony) Hill, and continued north of this height to Coddington's Cove. Five advanced works protected the northern branch; some batteries, of later construction, covered the western branch; Wonumetonomy Hill was occupied by a strong redoubt; and a heavy battery was erected at Coddington's Cove.\* To further strengthen this line, a thick abattis was placed outside of the fortifications, and the inlet to Easton's Pond was deepened by damming it at intervals. At Barker's Hill, near the Sakonnet or Eastern Passage, was a large redoubt, and near it a smaller one to guard the approach to the right of the British intrenchments, while minor earthworks occupied advantageous positions about the lines. An attack from Tiverton upon the British works, by General Spencer with nine thousand American troops, was projected in October, 1777, but various untoward circumstances prevented its accomplishment.

Important events were transpiring elsewhere at this time. The battle of Germantown had been fought October 4, and on the 17th, Burgoyne's army had surrendered at Saratoga. The spirit shown in the former, notwithstanding the loss of Philadelphia, and the success of the latter, convinced the French court that the Americans were strong and in earnest. Hence the treaty of alliance between France and the United States was signed February 6, 1778; but it was not until July 29, following, that Count d'Estaing, with a fleet of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, appeared off Rhode Island and blockaded the entrances to Narraganset Bay. The next morning two of his ships ran up the West Passage under the fire of a British semicircular battery, near Bonnet Point on the Main † and a rectangular flanked redoubt on the southern part of Conanicut Island, near Beaver-Head. ‡ The daring of these French ships, supported by a large fleet in the offing, caused the British to abandon the Bonnet and the batteries on both shores of Conanicut Island; and burn, blow up, or sink the whole of their armed vessels (mounting 212 guns) in Narraganset waters. All was now alarm in the British camp; yet, from some unaccountable delay and want of concert between the French fleet and the American army, ten precious days elapsed without striking an effective blow upon the demoralized enemy.

\* The ruins of redoubts and batteries are still visible on Bliss' Hill, Van Rensselaer's Place, Governor Collins' former residence, Bailey's farm, and Coddington's Cove, besides a more advanced work near the shore, north of Coddington's Cove, which probably was thrown up in 1778.

† See Fig. 4 of Illustration, page 473.

‡ See Fig. 5 of Illustration, page 473. The remains of both the Bonnet and Conanicut batteries are still visible.

It was not till August 8th at D'Estaing entered Newport harbor in force, when the British withdrew their outposts from the head of the island and concentrated their entire army within their Newport lines; and not till the next day were the four thousand French troops landed on Conanicut, and the advance, by Sullivan with his motley assemblage of ten thousand men, made from Tiverton and Fort Barton (on its heights) to occupy the abandoned British posts. The opportune moment for a telling attack upon the enemy unfortunately had now passed, for Lord Howe, with a British fleet of thirty-six sail, hove in sight, whereupon the French troops re-embarked, and the next morning D'Estaing put to sea to engage the English admiral. As we are not writing the history of the war, we must omit an account of the naval actions which followed; the injury done by the tempest to both fleets, and the causes of D'Estaing's failure to further co-operate with his American ally.

The French fleet sustained considerable damage, in entering and leaving Newport harbor, from the heavy cannonade kept up by the British batteries at and near Castle Hill, on Brenton's Point, Goat Island, and North Point. All of the Conanicut batteries had been abandoned, their guns spiked, and their magazines destroyed, in anticipation of the occupation of that island by the French.

The American light troops, August 10, 1778, advanced to within a mile and a half of the British intrenchments; but, in consequence of the great storm it was not till the 15th that the main body of Sullivan's army pushed forward and encamped within two miles of the enemy's works. That night a battery, for seventeen pieces of heavy artillery,\* was commenced on Honeyman's Hill to support our right flank and to command the British defenses on Bliss' Hill. For five days, from the 16th to the 20th, our siege-works were pushed forward with vigor and extended to the left, where batteries were established to threaten the enemy's right. An incessant cannonade was kept up from four batteries, to which, on the 23d, we added a fifth. Such was the effect upon the enemy that the British, on the 19th, began an inner line of intrenchments, on a convex curve extending from a strong redoubt near the northern end of the "Cliffs" (Fearing's Place) † to the North Battery on the bay. Besides the two strong works at the extremities of this line, there were three intermediate batteries and two detached redoubts—one within and one without this line—the former to sweep any approach by Easton's Beach, and the latter to command the opening between the two lines of intrenchments.

\* See Illustrations, pages 474, 475.

† Slight remains of this redoubt are still visible.

Count d'Estaing returned to Newport on the 20th, which greatly encouraged the besiegers; but, on the next day, he sailed for Boston to repair damages to his fleet. Apprehending the approach of the British fleet with reinforcements to the garrison of Newport, Sullivan abandoned his design of storming the English intrenchments, though all but one of the enemy's outworks, facing eastward, had been vacated. On the evening of the 28th, Sullivan raised the siege and retreated to Butts' Hill, forming his line of battle, supported by batteries and intrenchments, across the head of the island.\* The so-called "Battle of Rhode Island," which took place on the next day, will be passed over, as it forms no part of our sketch, except to say that the works on Butts' and Turkey Hills played a conspicuous part in that contest.

During the century which has elapsed since these stirring events, much criticism has been proffered respecting the military operations of August 28-30, but comparatively little on what transpired earlier in the month. We have already spoken of the fatal inaction during the ten days after the arrival of the French fleet, which, with the loss of time by the great storm, deferred the initiation of siege operations till the night of the 15th.

As a military engineer, after a very careful examination of the ground occupied by the British intrenchments and the American siege-works, I am constrained to say that Sullivan's points of attack were not well chosen. Between him and the enemy was a deep ravine, at the bottom of which was Easton's Pond and its deepened inlet. Any regular approaches by saps, down the slope of Honeyman's Hill, would have been exposed to a deadly plunging fire from the British outworks and intrenchments; and, had it been possible to reach the bottom of the ravine, there was still a stream or pond to pass and the opposite slope to ascend under a destructive raking fire of infantry and artillery, which would have tried, if not have baffled, the valor of the best disciplined troops. It is true that the American batteries had lessened the enemy's power of destruction, yet there was still a large reserved strength in the British lines sufficient to defeat any attempt to storm them. The accumulation of batteries on the left of our position would indicate that it was designed to turn the right of the British front line by a strong column moving over the narrow pass between Easton's Pond and the sea. This assault probably would have fared no better; and with such troops as would have constituted the American attacking force, it would have been utterly impracticable after the construction of the second British line; which, besides its own fire, had its inner redoubt to sweep with artillery the narrow defile over which the

\* See Illustrations, pages 474, 475.

column must move, and its outer redoubt to command the entire opening between the lines.

Had Sullivan marched down on the west side of the inlet of Easton's Pond, and made his attack from the north, instead of from the east, upon the salient made by the north and west branches of the British outer line, he probably would have been successful. At the north the ground for attack was very favorable, there being little or no ravine. Batteries planted there would have enfiladed the whole northern branch of the British line, and taken partially in reverse all the outworks along its front. The redoubt on Wonumetonomy Hill might still have held out; but so it would in any attack from the east.\*

The British remained undisturbed on Rhode Island till October 11, 1779, when a fleet of fifty-two transports arrived from New York to carry away their troops and military stores, besides forty-six families of Tories. After destroying the lighthouse at Beaver-Tail and leveling the battery at North Point, the vessels, as fast as they were loaded with stores and ordnance, were moored off Brenton's Point to receive the troops, who burned the barracks they had left. Before sunset of October 25, 1779, Rhode Island was relieved of its detested foe, which had left nothing behind but the utter desolation it had wrought during its occupation of nearly three years. The suffering of the inhabitants was extreme, particularly during the following winter, which was so cold that for six weeks Narraganset Bay was frozen over, and the ice extended seaward to Block Island and as far as the eye could reach.

The next year the murky cloud, which had so long hung over Narraganset Bay, was lifted, and the bright sunlight succeeded on the arrival, July 10, 1780, of Admiral de Ternay, with a fleet of forty-four armed vessels and transports bringing into Newport over five thousand French troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau. The following day the army landed, and was put in possession of all the defenses of the harbor; and on the succeeding night the city was ablaze with a brilliant illumination in honor of its guests, among whom were some of the most distinguished noblemen of France. Soon British tyranny was forgotten, and "the wounds inflicted by Hessian ruffianism were healed by the balm of French politeness."

\* After exhausting all sources of information in Rhode Island, I fortunately found, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a manuscript map of Narraganset Bay, clearly showing the British lines of defense covering Newport, and also the works of the American siege operations. I deemed it so valuable that I, at once, ordered a copy of it to be made at my own expense; but, subsequently, the Society decided to produce a photographed fac-simile, of which the illustrations pages 474, 475 embrace, on a reduced scale, all the essential parts relating to the military operations in 1777-'78.

Washington, who came to Newport, March 6, 1781, to confer with Rochambeau about an active campaign, had a most notable reception by the citizens of Newport and the officers and troops of the French army. The splendid ball then given, and its gay assemblage of fair women and brave men, was a brilliant episode in the Revolutionary annals of Rhode Island.

From various memoirs, particularly that of the Count de Deux-Ponts, we learn most of the details of the operations of Rochambeau's army in Rhode Island. Soon after its arrival, the British fleet of twenty ships threatened to force a passage through the main channel into Narraganset Bay. To guard this entrance, Rochambeau threw up batteries, armed with twelve pounders, on Brenton's Point, while the French navy occupied others on Conanicut Island; but these latter were abandoned, July 27, 1780, as they were accessible on all sides to British assaults. When reports of Sir Henry Clinton's intention to attack the allied forces were confirmed by information received from General Washington, the French commander, with the aid of the Rhode Island militia, repaired and remodeled all the works thrown up by the British when they held Rhode Island; and added others, particularly redoubts on Coaster's Island, and a strong work on Rose Island\* armed with forty pieces of heavy artillery. With such a powerful battery to defend the right of the line of seven heavily armed French ships, and the guns and mortars of Brenton's Point to protect its left, the whole presented a formidable array of land artillery and naval broadsides to guard the main entrance to the bay. Till the departure of Rochambeau, June 10, 1781, he, with the assistance of many officers of engineers, continued to strengthen all the batteries, particularly those on Goat Island which had not been destroyed upon the British evacuation. Among the new works thrown up by the French was a battery on Hallidon Hill † as this height commanded, at short artillery range, all the batteries at Brenton's Point and on Goat Island. It was then called Fort Chastellux, after the Chevalier de Chastellux, one of Rochambeau's *Mareschaux de Camp*. After the Revolution it was known as Fort Harrison, being on the Harrison farm, and since, it has acquired the name of Fort Denham from some local association. What remains of it is situated in front of the "Thorp" cottage. Other batteries on the southern shore of Rhode Island were built during the Revolution, of which the remains of one are still visible on the "Ocean Drive," near the southwest extremity of the island, at Winans' cottage.

\* This small island, called Conskuit by the Indians, was purchased, in 1675, by Peleg Sanford from the Sachem Mausup.

† See Fig. 3 of Illustration, page 473.



Brigadier-General de Choisy, with a small body to garrison the defenses (600 French recruits and 1,000 local militia), was left at Newport when the French army marched from Rhode Island to Yorktown, Va., the field of glory of the allied forces. The departure soon after, August 25, 1781, of the French fleet with the heavy artillery and remaining troops to the Chesapeake, obliged the Assembly of Rhode Island further to provide for the defense of the State by mounting additional batteries at North and Brenton's Points, and by strengthening those at Pawtuxet and Field and Kettle Points to guard against any approach by Providence River. These were timely precautions, for Sir Henry Clinton had formed a plan to seize the French stores and magazines at Providence, and probably to capture Admiral de Barras' fleet at Newport. Fortunately the expedition was accidentally delayed till the 28th, when the bird had flown; much to the chagrin of General Clinton and Admiral Graves, who anticipated a certain conquest. The capture at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, of the British army under Cornwallis, virtually terminated the war of the Revolution, and successful negotiations for peace soon followed. Consequently the garrison at Butts' Hill was disbanded in July, 1782.

The war had left the United States with a heavy debt, therefore all expenses were curtailed, particularly those for the military, no longer required. The whole force retained, at the conclusion of peace, amounted to less than seven hundred men, under command of General Knox; and even this miniature army, before the end of the session of Congress, was reduced to twenty-five men to guard the stores at Pittsburg, Pa., and fifty-five for West Point, N. Y., and the other magazines—in all eighty men. Without garrisons, our military posts went rapidly to decay, including, of course, those at Newport which had been dismantled. However, by the act of the Assembly of Rhode Island of October 4, 1784, the fort on Goat Island was armed, the barracks repaired, and the work made to assume "some degree of respectability." It had borne the name of various British sovereigns during its colonial existence of three-quarters of a century; of "Liberty," pending the war of Independence; and now it was to assume the name of the illustrious Washington. From this work was probably fired the first salute announcing that Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, had finally joined the Union of the Thirteen United States, by her adoption of the Federal Constitution. Fort Washington,\* in 1792, according to the inspection returns, had an armament of three twenty-four, five eighteen, and two six pounders, when the Assembly ordered the "pur-

\* The name of "Washington" was given, October 4, 1784, by the act of the Assembly of Rhode Island.

chase of a reasonable quantity of powder to be made use of at the said fort upon special occasions."

The first European coalition was made against the French Republic in 1793. Soon, both England and France so grossly violated our neutrality upon the ocean that Congress, in 1794, ordered the building of six frigates, added a corps of artillerists and engineers to our small army, and made appropriations for fortifying our principal ports on the Atlantic coast. The appropriation for Newport harbor was applied to the works on Goat Island, Bechat Rochefontaine, March 29, 1794, being appointed temporary engineer. He was soon succeeded by Stephen Rochefontaine, who, February 26, 1795, was made the commandant of the newly organized corps of artillerists and engineers. The name of the latter, as the constructing engineer of the works on Goat Island, is still to be found, neatly cut, upon a stone (upside down) in the foundation of one of the new buildings at the navy torpedo station. It is stated, in a report communicated January 18, 1796, by the Secretary of War, to the United States Senate, that: "For the defense of Newport harbor there have been erected, on Goat Island, a fort, a citadel, and an air-furnace. The excellency and importance of this harbor, in time of war, recommend a further expenditure to render the defense complete. To finish the fort, erect an artillery store, and make a covered-way round it, as in a regular fortification, the expense is estimated at about six thousand dollars. There have also been erected a citadel on Tomony Hill, back of the town of Newport, for the protection of its inhabitants, and a battery and guard-house at Howland's Ferry at the northern end of the island, to keep open a communication with the Main, in case of an invasion. But, to secure effectually this communication, a citadel should be erected on Butts' Hill, that position commanding Howland's Ferry and Bristol Ferry. The cost of it is estimated at 1,800 dollars."

France had continued her piratical aggressions upon our commerce, and our minister, sent to Paris, had been treated with contempt and indignity; yet, such was the strength of the Gallican feeling among our people, that not till 1798 were vigorous measures adopted to protect the nation from further insult. The outrageous conduct of the French Directory towards our government; the efforts of their agents to sow sedition throughout our country; their acts to invigorate opposition to the constituted authorities; their disregard of the law of nations and of solemn treaties; their rebuffs of our repeated efforts to adjust differences; their attempts to bribe our envoys, failing which they were expelled from French soil; and their continued seizure of our merchantmen till our

losses amounted to \$15,000,000, could not fail to rouse the United States to resistance. Forbearance had reached its utmost limit, and at once preparations were instituted to maintain the dignity and honor of the nation. Important additions were made to our navy, and a separate department for its control created; a marine corps established; many new regiments of infantry, troops of cavalry, and more artillerists and engineers added to our regular forces; a provisional army, with Washington at its head, authorized; liberal appropriations for fortifications granted; our treaties with France abrogated; our commerce with her suspended; and a quasi war instituted by legalizing the capture of her armed vessels, which resulted in several engagements with her cruisers.

With such a threatening aspect of affairs, and an ample justification for a declaration of war, the construction of the sea-coast fortifications was pressed forward with vigor. The importance of Narraganset Bay demanded that full provision should be made for the defense of its main entrance. Accordingly immediate measures were taken to repair and strengthen some of the old works, to rebuild others, and to add an entirely new one. All were placed under the supervision of Major Louis Tousard, who had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Rochefontaine, when the latter, May 7, 1798, was dismissed from service. Tousard was born in France in 1749; lost an arm in the action of Butts' Hill, August 29, 1778, during the war of the Revolution; was commissioned a Major of Artillerists and Engineers, February 26, 1795; and was disbanded June 1, 1802, upon the organization of the present Corps of Engineers, created by the law of March 16, 1802. He subsequently was a United States revenue officer, and died in New Orleans, La.

The works repaired, enlarged, rebuilt and constructed in 1798-1800, for the defense of the main entrance to Narraganset Bay and Newport harbor, were: On Brenton's Point, east side of entrance, \* "an enclosed indented work of masonry" for twelve guns, with a brick magazine, and soldiers' barracks and officers' quarters for one company. On the Dumplings rock, Conanicut Island, west side of entrance, † an elliptical stone tower to mount eight heavy guns on the sea-side, half in casemates and half in barbette. On Goat Island, in the center of Newport harbor, ‡ a small enclosed irregular work of masonry and earth mounting twelve guns, besides flank batteries mounting eighteen guns, with a brick magazine, and soldiers' barracks and officers' quarters for one company. On Brenton's Cove, south of Goat Island, § a small battery occupying the site of an old French

\* See Illustration, page 488.

† See Illustration, page 492.

‡ See Illustration, page 490.

§ See Fig. 3 of Illustration, page 473.

battery (Fort Chastellux) on Hallidon Hill. On North Point, an elliptical stone-scarped battery\* for twelve or thirteen guns. On Rose Island, a regular masonry work,† with four bastions (two circular and two polygonal) designed for sixty guns, with bomb-proof barracks within for three hundred men.

Of these works, the Dumplings tower and Rose Island fort were never finished, armed, or garrisoned. The former is sometimes called Fort Louis; but there is no official authority for the name. Possibly Major Tousard may have so called it after his own Christian name, or after Louis XVI., who had been our ally in the Revolution. It has also been called Fort Brown, having taken the designation of the old battery near it, so named after its first commander—"General" Brown—who fired upon the British vessels of war—the Scarborough and Cimetar—April 14, 1776, to drive them from Newport harbor. During this century the Dumplings tower has been crumbling into a picturesque ruin;‡ and some years since served as a target for the sensational Captain John Magruder, when commanding Fort Adams, against which to practice his artillerists in distant firing. The work on Rose Island was called Fort Hamilton, after the patriot statesman Alexander Hamilton. It has never been used except for a quarantine station for the port of Newport.

The elliptical battery on North Point, when completed, was named Fort Greene, after Rhode Island's most distinguished general in the Revolution; the work on Goat Island, which had borne so many aliases, finally, in 1798, was re-christened Fort Wolcott, to commemorate the revolutionary services of Governor Oliver Wolcott, who had just died, December 1, 1797,§ its former name of Fort Washington having been appropriately transferred to the work on the Potomac River opposite to Mount Vernon; and the new work on Brenton's Point, when nearly completed in 1799, was named Fort Adams. An account of the imposing ceremonies of christening this latter fort we will condense from the relation given in the *Newport Mercury* of July 9, 1799. The twenty-third anniversary of American Independence (July 4, 1799), was ushered in by a federal salute of thirteen guns from Fort Wolcott; and, before noon, the company of Captain John Henry of the artillerists and engineers, United States Army, which was to garrison the new work, marched at the head of the column composed of the Major-General of the State of Rhode Island and the militia staff, the Newport Ancient Artillery, the Newport Guards, and a large concourse of patriotic citizens.

\* See Fig. 2 of Illustration, page 473. † See Illustration, page 491. ‡ See Illustration, page 466. § It was also in compliment to his son, then the able Secretary of the Treasury.

The gateway leading to the battery not having been finished, Major Tousard had constructed a temporary arch, decked with wreaths of evergreens and flowers, and over its key-stone was a tablet inscribed :

### FORT ADAMS.

THE ROCK ON WHICH THE STORM WILL BEAT.

At a quarter before twelve o'clock, Major Tousard addressed the assemblage in the following concise and energetic words :

"Citizens! Happy to improve every occasion to testify my veneration for the highly distinguished Citizen who presides over the Government of the United States, I have solicited the Secretary of War to name this Fortress—Fort Adams. He has gratified my desire, and I hope the brave officers and soldiers, who are and shall be honored with its defense, will, by their valor and good conduct, render it worthy of its name, which I hereby proclaim—

### FORT ADAMS."

When the address was ended, the American flag was run up and saluted with thirteen guns from the battery and three hearty cheers from the whole assemblage. The guns from Fort Wolcott returned the salute, as did also the Newport Artillery, the Newport Guards following with the same number of platoon discharges.

After the collation (provided by Major Tousard) had been fully enjoyed, Major Henry's company "paraded in line with the guns of the battery, with the officers in front headed by Majors Tousard and Jackson." The several independent companies, general and staff officers, and citizens passed them in review, the officers and colors saluting. When the column returned under the entrance arch, three guns were fired from the battery, which terminated the memorable ceremony.

Notwithstanding the outrageous treatment of our former embassies to France, much to the surprise of the whole country, President Adams, early in 1799, appointed new envoys to the French Directory; but, before their arrival in Paris, Napoleon was at the head of the new government. With the change of rulers came a change of policy. A qualified treaty was agreed upon, and pending its final ratification, Mr. Jefferson, the head of the Gallican party in the United States, was inaugurated President, March 4, 1801, which terminated our hostilities with France. The treaty of Amiens, concluded a year later, gave peace to all Europe; but this hollow truce was of short duration. Again our lucrative commerce became a prey to

the mandates of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees and England's orders in council. To the aggressions of Great Britain were added those of searching our ships upon the high seas and the impressment of our seamen. The United States temporized till forbearance ceased to be a virtue. War was inevitable; yet, only two years before the sword was drawn, our Secretary of War said to Congress that "no further appropriation on account of fortifications was proposed in the estimates for the year. But, in case of war, additional works will be required. Their situation, nature and extent, depending upon the emergencies which may require them, cannot be ascertained." The Secretary, William Eustis, being a New England man, deigned to add: "The island of Rhode Island, from the peculiarity of its local situation, bordering on the ocean, accessible at all seasons of the year, affording a safe and commodious harbor, fertile in itself, commanding other islands, well stocked with provisions, and a central station from which to harass the trade of the continent, offers to an enemy advantages not combined in any port, and requires additional means of defense." Whereupon this great and liberal statesman recommended: "To meet the expenditures required *at this and other places,*" that "*one hundred and fifty thousand dollars be appropriated on account of fortifications.*" What a magnificent provision to prevent British fleets from seizing this "*central station,*" and *all of our other Atlantic ports!*

According to the report of this Secretary of War, made to Congress December 11, 1811, only six months before war was declared against Great Britain, there were but *seventeen* guns in Fort Adams, and *thirty-eight* in Fort Wolcott, in all *fifty-five* pieces of ordnance, large and small, to defend Narraganset Bay against the most powerful fleets of the world! Doctor Eustis probably proposed to defend our harbors on the Jeffersonian plan, by gunboats ready to be launched upon the appearance of the enemy, or by heavy cannon on traveling carriages fired by the local militia from the shores of the ports assailed.

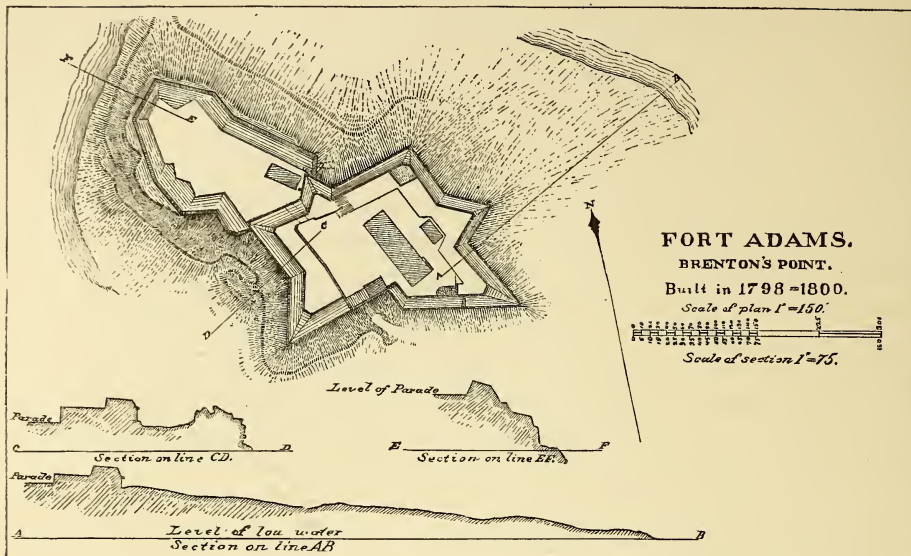
President Madison, June 1, 1812, sent a confidential message to Congress, in which he recapitulated all the causes of our complaint against Great Britain; her impressment of our seamen; her infringement upon our maritime jurisdiction, and disturbance of the peace of our coasts; her paper blockades, unsupported by any adequate force; her violation of our neutral rights by her orders in council, and her inflexible determination to maintain these orders against all appeals to her justice; her suspected instigation of Indian hostilities against our people; and her conduct, which, taken altogether, amounted to actual war against the United States, while we remained at peace with her.

War was declared against Great Britain June 18, 1812, but *not till a month after* was there appropriated by Congress half a million of dollars for coast defense. In consequence of thus rushing headlong and wholly unprepared into a war with the most powerful nation on earth, our seaboard was kept in a continuous state of alarm; our coast trade was almost annihilated; destructive incursions were made into our bays and inlets, even to our capital; and large bodies of militia were constantly being called out, at vast expense and inconvenience, to protect our inadequately fortified harbors. Though no hostile fleets entered Narraganset Bay during the war, the feeble garrisons of the works defending the main channel were kept in constant apprehension; several times the State forces were summoned to resist attack; and many vessels were chased or captured by the British squadron within sight of Rhode Island. Most of these troubles would have been spared to the State by a few strong forts and batteries, the total cost of which would have been far less than the actual expenses incurred in trying to meet them. Congress, in 1816, had to appropriate nearly fourteen millions of dollars to pay the militia required in the latter months of the war.

This war, of 1812-'15, had so clearly demonstrated the almost defenseless condition of our sea-coast, that, the year after its termination, liberal appropriations were made for fortifications, and a board of engineers was organized to study the whole problem of national defense, and to devise the necessary fortifications to protect the entire coasts of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. This board was composed of General Joseph G. Swift, the chief engineer of the army; General Simon Bernard, a distinguished French engineer who had done good service under Napoleon; and Lieutenant-Colonels William McRee and Joseph G. Totten, of the corps of engineers.

President Monroe, taught by "the faithful admonitions of experience," in his first inaugural message, March 4, 1817, took occasion to call attention to the absolute necessity of fortifying our coasts and frontiers, even though it might be at a very heavy expense, as the only certain security against the cost, anxiety, distress, and destruction of property which a superior naval force, with a few thousand troops on board, might at any time impose upon us. He urged, also, the formation of an army competent, not only to garrison and preserve these fortifications, but to meet the first invasion of a foreign foe.

The board of engineers, April 7, 1820, submitted its project for the defense of Narraganset Bay, to which there are three entrances. The Eastern, or Sakonnet Passage, was already closed by the Stone Bridge, op-



posite Tiverton; the Western Passage was to be shoaled with a sunken dyke, below Dutch Island, in such manner as to allow coasters freely to pass over it, but to exclude all vessels of war; and the Middle or Main Passage, was to be barred effectually by permanent fortifications on Brenton's Point, the Dumplings Rock, and Rose Island, while Forts Greene and Wolcott were to defend the inner waters about Newport. From the report of this board we learn the condition and value, in 1820, of the then existing fortifications, which had been built in 1795-1800, to be as follows:

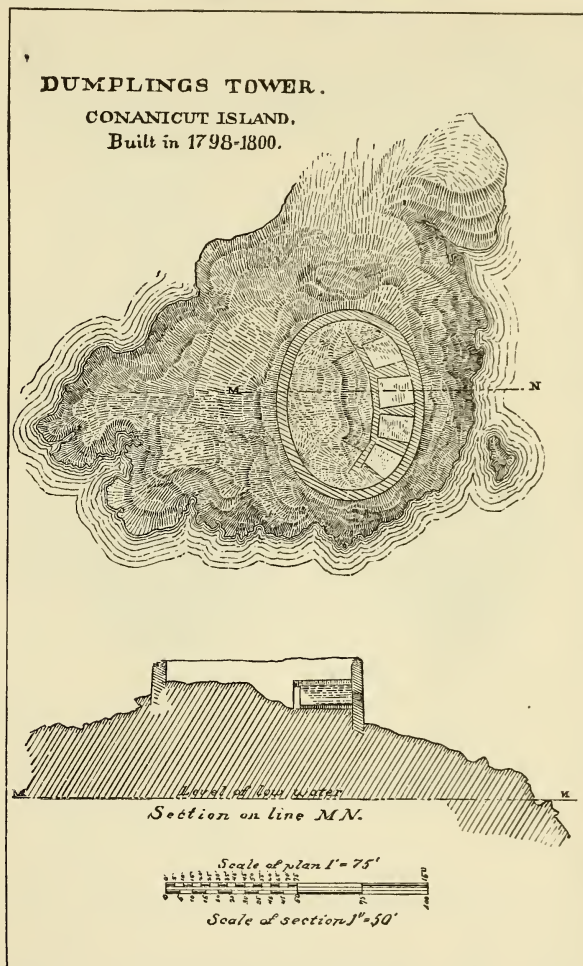
Fort Adams,\* which crosses its fire with Fort Wolcott, and defends on that point the entry to Newport harbor, gives also some fire on the Middle Passage into Narraganset Bay. The trace of this fort is so irregular, and its angles are so multiplied for no purpose of defense or convenience, that it seems rather the result of chance or caprice than even of the infancy of the engineering art. It consists of two parts, one appearing to have been added to the other at a later period. The southern part has a development of about seven hundred and fifty feet, measured on its interior crest, and a command of fifteen feet over the country, and forty-five over low water. Its parapet is from twelve to fifteen feet thick, its rampart from twenty-three to twenty-five wide, and its scarp wall less than ten feet high. This part contains a bomb-proof barrack. The northern part has a development, measured in the same way, of about four hundred feet,

\* See Illustration above.



and has a command of forty-two feet over low water. Its parapet is from twelve to eighteen feet thick, the terre-plein of its rampart is on a level with the parade, on which is a wooden store-house and a hot-shot furnace; has no masonry scarp, and is covered with an earthwork six feet high. From these two parts, constituting Fort Adams, about twenty guns could be directed upon the entrance of the bay and as many more upon Newport harbor. The board of engineers considered it useless, as it "could neither resist four days against an attack by land, nor contain the formidable armament" demanded by the position.

Dumplings Tower, on Conanicut Island, is an elliptical stone structure, its transverse axis being one hundred and eight feet long, and its conjugate axis eighty-one feet to the exterior of the scarp wall, which varies in height from twelve to twenty-six feet, owing to the inequalities of the site. Under the terre-plein of the front of the Tower are four casemates, fifteen to eighteen feet long, fifteen feet wide, and seven to eight feet high to the crown of the arch; and above were emplacements for four heavy barbette guns behind a stone parapet of five feet in thickness. Its command, when finished, would be fifty-four feet above low water. "When," says the board of engineers, "we take into consideration that Dumplings Point is an essential position for defending the central pass into Narraganset Bay, and that



above were emplacements for four heavy barbette guns behind a stone parapet of five feet in thickness. Its command, when finished, would be fifty-four feet above low water. "When," says the board of engineers, "we take into consideration that Dumplings Point is an essential position for defending the central pass into Narraganset Bay, and that

the channel is one mile broad at this place, we must perceive that the effect of this Tower is almost null for that purpose, and that its co-operation with Fort Adams, to accomplish so important an object, has never been calculated and is totally inefficient."

Fort Hamilton.\* This unfinished work, on Rose Island, is of a rectangular form, six hundred by five hundred and twenty feet, with flanking towers, fifty feet in diameter, on the northwest and southwest angles, and regular bastions at the two other angles. The south front, which sees vessels coming up the channel after passing Brenton's Point and the Dumpings, the east front (except its curtain), and the northwest flanking tower are nearly finished; the remainder of the work being merely sketched. The scarp-walls are low, the parapets, where finished, about sixteen feet thick, and the rampart twenty-five feet wide. The command of the fort is but eight feet above the ground, and seventeen above low water. Its location, on the site of the old French battery of 1780, is good, as it crosses its fire with those of all the other works. "It is to be regretted," says the board of engineers, "that the sketch of this fort offers none of the requisites for occupying this position in a manner suitable to the principal object which it should have in view. The towers are of no use, and seem only placed there to spoil the general trace and disposition of the works." The bomb-proof barracks at this work are now untenable.

Fort Greenet† is an elliptical barbette battery for twelve or thirteen guns, with a palisaded gorge. The work has a development, measured upon its interior crest, of two hundred and forty feet; its parapet is twenty-one feet thick; its rampart twenty-six feet broad; its scarp wall twenty feet high; has a command of twenty-nine feet above low water; and within the work is a brick barrack and guard-house, a bomb-proof magazine, and a hot-shot furnace. The board of engineers says, "this battery is sufficient for its purpose."

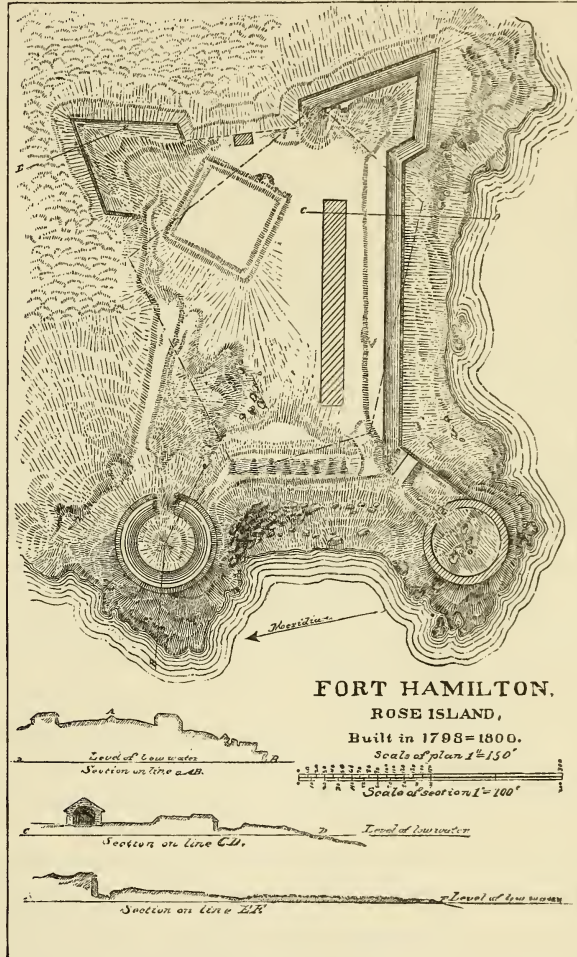
Fort Wolcott‡ is a large but low battery, having an inclosed redoubt in the middle whose head flanks the front of the battery. The development of the redoubt, measured upon its interior crest, is seven hundred and forty feet, of which three hundred and twelve look toward the sea; its parapet on the gorge is twelve feet thick, and in other parts eighteen; its rampart is twenty-one feet wide; and its command is thirteen feet above the ground and thirty-six above low water. The two wings of the battery measure eight hundred and forty feet of interior crest development, of which three hundred and twenty-five feet are on the right and five hundred and sixteen to the left

\* See Illustration, page 491. † See Fig. 2 of Illustration, page 473. ‡ See Illustration, page 493.

of the redoubt; their parapets are twenty-five feet thick, and their command is twenty-seven feet above low water. Within the redoubt is a powder magazine; behind the left wing is a brick barrack; and within either wing are hot-shot furnaces. The whole work could mount fifty guns; and its fires, which cross those of Fort Adams and Fort Hamilton, would suffice to cover the harbor of Newport.

From the foregoing description of the works existing in 1820, it will be seen that the board of engineers considered those at Brenton's Point, the Dumplings, and on Rose Island as almost worthless; while those at North Point and on Goat Island would suffice for interior defense when covered by new channel fortifications.

For the Dumplings, where the United States owns nearly seven acres of land, the board of engineers submitted a project, designed by General Bernard, for a very large and costly work. Across the Point, extending from shore to shore, was to be a strong line of three bastioned fronts, with two advanced redoubts occupying higher elevations; and within this inclosing line were to be ten heavy batteries, along the rocky shore, to fire seaward upon ships endeavoring to force a passage through the channel. The entire armament of the work was to be three hundred and eighty-six pieces of artillery of all calibers. This work, never commenced, would be entirely unsuited to the present require-



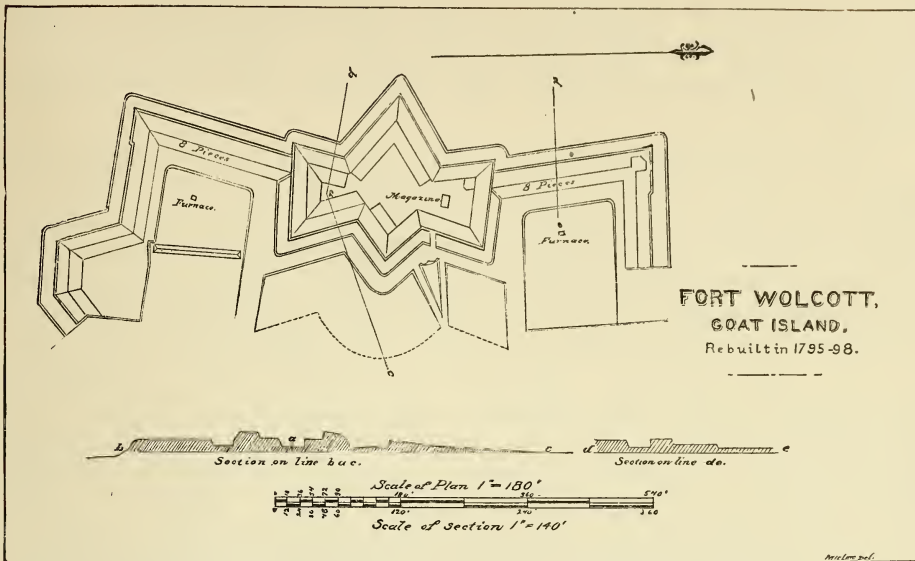
ments of this excellent position, where eventually a strong fortification must be built.

For Rose Island, where the government owns twenty-three acres of land, the board of engineers proposed a small fort, on the site of the present unfinished work, three hundred and eighty-four yards in perimeter, to mount nearly one hundred guns in barbette, chiefly on the three sea fronts.

For Brenton's Point, then the most important position of all those to be fortified in Narraganset Bay, the board of engineers deemed it necessary to construct, immediately, a powerful work, not only to defend the main entrance against an enemy's fleet, but to hold the position against a large land force till it could be relieved by our own troops, which would require time to be organized and marched to the attack of the enemy. It properly was observed that the strength of the work should be fully equal to the objects to be secured, that is to provide against such a contingency as had actually occurred. Large fleets during the Revolution had invaded Narraganset Bay, and for three years Rhode Island had been held by a strong hostile army which we had not been able to dislodge. It is true that our population and resources had increased, but even in 1820 we were but a feeble power as compared with some of the nations of the Old World which might assail us. History was full of illustrations of large fleets and armies being quickly transported to distant points; therefore, there must be no stint in our preparations to meet such foreign expeditions as might be sent to secure a lodgment in Narraganset waters—a bay so capacious, so approachable, occupying so important a strategic position on our northern coast, and acknowledged to be the best roadstead upon our Atlantic seaboard.

“With the opening of this anchorage properly defended, hardly a vessel of war could come, either singly or in small squadrons, upon the coast, in the boisterous season without aiming at this port, on account of the comparative certainty of an immediate entrance. And this would be particularly the case with vessels injured by heavy weather, or in conflict with an enemy; with vessels bringing prizes, or pursued by a superior force. The use of this port would almost necessarily bring with it the demand for the means of repairing and refitting; and the concentration of these upon some suitable spot would be the beginning of a permanent dock-yard. For the same reason that ships of war would collect here, it would be a favorite point of rendezvous for privateers and their prizes, and a common place of refuge for merchantmen.

“But the same properties that make Narraganset Roads so precious to



us would recommend them to the enemy also; and their natural advantages will be enhanced in his eyes by the value of all the objects these advantages may have accumulated therein. If this roadstead were without defense an enemy could occupy it without opposition, and, by aid of naval superiority, form a lodgment on the island of Rhode Island for the war. Occupying this island with his troops, and with his fleets the channels on either side, he might defy all the forces of the Eastern States; and while, from this position, his troops would keep in alarm and motion the population of the East, feigned expeditions against New York, or against more southern cities, would equally alarm the country in that direction; and thus, though he might do no more than menace, it is difficult to estimate the embarrassment and expense into which he would drive the government."

Entertaining these views, the board of engineers say "the defense adopted to Narraganset Roads must be formidable in the important points, because they will be exposed to powerful expeditions" of the enemy which "may take possession, and bend his whole force to the reduction of the forts on the island, which cannot be relieved until a force has been organized, brought from a distance, conveyed by water to the points attacked, and landed in the face of his batteries; all of this obviously requiring several days, during which the forts should be capable of holding out. To do this against an expedition of ten or twenty thou-

sand men demands something more than the strength to resist a single assault. Unless the main works be competent to withstand a siege of a few days, they will not therefore fulfill their trust, and will be worse than useless."

With these premises, in the then feeble condition of the country, very different from the present state of affairs, the present Fort Adams was planned and built. It consists of a pentagonal masonry main-work, bastioned on the three sea fronts, and casemated throughout for gun-rooms and habitations for the garrison. The principal channel front has three tiers of fire, the others two, the upper batteries of the whole in barbette. Covering the two land fronts is a crown-work separated from the main-work by a deep dry ditch. Exterior to all, except the main sea front, is a covered way with the usual places of arms, traverses, etc. Upon a commanding hill in the vicinity is a formidable casemated masonry redoubt, connected with the fort by an earthen caponnière, so arranged as to form a strong barbette battery towards the ship channel. These various defenses cover about twenty acres, and were designed to mount nearly five hundred pieces of artillery of various calibers: For beginning the construction of this work, Congress, in 1824, appropriated \$50,000, of which \$22,500 were applied to enlarging the site\* to one hundred and sixty-five acres, which were purchased by the United States at various times after 1794. Lieutenant Andrew Talcott, August 10, 1824, was assigned, temporarily, to the duty of making the preliminary arrangements for building the work; and February 22, 1825, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph G. Totten,

\* Brenton's Point, upon which this fort is situated, is the extreme north-westerly point of Brenton's Neck, which constitutes the lower part of the island of Rhode Island south of an east and west line through the Lime Rocks in Newport harbor. The original proprietor, William Brenton, left Hammersmith, England, and landed in Boston in 1634. He brought with him a commission from Charles the First, dated 1633, and termed a grant, which allowed him to take so many acres to a mile of all the lands he should survey in the New England colonies, by which authority he became possessed of extensive tracts on the Merrimac River and elsewhere. In 1638, he removed with his wife to the present site of Newport, R. I., and was one of the nine gentlemen, who, February 28, 1639, united themselves into an active body politic for the purpose of forming a township in the Island of Aquidneck, which they termed a "Plantation." In doing this their first object was to choose a spot which would prove the most lucrative situation for a commercial town with a good harbor. Accordingly the place selected was Newport, of which, probably, William Brenton was the surveyor. He had already taken possession of the "Neck" and named it "Hammersmith," in which were two thousand acres of land, having the richest soil and presenting the most picturesque scenery. On Redoubt Hill, where are situated the present quarters of the commanding officer of Fort Adams, he made a clearing in the dense forest, and built a brick dwelling, one hundred and fifty feet square, which commanded a magnificent view of the ocean and bay, and was surrounded with well laid out parks, beautiful gardens, extensive orchards, silver lakes, and roads and foot-paths meandering everywhere.

Corps of Engineers, who had planned it, was charged with its construction. He continued personally to direct the work till his promotion, December 7, 1838, to be the chief engineer of the army, at which time Fort Adams approached completion. Most of the young officers of engineers served their apprenticeship here, this work being a kind of school of application for the corps of engineers.

During the war of the Rebellion, the West Passage being entirely undefended, permanent batteries were commenced on Dutch Island, which it is designed to occupy with works mounting sixty heavy guns, arranged in amphitheater on its southern slope and upon the summit of the island. An interior keep should be added for reserve magazines and other purposes.

Though large sums have been expended upon the fortifications of Narraganset Bay, its entrances are far from being adequately protected against the present heavy-armored steam fleets with their enormous guns. The art of war, like almost everything else, has had its evolution. War-chariots, the Greek phalanx, and the Roman legion, have yielded to the thin formations of modern armies in battle. The sling, the pike, the cross-bow, and the matchlock have given place to the improved magazine-rifle for our infantry. The catapult, the culverin, and the small smooth-bore cannon, have been superseded by heavy rifled artillery, sometimes of pieces weighing one hundred tons, and throwing projectiles of two thousand pounds with prodigious force to great distances. Fleets of row-galleys, of wooden sailing ships, and of side-wheel steamers, have been surrendered, first for light-plated, and now for the heaviest armored propellers. And, in like manner, thin earthen parapets, masonry scarp walls, and low barbette batteries are now to be displaced by heavy iron turrets and the strongest combinations of earth, masonry, and shields of hardened steel.

In this changed condition of things our sea-coast fortifications have lost much of their power of offense and defense; yet they are far from being useless, as is often supposed by civilians. On the contrary, they are most useful adjuncts to any new system of works which we may hereafter construct. With our increased population they are still adequate to resist for a sufficient time any land attack; armed with our present guns, converted into rifled artillery, they could protect our harbors against naval marauders, and our channel torpedoes from boat expeditions; and with slight modifications and some large ordnance, would be able to cope with any, except heavy armed and armored ships. But we must be prepared for *all* future contingencies, hence we require better shielded and stronger armed fortifications.

Fortunately, with the greatly increased range of modern artillery, we have very advantageous positions, within good supporting distance, for new fortifications, for the defense of the middle and western entrances into Narraganset Bay. For the eastern entrance the bridges at Tiverton obstruct the passage of ships into its waters. As we have before stated, Dumplings Point offers an admirable position for powerful batteries to directly oppose the approach of fleets advancing up the Middle Passage. Lower down are Castle Hill and the Ridge of Conanicut Island, opposite the mouth of Mackerel Cove, both admirable sites for strong citadels, only a mile and a half apart, which distance could be lessened to a mile and a quarter between elevated batteries lining either shore, and protected by the higher inclosed works. Therefore hostile ships, proceeding up mid-channel, would be within the effective range of five-eighths or three-quarters of a mile of the heavy armament of these defenses. The citadel on Conanicut Island, co-operating with another at the Bonnet on the Main, with shore-batteries, would in like manner and at like distances defend the West Passage; while the fires from Dutch Island would enfilade approaching ships. With such strong works and batteries on these several points, well armed, and aided by properly placed channel torpedoes, Narraganset Bay would be secure against the most powerfully armed fleets. To this new system of more advanced works, Fort Adams would be a most valuable interior adjunct, not only for offense, but as a safe and defensible position wherein to keep magazines and ordnance stores, commissary and hospital supplies, and, at the same time, be a secure refuge for the sick, wounded, and non-combatants.

In concluding this paper I must tender my most sincere thanks to Colonel Elliot, the engineer officer now in charge of the defenses of Narraganset Bay, for his valuable assistance in making the measurements of the West Passage batteries, and his great kindness in putting at my disposal the services of his draftsman, Mr. Mielatz, who so accurately and artistically delineated the sketches from which our illustrations have been engraved.

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*Colonel of Engineers-Ret'd*



DISCOVERY OF THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.  
A CHAPTER OF EARLY EXPLORATION  
IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

From the summit of Mount Washburn, fifteen years ago, the view embraced a practically unknown country, bounded by masses of mountains without any apparent break. To the east appeared the Sierra Shoshone, with its weather-worn basaltic crags and strange "Hoodoo" region difficult to penetrate, now the best hunting ground left in the West, abounding in elk and mountain bison—and especially the haunt of numerous grizzly and black bears and large flocks of big-horn and black-tailed deer: the watershed of this range is through the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers to the Gulf of Mexico. Southward the eye ranges up the Yellowstone, across the beautiful, mountain girt lake, into a wilderness of peaks that have often baffled explorers and trappers; and from which the waters flow through Green River and the Colorado to the Gulf of California. To the southwest the view extends even farther across the continental divide, here a low forest-clad ridge without a peak or a precipice, to the vast Teton range with its all but inaccessible peaks; in these mountains are the sources of the great Snake River, one of the principal branches of the Columbia. Due west rises the picturesque Gallatin range with the lofty limestone dome of Mount Gallatin and the sharp, volcanic peak of Electric Mountain; here are the headwaters of the Gallatin and Madison forks of the Missouri. In the north are seen only spurs of the Shoshone, Snowy and Gallatin ranges, which in past ages dammed back the Yellowstone; but through which the river has now cut deep gorges in its way to the plains and its junction with the Missouri. This domain is therefore really the culminating point of the continent (although not the highest) sending its waters north, south, east and west, and it has been aptly termed by an English writer, "The great divide."

Not only was this enchanted Park unknown to the whites until a comparatively recent date, but the Indians seem to have shunned the greater portion of the area just described. To the north were the homes of the fierce Blackfeet, the Ishmaelites of the Northwest, whose hands were against every man and the hands of every one against them. To the east was the country of the Absarakas or Crows, the most skillful horse thieves in the

West, not a mean distinction in the eye of an Indian; to the south lived the Sheepeaters in the mountain fastnesses, and on the plains the great Shoshone tribe, ever friendly to the whites after they had once been won by the British fur-companies. On the great lava plains to the west roamed the Bannacks and Nez-Percés, always treacherous and ready to take advantage of defenseless strangers. No Indian tribe ever made its home in what is now the National Park; and although the forest inhabitants knew of the existence of the geysers and hot springs, their superstitious dread of such volcanic phenomena was so great that few visited the vicinity of them. The Crows had only a vague idea of an unknown something on the upper Yellowstone to be feared and shunned; and when the Nez-Percés led Howard his long chase from Oregon to the Bear Paw, their route took them through the lower Geysers basin and across the Yellowstone, but not one of them knew the country, and they compelled a white hunter whom they had taken captive to act as their guide.

Every nation that took any part in the discovery of the West skirted the boundaries of the Park; but to all its wonders remained oblivious. The Spaniard Coronado came near its southern boundary in his famous search for the seven cities of Cibola. The Frenchman, de Vereudrye, discovered the Rocky Mountains, and ascended them January 12, 1743, near where the Northern Pacific Railroad has now pierced them with the Mullan Tunnel; and the next spring he crossed the Yellowstone, leaving the wonderland undiscovered. Lewis and Clarke passed north of it. The British and American fur-traders traveled all around it, set their traps on every little stream, climbed every mountain, and traversed every valley north, south, east and west of it; but if they ever penetrated it, it was by the merest accident, and, as we shall see, only the most meager record was left of such visits. The knowledge of its wonders was confined to the vaguest rumor, and to stories told around the camp fire, credited by few, and usually regarded as among the inventions of the trapper's fertile brain.

The first map of the Northern Rocky Mountains is that published in the narrative of Lewis and Clarke, 1814. Considering the sources of information at command, the map, as originally published, is remarkably accurate in its chief features. The three branches of the Missouri—the Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin—are laid down about as they are, and the Yellowstone is represented with its source in the large body of water, Lake Eustis. Even Jackson's lake is represented, although it is made the source of the Bighorn instead of a branch of Snake River. It gives also the first indication of volcanic phenomena in this locality. A dotted line, running from the Bighorn to and around Lake Eustis and back across the

Yellowstone to Emmanuel Lisa's fort at the confluence of the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers, is marked, "Colter's route in 1807." Where it crosses the Yellowstone, apparently in the vicinity of what is now called Sulphur Mountain, is the legend, "Hot Springs—Brimstone." To the trapping expedition of Colter must undoubtedly be ascribed the first intimation of the existence of the now famous volcanic region at the head waters of the Yellowstone and Madison.

Few later maps convey this correct information, although it is common to find the sulphur springs on the Stinking Water branch of Wind River put down under the name of "Colter's Hill." These latter springs were well known and often visited by trappers, as they were easily accessible and the surrounding country a favorite trapping ground. But the upper Yellowstone was rarely visited; and Lake Eustis and other points—from the information furnished by Colter—came in time to be considered myths, and were often omitted from later maps.

Colter was one of Lewis and Clarke's men who had obtained his discharge below the mouth of the Yellowstone on the return trip of those explorers, and had gone back to the mountains the following year as a trapper, accompanied by Potts, another member of the same party. It was on this expedition (or possibly a later one) that they were captured one morning by a large party of Blackfeet, as they were going to examine their beaver traps. Potts was immediately killed. Colter was taken prisoner, and his adventures may best be told in the words of W. F. Sanders, in a paper prepared by him for Vol. I. of "Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana." They now seized Colter, stripped him entirely naked, and began to consult on the manner in which he should be put to death. They were first inclined to set him up as a mark to shoot at; but the chief interfered, and, seizing him by the shoulders, asked him if he could run fast. Colter, who had been some time among the Kee Katsa or Crow Indians, had, to a considerable degree, acquired the Blackfeet language, and was also well acquainted with Indian customs. He knew that he had now to run for his life, with the terrible odds of five or six hundred armed Indians against him. He therefore cunningly replied that he was a very bad runner, although, in truth, he was considered by the hunters as remarkably swift. The chief commanded the party to remain stationary, and led Colter out on the prairie three or four hundred yards, and released him—to save himself if he could. At that instant the war-whoop sounded in the ears of poor Colter, who, urged with the hope of preserving life, ran with a speed at which he himself was surprised.

He proceeded toward Jefferson's Fork, having to traverse a plain six miles in breadth, abounding with the prickly pear, on which he every instant was treading with his naked feet. He ran nearly half-way across the plain, before he ventured to look over his shoulder, when he perceived that the Indians were very much scattered, and that he had gained ground to a considerable distance from the main body; one Indian, however, who carried a spear, was much ahead of the others, and not more than a hundred yards from him. A faint gleam of hope suddenly cheered the heart of Colter, who derived confidence from the belief that escape was within the bounds of possibility. But that confidence was nearly fatal to him; for he exerted himself to such a degree that the blood gushed from his nostrils and soon almost covered the fore part of his body. He had arrived within a mile of the river, when he distinctly heard the sound of footsteps behind, and every instant expected to feel the spear of his pursuer. He again turned his head and saw the savage not twenty yards from him.

Determined, if possible, to avoid the expected blow, he stopped, turned around, and spread out his arms. The Indian, surprised at the movement and perhaps at the bloody appearance of Colter, also attempted to stop; but, exhausted with running, he fell while throwing his spear, which stuck in the ground and broke in his hand. Colter instantly snatched up the pointed part, with which he pinned him to the earth, and then continued his flight. The foremost of the pursuing Indians, on arriving at the place, stopped until others came up, and then gave a hideous yell. These moments were improved by Colter, who, although fainting and exhausted, succeeded in gaining the skirting of cottonwood trees on the borders of the fork, to which he ran, and plunged into the river. Fortunately for him, a little below this place was an island, against the upper point of which a raft of drift timber had lodged. He dived under the raft, and, after several efforts, came to the surface of the water, among the trunks of trees covered with smaller wood to the depth of several feet. Scarcely had he secured himself, when the Indians reached the river, screeching and yelling, as Colter expressed it, "like so many devils." They were several times on the raft during the day, and were seen through the chinks by Colter, who was congratulating himself on his escape, until the idea arose that they might set the raft on fire. In horrible suspense, he remained until night, when, hearing no more from the Indians, he dived from under the raft, and swam instantly down the river to a considerable distance, then landed and tramped all night. Although happy in having escaped from the Indians, he was completely naked, under a burning sun; the soles of his feet were filled with the thorns of the prickly pear; he was

hungry and had no means of killing game, although he saw abundance around him, and was at a great distance from the nearest settlement. Almost any man but an American hunter would have despaired under such circumstances, but the fortitude of Colter remained unshaken. After seven days of sore travel, during which he had no other sustenance than the root known by naturalists under the name of "psoralea esculenta," he arrived in safety at Lisa's Fort, on the Bighorn branch of the Yellowstone River.

But Colter and Potts were not the only ones whom the account brought back by Lewis and Clarke led into the Rocky Mountains. St. Louis was already headquarters for the western fur trade, and although then but a small village with less than 1,500 inhabitants, its yearly shipment of furs exceeded in value two hundred thousand dollars. No steamboat had yet landed at its wharves, giving augury of its future greatness; but the French and Spanish merchants of the town were enterprising and did not fear to embark their fortunes in any enterprise which promised heavy gains, although proportionate risks, by sending their wares thousands of miles into the wilderness, whither they could be transported only on pack-horses or in barges, slowly cordelled against the muddy current of the Missouri and Yellowstone.

Lewis and Clarke had been almost given up as lost, and their return, in September, 1806, with news of the country around the head waters of the Missouri, created the most intense excitement. Early the next spring Emmanuel Lisa, who had hitherto traded on the upper Mississippi, ascended with a large party the Missouri and Yellowstone, and built a trading post on the latter river, at the mouth of the Bighorn, which was kept up a number of years and became known throughout the Northwest as "Manuel Lisa's Fort." Colter had probably returned with him and entered the mountains on a trapping expedition from his post when taken by the Blackfeet, as related above. But Lisa wished to extend the scope of his operations still further west, and returning to St. Louis, he with eleven others formed the Missouri Fur Company, with a capital of forty thousand dollars, and the year 1809 found him again ascending the Yellowstone. Crossing the Belt range over the Bozeman Pass, he established a post at the confluence of the "Three Forks" of the Missouri, at the lower end of the Gallatin valley. But a few years ago the remains of his stockade might still be seen on the banks of the Madison, but have now been washed away by the encroachments of the river. This was a very favorable point, as many trails emerged here from all points of the compass; but its drawbacks were still greater, for past it led the high road over

which the Blackfeet war parties traveled on their marauding excursions against the Shoshones, the Bannacks, and the Crows. The valleys along the Three Forks have not within historical times been the home of any Indian tribe, although a remarkable "kitchen-midden" in the Gallatin valley indicates that here was at one time the site of a permanent village. The region was debatable ground. War parties of all the surrounding tribes scoured it, and although the Blackfeet claimed it and were the constant scourge and dread of the neighboring tribes and the white trappers (as within our own memory of the first miners and farmers of Montana), yet their real home lay farther north on the Teton and Maria's rivers, and they never remained here long. But they came too often for the success of Manuel Lisa. His stock was stolen, his hunting and trapping parties harassed and killed, and even the fort itself attacked. The enterprise proved a failure. Lisa himself with the greater number of his men went down the Missouri with their small collection of furs, leaving his associate, Henry, to hold the fort. But it soon became untenable, and to save the lives of himself and his men, Henry was forced to abandon it and retreat up the Madison and across the mountains to Snake River. Here he built the first American trading post on the Pacific slope, and his name is deservedly perpetuated in Henry's Lake and Henry's Fork of Snake River.

The story of Astor's futile attempt to gain control of the fur trade on the Columbia is familiar to all through Irving's fascinating work "Astoria." He had sent out land parties as well as ships, and, after the failure of his Pacific establishment, he continued the trade on the upper Missouri and in the Rocky Mountains. His company was the North American, and it was the only association engaged in the western trade which was not controlled in St. Louis. The British fur traders had also long owned establishments within the territory of the United States, but were expelled from the country east of the mountains in 1815 by an act of Congress.

The expeditions heretofore referred to had all passed north and west of the National Park; but the St. Louis merchants had gradually extended their operations up the Arkansas and Platte rivers, and after Ashley's successful trading ventures (1823-27), reaching across the Rocky Mountains into central Utah, the yearly rendezvous and center of the fur trade became for a number of years established on the Sweet Water branch of the Platte and on Green River, the source of the Colorado. In 1827 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company bought out Ashley, and under its leaders Sublette, Smith and Jackson, and later, Bridger and Fitzpatrick, bands of trappers scoured the entire country surrounding the Park. But somehow,

as before remarked, all trails seem to have led around the enchanted land, which was only entered accidentally by a very few.

I have been unable to find any published account indicating an earlier visit by white men to the geyser basins than the year 1830. This is in a volume published in 1871, but copyrighted in 1869, and therefore before the date of the Washburn-Doane expedition, by which the region in question became first generally known. The book is a history of the fur-trade and the settlement of Oregon, especially as bearing on the life of Joseph Meek, a trapper in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, from whose personal relation of his life it purports to be written. Meek and his party were surprised by the Blackfeet in the Gallatin Mountains, in the western part of what is now the Park. In the confusion he was separated from his companions, and after wandering several days had a remarkable experience :

“On the following morning, a very bleak and windy one, having breakfasted on his remaining piece of mutton, being desirous to learn something of the progress he had made, he ascended a low mountain in the neighborhood of his camp, and behold! the whole country beyond was smoking with the vapor from boiling springs, and burning with gases issuing from small craters, each of which was emitting a sharp, whistling sound.

“When the first surprise of this astonishing scene had passed, Joe began to admire its effect in an artistic point of view. The morning being clear, with a sharp frost, he thought himself reminded of the city of Pittsburgh, as he had beheld it on a winter morning, a couple of years before. This, however, related only to the rising smoke and vapor; for the extent of the volcanic region was immense, reaching far out of sight. The general face of the country was smooth and rolling, being a level plain, dotted with cone-shaped mounds. On the summits of these mounds were small craters from four to eight feet in diameter. Interspersed among them, on the level plain, were larger craters, some of them four to six miles across. Out of these craters issued blue flames and molten brimstone.” . . . “On descending to the plain described the earth was found to have a hollow sound, and seemed threatening to break through.”

Here he found two of his companions and proceeded with them to camp, “which they overtook the third day, attempting to cross the high mountains between the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers.” I think there can be but little question that this is intended to describe a visit to one of the geyser basins, probably the lower one on the Madison. The locality fits perfectly, as nearly as it can be ascertained from the vague language of the book, and, while the description is indefinite and fanciful,

it seems to be better suited to one of the geyser basins than to the phenomena of any other part of that volcanic region, particularly the comparison to the appearance of the city of Pittsburg on a winter's morning.

The earliest published account of the geysers of which I have any knowledge was in 1842, in a newspaper, called the *Wasp*, published by the Mormons at Nauvoo, Illinois, and as it is of exceptional interest, I copy it entire:\*

"I had heard in the summer of 1833, while at rendezvous, that remarkable boiling springs had been discovered on the sources of the Madison, by a party of trappers on their spring hunt, of which the accounts given were so very astonishing, that I determined to examine them myself before recording their description, though I had the united testimony of more than twenty men on the subject, who all declared they saw them, and that they really were as extensive and remarkable as had been described. Having now an opportunity of paying them a visit, and as another or a better might not soon occur, I parted with the company after supper, and taking with me two Pend-Oreilles (who were induced to make the excursion with me by the promise of an extra present) set out at round pace, the night being clear and comfortable. We proceeded over the plain about twenty miles, and halted until daylight at a fine spring flowing into Cammas Creek. Refreshed by a few hours' sleep we started again after a hearty breakfast, and entered a very extensive forest, called the Pine Woods, a continued succession of low mountains or hills, covered by a dense growth of this species of timber, which we passed through, and reached the vicinity of the springs about dark, having seen several small lakes or ponds on the sources of the Madison, and rode about forty miles, which was a hard day's ride, taking into consideration the rough irregularity of the country through which we had traveled. †

"We regaled ourselves with a cup of coffee, the materials for making which we had brought with us, and immediately after supper lay down

\* The article appeared in No. 17, Vol. I., dated August 13th, 1842. It seems to have been taken from an unpublished work, called "Life in the Rocky Mountains," but no clue is given to the name of its author. The only copy of this paper, of which I have any knowledge, is in possession of Mr. T. E. M'Koin, of Townsend, Montana; but it might probably be found in Eastern libraries, to which I have not had access.

† The rendezvous appears to have been at Market Lake, in Idaho. The writer's route lay across a barren lava plain to Henry's Fork of Snake River, across that stream, and thence over a densely wooded, basaltic plateau, extending to the continental divide, which he crossed probably near the head of the Little Fire Hole branch of the Madison. It will be noticed, that although he crossed the watershed between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, it is here so low, that no mention is made of going over any mountain range.



to rest, sleepy and much fatigued. The continual roaring of the springs, however (which was distinctly heard) for some time prevented my going to sleep, and excited an impatient curiosity to examine them, which I was obliged to defer the gratification of until morning, and filled my slumbers with visions of waterspouts, cataracts, fountains, jets-d'eau of immense dimensions, etc., etc.

“When I arose in the morning, clouds of vapor seemed like a dense fog to overhang the springs, from which frequent reports or explosions of different loudness constantly assailed our ears. I immediately proceeded to inspect them, and might have exclaimed with the Queen of Sheba, when their full reality of dimensions and novelty burst upon my view: ‘The half was not told me.’ From the surface of a rocky plain or table burst forth columns of water of various dimensions, projected high in the air, accompanied by loud explosions and sulphurous vapors, which were highly disagreeable to the smell. The rock from which these springs burst forth was calcareous, and probably extends some distance from them beneath the soil. The largest of these wonderful fountains projects a column of boiling water, several feet in diameter, to the height of more than one hundred and fifty feet, in my opinion; but the party of Alvarez, who discovered it, persist in declaring that it could not be less than four times that distance in height, accompanied with a tremendous noise. These explosions and discharges occur at intervals of about two hours. After having witnessed three of them, I ventured near enough to put my hand into the water of the basin, but withdrew it instantly, for the heat of the water in this immense cauldron was altogether too great for my comfort, and the agitation of the water, the disagreeable effluvium continually exuding, and the hollow, unearthly rumbling under the rock on which I stood, so ill accorded with my notions of personal safety, that I retreated back precipitately to a respectful distance.

“The Indians who were with me were quite appalled, and could not by any means be induced to approach them. They seemed astonished at my presumption in advancing up to the large one, and when I safely returned, congratulated me on my narrow escape. They believed them to be supernatural, and supposed them to be the production of the evil spirit. One of them remarked that hell, of which he had heard from the whites, must be in that vicinity.\* The diameter of the basin, into which the waters of the largest jet principally fall, and from the center of which, through a hole in the rock of about nine or ten feet in diameter, the water spouts up

\* Early white explorers must have been of the same opinion, judging from the nomenclature used by them—*e. g.*, Hell's Half Acre, the Devil's Den, the Devil's Slide, Hellroaring Creek, etc.

as above related, maybe about thirty feet. There are many other smaller fountains, that did not throw their waters up so high, but occurred at shorter intervals.

“In some instances the volumes were projected obliquely upward and fell into the neighboring fountains or on the rock or prairie. But their ascent was generally perpendicular, falling in or about their own basins or apertures. These wonderful productions of nature are situated near the center of a small valley, surrounded by pine-crowned hills, through which a small fork of the Madison flows.

“From several trappers who had recently returned from the Yellowstone, I received an account of boiling springs, that differ from those seen on Salt River\* only in magnitude, being on a vastly larger scale. Some of their cones are from twenty to thirty feet high and forty to fifty paces in circumference. Those which have ceased to emit boiling vapor, etc., of which there were several, are full of shelving cavities, even some fathoms in extent, which give them inside an appearance of honey-comb. The ground for several acres' extent in the vicinity of the springs is evidently hollow, and constantly exhales a hot steam or vapor of disagreeable odor, and a character entirely to prevent vegetation. They are situated in the valley at the head of that river near the lake which constitutes its source.

“A short distance from these springs, near the margin of the lake, there is one quite different from any yet described. It is of a circular form, several feet in diameter, clear, cold and pure; the bottom appears visible to the eye and seems seven or eight feet below the surface of the earth or water, yet it has been sounded with a lodge pole fifteen feet in length without meeting any resistance. What is most singular with respect to this fountain, is the fact that at regular intervals of about two minutes a body or column of water bursts up to the height of eight feet, with an explosion as loud as the report of a musket, and then falls back into it; for a few seconds the water is roily, but it speedily settles and becomes transparent as before the effluxion. A slight, tremulous motion of the water and a low, rumbling sound from the caverns beneath precede each explosion. This spring was believed to be connected with the lake by some subterranean passage, but the cause of its periodical eruptions or discharges is entirely unknown. I have never before heard of a cold spring whose waters exhibited the phenomena of periodical explosive propulsion in form of a jet. The Geyser of Iceland and the various other European springs, the waters of which are

\* The writer may refer to Salt Fork of Stinking Water, where Colter's Hill was located, as already stated, or to Salt River, a branch of the Snake, where are also found remarkable boiling springs.

projected upward with violence and uniformity, as well as those seen on the head waters of the Madison, are invariably hot."

There can be no doubt that this is a description of one of the Geyser basins on the Fire-Hole branch of the Madison, probably the lower basin, as only one prominent geyser is spoken of, and the lower basin has but one large, spouting geyser, the fountain, which, however, does not now throw its waters to as great a height as stated in the narrative, although Dr. A. C. Peale in his exhaustive paper on the geysers thinks there are indications in the surroundings of this geyser of occasional very violent eruptions. Where the writer describes what he has himself seen, he is very correct and moderate in his statements, and only where he relates things from hearsay does he enter the realm of fiction. It would be interesting to know who was the writer; but probably impossible at this late day. Of Alvarez, who is stated in the article to have visited the region in 1833, Captain Bonneville says, in a letter to the Montana Historical Society, he recollects his name as a trader and thinks he came to the mountains as he (Bonneville) was leaving them (in 1834). He also states that he did not personally know of the thermal springs and geysers, but his men knew about them and called the location the Fire Hole.

During a period of ten or twelve years from Ashley's first expedition the fur-trade remained profitable. Many of the traders made fortunes, although few kept them. Hundreds of American trappers were yearly scattered through the country on all sides of the upper Yellowstone, while few entered that particular section. Gradually the beaver were trapped out, the fur became less valuable, the competition between the different companies grew ruinously keen, and in 1838 the last regular rendezvous was held on Green River. The glory of the trapper had departed. Some returned to the western portion; some joined the tide of emigration setting toward the Pacific, and by swelling the settlement on the Willamette helped to decide the question whether Oregon should be English or American; some became mere "squaw-men," joined and intermarried with the Indians, adopting their mode of life and sinking to their level; some few clung to their old haunts, but became usually moody, misanthropic creatures, who alone, or with a single companion, wandered along the well known streams and mountains, formerly full of life and activity, now lonely and deserted, finding early and unknown graves—killed by bloodthirsty Blackfeet or skulking Crows. What trade was left was carried on with the Indians from permanent posts, and was of an entirely different character from the old fur-trade, being mostly for robes and skins and not furs proper.

We have heard of Bridger as one of the partners in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. He also had fallen from his high estate, although he clung to the Indian country, and we find him twenty years later (in 1859) acting as scout and guide to a government expedition, commanded by Capt. W. F. Reynolds, with Dr. F. Y. Hayden as naturalist and geologist. In the spring of 1860 they attempted to enter the basin of the upper Yellowstone from the south, but without success. "Bridger said at the outset that this would be impossible," reported Reynolds, "and that it would be necessary to pass over to the head waters of the Columbia, and back again to the Yellowstone. I had not previously believed that crossing the main crest twice would be more easily accomplished than the transit over what was in effect only a spur, but the view from our present camp settled the question adversely to my opinion at once. Directly across our route lies a basaltic ridge, rising not less than 5,000 feet above us, its water apparently vertical, with no visible pass nor even cañon. On the opposite side of this are the head waters of the Yellowstone. Bridger remarked triumphantly and forcibly to me upon reaching this spot: 'I told you you could not go through. A bird can't fly over that without taking a supply of grub along.' I had no reply to offer, and mentally conceded the accuracy of the information of 'the old man of the mountains.'"

Baffled here, the party made another effort after crossing to the head of Snake River; but the deep snows of early June forced them back. The time for the entrance into the enchanted castle had not yet come, although it was drawing near; but Reynolds was not the true prince for whom the thorns of the hedge surrounding "Dornröschen's" castle were to change into roses, or he would not have been kept back by his vertical basaltic ridge, which has since been surmounted by Captain Jones and others. Reynolds's report was published in 1868, and in the introduction to it (written in 1867) he refers to this region in the following words: "Beyond them is the valley of the upper Yellowstone, which is, as yet, a terra incognita. My expedition passed entirely around, but could not penetrate it. My intention was to enter it from the head of Wind River, but the basaltic ridge previously spoken of intercepted our route and prohibited the attempt. After this obstacle had thus forced us over on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, an effort was made to recross and reach the district in question; but, although it was June, the immense body of snow baffled all our exertions, and we were compelled to content ourselves with listening to marvelous tales of burning plains, immense lakes, and boiling springs, without being able to verify these wonders. I know of but two men who claim to have ever visited this part of the Yellowstone valley—

James Bridger and Robert Meldrum. The narratives of both are very remarkable, and Bridger, in one of his recitals, described an immense boiling spring that is a perfect counterpart of the Geysers of Iceland. As he is uneducated, and had probably never heard of the existence of such natural marvels elsewhere, I have little doubt that he spoke of that which he had actually seen. The burning plains described may be volcanic, or more probably burning beds of lignite, similar to those on Powder River, which are known to be in a state of ignition. “\* \* \* Had our attempt to enter this district been made a month later in the season, the snow would have mainly disappeared, and there would have been no insurmountable obstacles to overcome. I cannot doubt, therefore, that at no very distant day the mysteries of this region will be fully revealed, and though small in extent, I regard the valley of the upper Yellowstone as the most interesting unexplored district in our widely expanded country.”

At the time this paragraph was written the human eye had again rested on these wonders; but, although at least one man of intelligence and education was of the party which penetrated to two of the geyser basins in 1863, he missed the opportunity of becoming famous by not publishing his discovery until many years later. In the “Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana,” already referred to, is a paper by Col. W. W. de Lacy, a well-known civil engineer, describing a prospecting trip up the South Snake River in 1863. The party found no gold, but entered accidentally the Shoshone and lower Fire-Hole geyser basins. These might have offered greater attractions to some men than even golden prospects, but this party did not appear to consider them of sufficient interest to detain them an hour even. De Lacy’s account of what he saw (he did not himself enter the Shoshone basin) is as follows:

“On the 9th (of September) we continued our journey, and after traveling three miles descended the mountain-side into an open country. In another mile we reached the head of a small stream, the water of which was hot, and soon entered a valley or basin, through which the stream wandered, and which was occupied on every side by hot springs. They were so thick and close that we had to dismount and lead our horses, winding in and out between them, as we best could. The ground sounded hollow beneath our feet, and we were in great fear of breaking through, and proceeded with caution. The water of these springs was intensely hot, of a beautiful ultramarine blue, some boiling up in the middle, and many of them of very large size, being at least twenty feet in diameter and as deep. There were hundreds of these springs, and in the distance

we could see and hear others, which would eject a column of steam with loud noise. These were probably geysers, and the boys called them 'steamboat springs.' No one in the company had ever seen or heard of anything like this region, and we were all delighted with what we saw. This was what was afterward called the 'Lower Geyser Basin' of the Madison by Prof. Hayden. We then went on for several miles, stopping occasionally to admire the beauty, variety, and grandeur of the sight, and at length came to a large stream flowing northerly, near the banks of which were scattering hot springs, and some of which had been hot once, but had now cooled apparently, the water being tepid and muddy, with a strong smell of sulphur."

Gradually it came to be generally talked of through Montana that wonderful volcanic phenomena existed near the sources of the Madison and Yellowstone, and in 1870 the geysers may be said to have been really discovered by a party of gentlemen from Helena, Montana, under the lead of Surveyor-general Washburne and Lieut. Doane, with a squad of soldiers from Fort Ellis. The history of their journey has been often told: by Lieut. Doane, in his admirable report to the War Department; by Mr. Langford, in *Scribner's Monthly*; and by others in various magazines and newspapers.

Great interest in further exploration of the region became at once widespread both in America and Europe, and a party of the U. S. Geological Survey, under Dr. Hayden, passed the summer of 1871 in the Park, and gave to the world the first detailed and scientific account of its wonderful phenomena. Their report was promptly followed by an act of Congress, setting the whole district aside as a national pleasure ground. This measure we owe largely to Dr. Hayden, and recent events have shown the wisdom of his forethought in urging its immediate passage, even while the Park was considered almost inaccessible. When we remember how closely we have escaped having an extortionate monopoly established in the Park even now, when it is declared public property forever, we may imagine what the case would have been if it had been left open to settlement. Since 1871 the Park has been a much visited and a much written about region. Government expeditions have traversed it almost yearly, and it is now being carefully mapped on a large scale by the Geological Survey. A bibliography of the Park, published by Dr. A. C. Peale in a recent report of the survey, has 97 titles. One railroad already runs to its northern boundary, and another will probably soon reach it from Snake River. Thousands of tourists visited it last season. It has long been the pleasure ground of Montana. It bids fair to fulfil the intention of

the framers of the National Park Act and become the pleasure ground of America.

But it will be said: the Park is easy of access; wagon roads enter it and traverse it; railroads are built to its borders, and all without even crossing a single range of mountains. How was it that it remained so long undiscovered? This was due to a variety of causes, but chiefly to its peculiar geographical position.

The Rocky Mountains have been explored partly by government expeditions, partly by Indian traders and trappers, and partly by prospectors. Very little original discovery has been done by government expeditions in the Northwest, if we except the great journey of Lewis and Clarke. They have followed rather than led. Even Fremont was first to tread very few of the paths he "found." From 1806 to 1860 only one government exploring party of importance entered Montana—that of Capt. Raynolds, and if he had been a month later he would probably have penetrated to the geyser basins. Indian traders did not enter the Park, because no Indians made their home there, and natural curiosities had no attractions for them. Prospectors for gold and silver have hunted the Rockies through with wonderful energy and daring. Deep snows, arctic cold, yawning precipices, bloodthirsty Indians—all have they defied in their eager search for the Eldorado. Go where you will in Montana to-day; climb to the highest mountain basins; scale the rocky walls to the farthest sources of the streams; penetrate the deepest defiles and the darkest cañons—everywhere you will find holes dug on the gravel bars and in the creek bottoms; the prospector has been there before you, panning the gravel for a color. It would have been strange indeed if he missed the geysers and the sulphur springs. We have seen that he did not; but no trace of gold was found in the geyser formation, the hot springs deposit, or the mud of the paint pots, and he therefore passed them by with a glance and dismissed them from his mind as of slight importance. The trappers remain to be considered. The great highways of travel across the continent have always (as they do to-day) followed the course of the rivers. Along the Platte and the Yellowstone lay the roads of the trappers to their hunting grounds. Between the South Pass on the great emigrant route and the Bozeman Pass, now occupied by the Northern Pacific Railroad, stretch nearly unbroken masses of mountains, trending generally north and south. The only two entrances into the high table-land or "Park," lying between these mountains, are from the north up the Yellowstone, or from the west up the Madison. On the east and south the Survy and Shoshone ranges are without a break, and ex-

ceedingly difficult to surmount. The great rendezvous of the trappers lay south and south-west of the Park on Green River and in Jackson's and Pierre's Holes or valleys. Those were their gathering places, where they passed every midsummer, and whence they scattered to their allotted trapping grounds for the fall and winter hunt. The Park is a snowy country. The snow lies late in the summer and falls early in the autumn. It cannot well be entered except in July, August and September. The great Indian trails, which were mostly followed by the trappers in their journeys, led on either side of the Park. On the east they skirted the Shoshone range, leading through a comparatively easy country into the open plains of the lower Yellowstone valley. On the west they followed Henry's fork of Snake River, across the easy passes at Henry's lake, to the Madison below the upper cañon, and thence down that river or the west Gallatin to the great valley of the Three Forks. High ranges lay always between these trails and the Park. When the trappers returned to the rendezvous in the spring and might easily have followed the Yellowstone to the lake, the snow lay still deep in the mountains, and they were anxious to reach the gathering place in time to meet the yearly caravan of goods from St. Louis. They had therefore no time for exploration, but followed their wonted routes.

A few did enter the Park by accident, and if it had been a good trapping ground, it would soon have become as well known as Sweetwater or Green River; but beaver do not inhabit streams fed from boiling geysers or sulphur impregnated springs, and it had therefore no more attractions for the trapper than for the prospector. These were mere utilitarians who wanted the knowledge of the true open sesame to unlock the door to the mysteries of nature. This was reserved for the modern traveler, with his thirst for knowledge and his love of the beautiful. To him it has been fully revealed, and may it forever remain sacred to his enjoyment.

*P. Koch*



## THE SHARPLESS PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

As you expressed the desire for an engraving of the Sharpless Portrait of Washington, for the Magazine, and with it a brief sketch of the history of the miniature itself, I am pleased to be able to comply with your request, and thus present to the public for the first time this admirable portrait of Washington—engraved from the original miniature now in my possession. It was painted by Mrs. Elizabeth Sharpless, wife of Sharpless the painter of portraits in pastel, who came from England to this country at the close of the Revolutionary War to paint the portraits of the leading statesmen and officers of the Revolution; his chief object being the formation of a gallery to be exhibited in England, as many there were curious to see the faces of the patriots and soldiers who had brought disaster on British armies and defeat on the arms of England, which for so long had been accustomed to victory. He also, no doubt, had in view the profit to be obtained from painting duplicate copies of portraits for those who were able to pay for them, as he painted six or more copies for certain persons to my knowledge. Mrs. Sharpless belonged to a family of rank and distinction in England, and never painted for gain; but as an artist she was the master of her husband, as this miniature will fully testify when compared with any of Washington's portraits. While at Mount Vernon Mrs. Sharpless became a favorite of Washington, and at her request he sat for this picture, she saying she wished it as a *souvenir* of the Great Chief, to keep and show to her friends in England. She must have completed it in Philadelphia, for on a paper at the back is written, "*Philadelphia, 1796, E. Sharpless.*" The gallery of portraits being finished, the Sharpless family returned to England, where the paintings were duly exhibited, and when curiosity was satisfied, and after Mrs. Sharpless' death, her son came to this country with many of them, hoping to sell them to the persons represented, or to their families, or, failing that, to friends or any one who would pay the highest price. The miniature by Mrs. Sharpless was inherited by the son, who brought it again to the United States about 1809.

My mother, Eliza White, then young, handsome, an heiress, and the only child of an officer who had been an aid of Washington, and afterwards commanded the Virginia Cavalry in Greene's army, excited the

admiration of young Sharpless, who, on leaving this country for an extended tour in Europe, presented the miniature to her, saying: "I am afraid of losing it if I carry it on my travels, and I know of no one I care to give it to more than to you, whose father was the friend of Washington, and whose family have so many relics of the Revolution and its chief actors."

This miniature is one of the last, if not the very last portrait ever painted of Washington, and is, as a work of art, one of the finest ever put on ivory. All who have seen it acknowledge the skill and power of the artist. The likeness has also been considered one of the best. Any one who has seen Houdon's statue of Washington, at Richmond, would at once observe how perfect is the profile and the shape of the head. When a boy, now long years, more than a half century, ago, many officers of the Revolution used to visit my grandmother (a South Carolinian) as they passed through New Jersey on their way from and to the South, and I well recollect their expressions of delight and admiration of this picture, and their comments on the faithfulness of the likeness. Major Wm. Popham, of this city, the last surviving officer of the Revolution, and a President-General of our Society of the Cincinnati, asked me about this portrait in 1843, and said: "Your family should preserve it with great care, for it is the best likeness of Washington ever painted." Popham was at that time ninety-three years of age. It was the year preceding this that he presided at the dinner of the Cincinnati, at the City Hotel, in Broadway, near Wall Street, and made a speech of half an hour in length, which for elegance, classic lore, eloquence, wit and epigram, I have never heard equaled, and it was so characterized by Gen. Sir James Hope, commanding in Canada, who came down to the dinner; he said, on our toasting the Queen, many pretty and complimentary things, and then remarked, "I am an old man myself (he was seventy-three), I have served in all four quarters of the globe, and have been at many public entertainments, but this is the first time in my life that I have ever seen and heard a man past ninety making a speech at a dinner; and such a speech as your president has made, a man might well cross the Atlantic Ocean to hear."

All who listened to that remarkable speech have passed into the silence of the tomb, except the Hon. Hamilton Fish, the present President-General of the Cincinnati, and myself. I inclose with this paper a eulogy on the "CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON," from the pen of a British statesman, which has always appeared to be one of the most perfect specimens of eloquence and of English composition in the language. Many of your readers may never have had opportunity of seeing it; thus the reproduction of it in this connection needs no apology.

## THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.

“ No matter what may be the birth-place of such a man as Washington, no climate can claim, no country can appropriate him—the boon of Providence to the human race, his fame is Eternity, and his residence Creation.

Though it was the defeat of our arms, and the disgrace of our policy, we almost bless the convulsion in which he had his origin—if the heavens thundered, and the earth rocked, yet, when the storm passed, how pure was the climate that it cleared, how bright in the brow of the firmament was the planet it revealed to us !

In the production of Washington it does really appear as if nature was endeavoring to improve upon herself, and that all the virtues of the ancient world were but so many studies preparatory to the patriot of the new.

As a General, he marshaled the peasant into a veteran, and supplied by discipline the absence of experience.

As a statesman he enlarged the policy of the Cabinet into the most comprehensive system of general advantage ; and such was the wisdom of his views, and the philosophy of his council that to the soldier and the statesman he almost added the character of the sage.

A conqueror, he was untainted with the crime of blood ; a revolutionist, he was free from any stain of treason, for aggression commenced the contest, and a country called him to the command, Liberty unsheathed his sword, necessity stained, Victory returned it.

If he had paused here, history might doubt what station to assign him, whether at the head of her citizens or her soldiers, her heroes or her patriots. But the last glorious ac crowned his career, and banished hesitation.

Who like Washington, after having freed a country, resigned her crown, and retired to a cottage rather than remain in a capital ?

Immortal man ! He took from the battle its crime, and from the conquest its chains, he left the victorious the glory of his self-denial, and turned upon the vanquished only the retribution of his mercy.

Happy, Proud America ! The lightnings of heaven could not resist your sage, the temptations of earth could not corrupt your soldier.”

*Matton M. Evans.*

SANS SOUCI, NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., *May 14, 1884.*

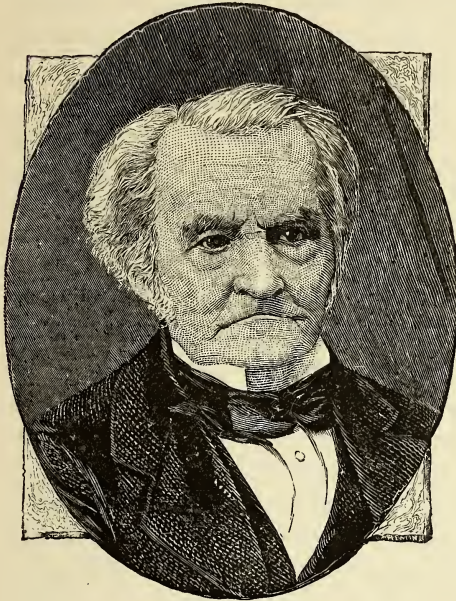
## THE RISE OF A MECHANICAL IDEAL

While Shakespeare characterized as basely mechanical the plodding functions of artisans of his day, it may be said of the mechanical developments of ours that their most notable manifestation is of the logical faculty in a struggle with material facts, bending them to its own conclusions. The mechanic, in the higher sense of the word, is not only an idealist, but in our day he has come to be one of the most notable types of idealistic thinkers.

It is this which lends a peculiar interest to our subject. We recognize the genius of the mind which sees in scattered and diffused elements of power the making of a united empire. The thought comes to that mind like an inspiration as it ponders upon such a development, hand by thought, working a work of years and perhaps halting again and again to brood over insuperable obstacles as though in the faith that they might become melted in the crucible of its vision. In this wise has been the working out of that mechanical ideal, the interchangeable system.

The germination of this system found its most favorable soil in the manufacture of fire-arms, which were produced under government contracts and in large quantities. We find in the history of this manufacture a series of men who were imbued with the idea and pushed it to successive degrees of mechanical perfection. First of these was Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin, who introduced some of its most essential administrative features at his armory at Whitneyville, Connecticut, which was established before the close of the last century. Next Hall invented a breech-loader designed with especial reference to its interchangeable manufacture, which was prosecuted under government auspices at a factory near the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Between 1824 and 1827, he had so far completed his system as to secure practical uniformity in large lots of arms, although the joints between the interchangeable parts were by no means fine. Col. North, at his armory at Middletown, Connecticut, also made some progress in the same direction, but the U. S. muskets did not yet truly possess the feature of interchangeability. In 1838, a new model musket was completed by Benjamin Moore, master armorer at Harper's Ferry, under directions from the Ordnance Office at Washington. Of this model twenty-four sample guns were made with sets of gauges to establish a greater uniformity of

model. The interchangeable system of manufacture of the musket was however first practically taken up by Thomas Warner, master armorer at the Springfield Armory. It was based by him on a further alteration of



THOMAS WARNER.

the 1838 model. Arms completely interchangeable (excepting the breech-screw) were turned out in quantities in 1840, while at Harper's Ferry the output of interchangeable arms began April, 1845, on the 1842 model, the facilities at Springfield being superior to those at the Ferry. In 1852, Cyrus Buckland, master mechanic at the Springfield Armory, completed the uniformity of the U. S. musket by devising machinery for making interchangeable breech-screws. Then rapidly followed the dissemination of the system throughout the armories of the world and its application in making sewing machines, watches, locomotives, agricultural machinery, and many other pro-

ducts of high industrial consequence, which could not possibly be made and used as at present but for the improvement in cheapness and quality resulting from this system of manufacture.

The plan of uniformity in fire-arms was attempted in France in 1783, and was noticed by Thomas Jefferson, whose versatile mind was quick to appreciate any ingenious measure. Jefferson advised the purchase by the United States Government of French arms having the feature of uniformity, but nothing came of it. The attempt in France was abandoned as a failure, and the idea, like that of the "mosquito fleet" and other schemes of Jefferson's prolific ingenuity, was laid aside to mellow till its time. The next appearance of interchangeable fire-arms in Europe was at the London Exhibition of 1852, where the American rifles shown by Robbins and Lawrence of Windsor, Vermont, were awarded a prize medal, and these, as well as the revolvers of Colt of Hartford, Connecticut, gave evidence of the existence of a system of uniformity in fire-arms which had long been maturing in this country.

Whitney does not at first appear as a disciple of Tubal-Cain, but as a

man more versed in letters and a Yankee tutor in the South. The ideality with which he essayed in a novel manner an undertaking so entirely foreign to his experience, and the concentration and persistency with which he pushed it to a practical success, mark him as a man of unusual character. For a long time after his invention of the cotton gin he led a vexed and litigious life in the assertion of his claims against infringers of his patents, and finally turned all his energies to the manufacture of fire-arms.

Unable to procure skilled labor for the work, he surmounted the obstacle by the resources of his own native skill, employing a novel process of manufacture and giving the work his close personal direction. His system was a scientific one. Instead of employing single gunsmiths to make entire guns, he analyzed the gun and applied himself to the manufacture of its several parts in quantities, having regard also to the similar kinds of work to be done on different parts so as to classify and simplify the operations upon the arm, enabling persons of small experience to perform most of them. Professor Silliman, in his memoir of Mr. Whitney, states that the result at which he aimed, and which he successfully accomplished, was the manufacture of arms of as great uniformity as the successive impressions of a copper-plate engraving. Here there is a discrepancy between the language of elaborate eulogy and that due to historic and scientific precision. Mechanical accuracy was in its infancy in 1832, when the memoir was published, and the standpoint of its author must be considered in judging of his language. We may note some of the facilities which Whitney lacked—the drop and die forging presses of Hall, the trip hammers and barrel lathes of Waters, the stocking machinery of Blanchard, and all the ingenious mechanical designs of Buckland. Except the drilling with flat drills, the whole story of the art was comprised in the simple work of the anvil, the grindstone, the file and the shaving knife. “Grinding was a deadly business. A grinder might be known by his bloodless hands and fingers, and when he left the work he never recovered from its effects.” In all of the old armories milling machinery was employed, but it was for the most part too rude in design and too limited in application to displace grinding and filing to any important extent. Whatever ingenuity Whitney may have exhibited in tools of which no account is preserved, the fact remains that in 1815 his methods were still rude, and not markedly in advance of his contemporaries. Interchangeability may have been attained by him in sample locks and guns, but it cannot be gainsaid that it was not a feature of his ordinary manufacture.

In 1815, Col. Decius Wadsworth, in charge of the Ordnance Office, conferred with Messrs. Stubblefield of Harper’s Ferry, Prescott and Lee of

Springfield, and Whitney of New Haven, and made a report advising certain changes in the model, and also: "That a sufficient number of pattern muskets and rifles be made on the foregoing principles and distributed to the various armories, public and private, for the purpose of insuring practical uniformity; no deviation from these patterns to be tolerated after the work now in hand shall have been finished off."

This was a very good resolution, but like many such it fell short of fulfillment, and how far may be appreciated from the anecdote told by the younger Whitney of Mr. Pomeroy, one of the early contractors. He used to stipulate for a case of pattern muskets, feeling sure that if any objections were raised to the quality of the work done by him, he could bring forth from the case something quite bad enough to match it.

Hall's breech-loading rifle was used in government service for many years. It was expressly designed and manufactured as an interchangeable arm, and was tested upon its merits as such. The evidence in the matter is comprehensively stated in the report of Messrs. Carrington, Sage and Bell to Col. Bomford, respecting Hall's work between 1824 and 1827. Their language may seem extravagant because the inspectors had no such criterion as the refinements of modern mechanism, but the severe test of stripping off and reassembling the mixed components of 100 guns, the details of the machines as described, the employment of boys to tend them, the rating of work by cuts or operations, and the saving of labor all indicate an interchangeable system of manufacture. Hall had machinery for trimming, milling, edging, turning and boring, and in drop and die forging he was a long step in advance of his northern contemporaries. Still, looking back from the standpoint of present accuracy, his methods and appliances may be regarded as having emerged but a little from the machine shop primeval, for his machines were very clumsy and the rifles produced had such open joints and were in finish so little different from the common muskets that the interchangeable feature was not recognized by many who were familiar with the arm. When, after many years of manufacture, Hall's breech-loader was finally discarded in the U. S. service, and its inventor had sought his fortune and found his last resting-place in the far West, then his old machines, upon which large sums had been expended, went piece by piece to the scrap heap and thence back to the cupola, there being metal enough in one of his crudely-proportioned milling machines to make three or four modern machines.

The manufacture of U. S. muskets at the national armories was begun at Springfield in 1795, and at Harper's Ferry in 1801. Some consider Col. Stubblefield, one of the early superintendents at the Ferry, as the "setter-

in-motion" of the interchangeable system. Stubblefield was a man of unquestionable mechanical ability. The incumbent of his position was required to be a practical mechanic, and as he had never been apprenticed in the armorer's trade, he qualified himself by making a complete musket with his own hands, which was admitted as sufficient evidence of his practical attainments.

Following Whitney, the most notable contractors were Simeon North (Middletown, Conn.), Asa Waters (Millbury, Mass.), and Lemuel Pomeroy (Pittsfield, Mass.). We may also note the names of Savage, Johnson, Tryon and Derringer, the last of whom gave his name to a pistol once more famous than the Colt. Remington, whose sons established the great armory at Ilion, began as a maker of gun barrels in Northern New York, and supplied North and Savage of Middletown, Conn., and other contractors. Asa Waters of Millbury first started a powder mill, and he states that there was scarcely a barn in his native county under which he had not "bent his back" in procuring saltpeter.

Col. Simeon North commenced manufacturing pistols in 1814, and muskets a few years later. "All these," says Silas Goodrich, his superintendent, "were made to interchange as respects the lock parts and the mountings of the stocks." The joints were not always close, but the stocks were all made in quantities without reference to particular mountings, and the lock parts were made in quantities and hardened without fitting and marking. Milling and some stocking machinery was used, also the well-known expedient of jig-filing, and Goodrich repudiated the suggestion that they copied anything from Whitney. Col. North's management led to financial embarrassments. He became heavily indebted to the government for advances, and some years later, when he essayed the manufacture of Hall's rifles, he believed that an effort would be made to break him down by severe inspections. He therefore made special efforts to secure accuracy, and when inspectors came from the Ferry with "more numerous and exact gauges than had ever before been used," the rifles stood the test, and were pronounced "the best made in the United States."

Benjamin Moore was in his younger days master armorer at Springfield. There was at the Springfield Armory at the same time an apprentice who gave promise of becoming an expert craftsman, but who was so small in stature that boards had to be placed for him to stand upon to enable him to reach his work vise. When he first applied for work, Benj. Prescott objected to him as too small, but his influence in armory affairs was destined to become greater than that of Prescott himself. One morn-



ing, Mr. Moore coming into the shop, called to this lad: "Tom, can you make me a lock-plate before eleven o'clock?" "Yes, sir," answered Tom Warner, and at eleven his master came after it. "I want that," he said, "to take with me to Harper's Ferry to show them there what a boy can do." Warner was the projector of the movement for interchangeability at Springfield Armory in 1839-40, and is now in his 90th year, the oldest surviving patriarch of old armory days.

Respecting Mr. Moore's agency in introducing interchange work, several claims have been made which cannot be substantiated. These are that prior to the introduction of the system by Warner at Springfield, Moore, assisted by one Zadoc Butt, introduced the system at Harper's Ferry, keeping it a secret, and that Moore came to Springfield to inaugurate the system there, and was assisted by six armorers from the Ferry. Nineteenth August, 1839, Col. Bomford directed that Mr. Moore should be sent to Springfield "for the purpose of informing the master armorer of that place of the various methods used for preparing the tools, etc., required for the new model muskets." The model was of Moore's design, but his visit, a brief one, was not for the introduction of an interchangeable system of manufacture. This is obvious from the uniform testimony of all the officers and armorers of note at Springfield Armory at this time and conversant with the circumstances of Moore's visit. The six men alleged to have assisted him did not go to Springfield at all until sixteen years after, when Moore's connection with the armory had long since ceased. The alleged secret system is contradicted by the record of arms produced and by the methods and facilities employed at Harper's Ferry before 1840, also by the evidence of many Harper's Ferry artisans. It is an established fact that the 1822 flint-lock model was not an interchangeable arm, and that, excepting the breech-screw, the parts of the 1840 flint-lock and also of the 1842 percussion model muskets *were* interchangeable. The 1840 model was never manufactured at the Ferry, excepting that in 1838, 24 models (of which the 1840 model was an alteration) were made there. At Springfield the output for the year ending 30th September, 1841, was 10,000 of the 1840 new model muskets, while the output at the Ferry for the same year was 8,650 of the 1822 old model muskets, and they kept on turning out these old model guns till April, 1845. The product of Springfield Armory for 1844 was 4,701 of the 1840 model flint locks and 3,200 of the 1842 model percussion locks, while at the Ferry they had so much to do getting ready to make the 1842 model that they only turned out 608 muskets, and these old flint-locks. At both armories, components were made some time before the date of turning out complete

guns, but both in machinery and interchange, Springfield was decidedly in advance of the Ferry at this time.

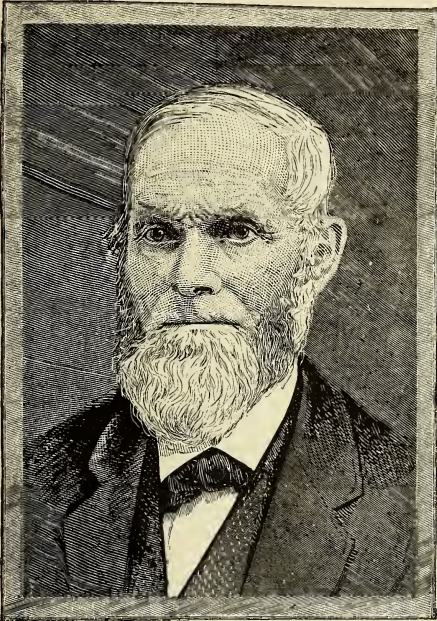
Mr. Moore was specially employed to improve the musket model under advices from the Ordnance Office at Washington. He had the full confidence of the commanding officer, Col. Bomford, and worked on these changes for a series of years, finally in 1838 completing his model and twenty-four patterns of the same made by selecting the best components and finishing with great care, and having very full sets of gauges to determine their proportions. Two of these model guns with sets of tools and gauges were sent to Springfield, and afterward were made the basis of Warner's system, the model being first altered especially by lengthening the breech. All these muskets were derived from the old French model, and this change was made, as Col. Talcott said, "to adapt it to the Yankees, who were larger and longer-gearred than Frenchmen."

Mr. Alexander Stocking, of Worcester, who worked with these models, writes: "With regard to the two models of 1838, sent from Harper's Ferry, I remember the parts were not near enough alike to interchange, as I had to use them in making jigs and gauges to file the various parts, and asked Mr. Warner which of the models I should use. His reply was to take the parts nearest right." But Cyrus Buckland pronounced Moore's gauges superior to any before made at either armory, although he proceeded to improve upon them by making an entirely new set which he considered better adapted to secure interchangeable work.

Mr. Adam Brown was military store-keeper at Harper's Ferry Armory from January, 1834, until 18th April, 1861, when the Civil War came on. Handling every gun produced in that period, he is a valuable witness of what was actually done. He writes: "You ask if the manufacture of the new model muskets was commenced in the spring or fall of 1840. In reply I have to state we did not commence to make any of the new model muskets in 1840. We were not ready to make them. We had all the new tools and machines to make and purchase before we could make any. . . . . Major Craig saw in April, 1841, that we were not ready to make the new model muskets until we got the tools and machines made for them. He got permission from the Ordnance Department to make 600 of the old model of 1822 flint-lock musket per month in order to keep the hands at work until we got ready to make the (new) model muskets."

Mr. John H. King was at Harper's Ferry from 1814 until after Moore's dismissal, as he says: "Commencing at the foot of the ladder and ending

second in command." He states that he can count up 63 gauges used by Capt. Hall on his breech-loader, and that Mr. Moore patterned his gauges for the musket after these. Of course Mr. Moore did not originate gauges, but the list of those which he designed for his model in 1838 is very full, and may be considered to contain the germ of an interchangeable system.



WILLIAM SMITH.

It may be said that exact gauges are tantamount to interchange, but this does not end the matter, for they are not tantamount to a manufacturing system by which the interchange may be maintained. Moore was a skillful model maker, and as such prepared his 24 models and gauges, but in Ordnance Notes No. 25, Major Wade, who was well acquainted with Moore, refers to the fact that a system of interchange was started at Springfield (not at Harper's Ferry) in 1840, and that he called the attention of Col. Talcott to the report of Carrington, Sage and Bell on the work of Hall as early as 1824, that they looked up the matter on the files, no pub-

lication being made of it at that time, and Col. Talcott was astonished to find that so much had been done at the Ferry of which he was entirely ignorant. Major Wade makes no mention of Moore as responsible for an interchange system, although in his letter he is recalling his reminiscences on this very subject. But as Col. Talcott did not know of the steps Hall had taken, so Warner, the master armorer, knew nothing of them.

It may seem strange that the idea of interchange should have dawned upon Warner's mind as a new inspiration. But we see that the Whitneyville works had passed into the hands of men, who, instead of going on to realize the ideal of their founder, fell back to pronouncing it impracticable. We see that after Hall had followed the idea as far as his mechanical facilities would permit, and had made an arm especially designed for interchange, its manufacture was discontinued and the arm was condemned, while the rudeness of finish of the existing rifles was such as not to suggest their forgotten principle of construction. And now the aide had

fallen back to nothing more than that of improving the arm, of fixing upon better designs, and limiting the variation therefrom by means of gauges and closer inspections. The quality of interchange (if it could be so called) was not of recognized value in field work nor in repairs, and the matter of improvement was looked upon something as a millennial undertaking. At both national armories, the musket parts were still fitted gun for gun, and the idea of a practical interchange of parts, if it suggested itself to ordnance officers, was only to be pronounced impracticable.

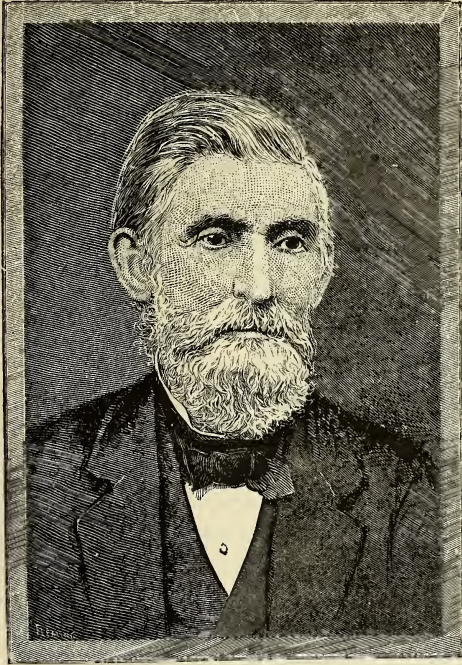
In 1839 Col. Talcott, who was then inspector of the U. S. Armories and Arsenal, being upon one of his tours of inspection, wrote to Mr. John Robb, who was superintendent at the Armory, that he wanted Mr. Warner to assist him, but that if he could not get away from his new model work, to send Mr. Weatherhead. Warner had previously given Mr. Robb his ideas about the interchange, and was told he could do as he pleased about it. But as it involved great responsibility and cost, he did not dare to attempt it without better authority. So he wanted to get Col. Talcott to indorse the scheme, and being unable to go himself he detailed his project in a long descriptive letter which was carried by Weatherhead to Col. Talcott at Pittsfield. After tea on the evening of Talcott's return, Warner, full of his idea, called upon him at the Hampden House.

"Go into my room," said Talcott, "and I'll talk with you about it." So Warner explained his proposed methods step by step until past midnight, when Talcott wound up the interview by saying: "Mr. Warner, this is a *very doubtful undertaking*. I'm afraid you will never succeed in it." "I am as sure of it," answered Warner, "as I am of going home to-night."

"Then," said Talcott, "you can go ahead, and I'll stand back of you."

There is a ring of naturalness in a letter dated 16th August, 1840, from Warner to his old friend Moore, narrating how he conquered opposition and introduced the system: . . . . . "As to our domestic (the Armory) affairs, of which I suppose you would like to hear, they go on as usual. I have nearly got through with a very tedious job, that is, in finishing our tools and machinery for the new model musket. We have now commenced putting up guns, and they meet my most sanguine expectations. I have caused a thorough re-organization of all the different branches of work; it would take a long time to go through with a history of the whole, therefore I will only mention a few of the modes of doing the work. The branches throughout are subdivided into as many as they could be conveniently. There are four branches in filing the lock-plate, three in tumblers, two in cocks, three in forging bayonets, which are

finished without the use of grindstones—they are milled throughout the blade, and are forged by tilt hammers. Our guns are all stocked to one lock, one barrel, one set of mountings, and so on. The branch of finishing is no more, the work is finished before it goes into what we called the finishing room. Our stocks will be done principally by machinery, so much so that I think six or eight men will do all of the hand work. Our



CYRUS BUCKLAND.

new machinery and tools have cost us about \$20,000, and I anticipate carrying it still further.”

“You may think that I am rather egotistical, but I have mentioned myself as doing this because the plan was generally opposed, and I had to force the business for some time, until it was found that opposition was of no use, but when all *see* I was determined in it, there was a general yielding to my views, and I have had the assistance of some men, such as Cyrus Buckland, William Smith, and Nathaniel French, to whom a great deal of credit is due, as what has been done was once considered impracticable and almost impossible.”

In 1842, Warner was persuaded to leave his place at the U. S. Armory and to go to Whitneyville, a desertion which gave offense to Col. Ripley, the then superintendent. He improved the machinery and introduced the interchange at Whitneyville, but far from realized his expectations of a fortune. As a subcontractor he suffered much loss from imperfections in iron barrels, so that he appealed to Sanderson & Bro., importers, to know if they could not get him some metal with less carbon and more of the fiber of steel. This inquiry is said to have led to the earliest use of the so-called low steel for gun barrels.

Leaving Whitneyville, Warner followed various successive enterprises. At one time, the same lawsuit which brought success and the earnest of a great fortune to Col. Colt brought defeat and misfortune to Warner's interests. But while Nemesis showed him few favors, she spared his energies for a

much longer service than often falls to the lot of mortal man. He continued as an active and efficient artisan until some time past his eightieth year. In one of Col. Talcott's reports, 6th Aug., 1841, after referring to the use of the tilt hammer in forging bayonets as a great advance, he adds: "But the construction of an entire set of machinery for finishing it in all its parts, and thereby dispensing with the process of grinding, so ruinous to the health of man, deserves a medal of gold from the friends of humanity. Thomas Warner, the present master armorer, is entitled to all the credit of these invaluable improvements."

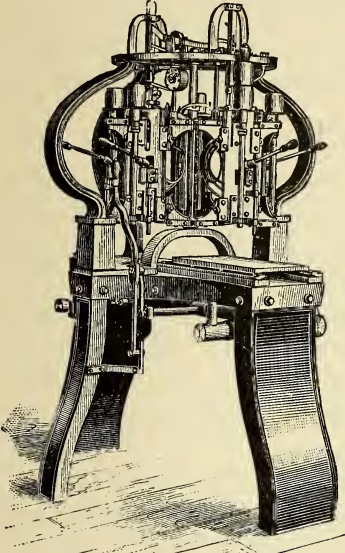
Nathaniel French was one of Col. North's skilled artisans. Coming to Springfield at about the close of Col. Roswell Lee's superintendency, he designed and built the motive machinery for some new shops in that part of the Springfield Armory known as "the water shops" (these being on the river front, while the "hill shops," arsenals and officers' residences occupy a handsome park overlooking the city). French made the main shafts round and small, running them at higher speed, despite the objections of old-style mechanics, who shook their heads and declared that the smaller journals would "wear out in a month."

William Smith writes as follows in respect to the design of the modern type of milling machine: "I have no disposition, in my eightieth year (1882), to arrogate to myself anything that does not belong to me. Mr. Noble, the superintendent when Mr. French left as master machinist, saw fit to appoint Mr. William Ferre and myself jointly as master machinists, and advanced the pay of each of us, and we got up the milling machine with sliding spindle boxes. I made the drawing, but consulted with him. We determined to get up a machine that would meet all requirements as far as possible, and it has stood forty-six years without material improvement.

At Harper's Ferry, in 1842, John H. King designed an ingenious but somewhat clumsy machine for bedding lock parts and mountings for stocks, but after 1840 the great number of effective machines designed by Cyrus Buckland had an important influence upon the maintenance of the interchangeable system. Blanchard blazed the way for Buckland, as Whitney did to some extent for Warner, but in his peculiar field of invention, Buckland laid down so broad a path that his successors have found it wide enough to walk in. From 1840 until 1852, under the encouragement of Col. Ripley, he designed and built a series of intricate and beautiful machines, of which the lock-plate bedding machine is here illustrated as a fair example. This instrument of interchange work will be seen to be not more truly mechanical than it is monumental, and it may be said in

general that these machines were the means of substituting for hand-filing, machine cuts of great accuracy.

Buckland's machines were copied in the national and private armories and shops in the United States, and after the London Exhibition of 1852, the Ames Manufacturing Co. duplicated many of the machines, and sold them to nearly all of European governments, furnishing models for a world-wide practice. In evidence of their labor-saving results, we may note the fact that, in 1840, before their introduction, the U. S. Government paid \$8.30 for the work on a musket, and in 1853 the cost had been reduced to \$4.31 per musket. Some of this saving must be attributed to better system and economy, but much was due to the machines. One of Buckland's last works was the design of the breech-screw machinery, by which the interchangeability of the musket parts was completed.



LOCK-PLATE BEDDING MACHINE.  
*Designed by Cyrus Buckland.*

The fear of burdening my account with details has led me to pass lightly over the fullness of historic evidence which I have been at great pains to gather. Such details are multiplied indefinitely as we pass to the wider applications of the principle of interchangeable mechanism and the prolific growth of manufactures of every kind which have felt the stimulus of this system. Interchangeable mechanism is no longer limited to instruments of destruction. In agriculture, it plows, it sows, it reaps, it gathers into barns. More than this, it prepares our flour, it spins and weaves our clothing, it keeps our time, it speeds our cars upon the rails. It is three or four servants to every man, and it has within forty years grown from infancy to maturity.

Witnessing the results of the development of this mechanical idea, seeing them in a swelling tide of statistics, realizing them in their vast influences upon the conditions of human life, and dwelling with anxious concern upon their probable consequences on future culture and character, I plead no apology for ranking the mechanics, whose story I have told, among the great idealists in other fields of thought, while I reckon that the rise of many an empire is already dwarfed in historic moment by the rise of this mechanical ideal.

*Charles H. Fitch -*

## A DINNER WITH GENERAL SCOTT IN 1861

It was the morning of that gloomy day in Washington on which came the news that the United States Navy Yard opposite Norfolk, Virginia, had been evacuated and burned.

I was at the time Inspector-General of the District of Columbia and in command of the District troops, all the infantry and cavalry which the government then had at its disposition for the defense of the Federal District, the preservation of order in the capital, and the guarding of the public buildings and archives of the nation. It was my duty to so station the troops that all approaches to the city should be constantly watched; and I held possession not only of the "long-bridge" and "chain-bridge" over the Potomac, but also had pickets stationed far out on the roads leading into the city, and nightly guards in all the principal public buildings.

Each morning at 9 o'clock I was required to appear in the office of the General-in-Chief (Lieut.-General Scott), to make report in person to him of the occurrences of the past night and to receive his orders for the day. Each evening I also reported in person to him at his quarters, after his dinner, to inform him of all that had happened during the day and to receive any special orders for the night. On the morning in question I entered General Scott's office at the usual hour, and found him busily engaged in writing. As I approached and saluted, the general looked up over his spectacles, and on seeing who had entered, said, a little sharply: "Colonel Stone, you will please come and dine with me this afternoon at half-past four o'clock. Good-morning, sir!" and immediately resumed his writing.

Knowing what serious news the general had received, I was not at all astonished at his unusual reception, and saluting in silence I withdrew, to pass a busy day in perfecting arrangements for the defense of the city and public buildings. It was believed that a force on the Virginia side of the Potomac was preparing to seize the capital. Punctually at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon I presented myself at the general's residence, and on entering found his valet, Clark, placing the soup on the table. General Scott received me with a preoccupied air, motioned me to my place at the table, and sat down immediately. The soup was served and disposed of in perfect silence and the tureen removed. A large roasted chicken was then placed before the general, who said: "Colonel Stone, will you do me the favor to carve that chicken?" And then, as I proceeded to comply,



and placed the knife at the wing joint, he cautioned me, "Very little of the breast with the wing, please!" his peculiarities on little things at the table not quitting him even in his anxiety about great matters. I served him to what I knew he liked, and the dinner progressed in silence; but this silence was broken by a knock at the door and an orderly entered with a telegraphic dispatch. The general received the missive, opened and read it, and then, pushing forward his plate, called: "Clark! bring me pen, ink and paper!" These were quickly brought; the general wrote rapidly for a moment; and holding up the paper, said, sadly: "Colonel Stone, we have fallen upon evil days. To think that a man who has known me so long and so well as has my old friend John Jordan Crittenden should find it necessary to send me a telegraphic dispatch to which I have to make such an answer as this!" and he read as follows:

"To the Hon. John Jordan Crittenden,  
Lexington, Kentucky.

"I have not changed. I have had no thought of changing. I am for the Union.

"Winfield Scott."

The telegram was sent off; and the general continued: "In these evil days no man has entire confidence in any other man. Even my old friend Crittenden felt the necessity of being reassured by a word direct from me—well as he knew my sentiments a short time since!"

The simple meal went on in silence and was soon finished. A decanter of wine stood between us on the table and had been untouched. General Scott said: "Colonel Stone, you will find that sherry very good." I took the decanter and filled first his glass, then my own. He raised his glass slightly, and, looking over it at me very intently, he said: "Gosport Navy Yard has been burned!" I replied, quietly: "Yes, General!" He continued: "Harper's Ferry bridge has been burned!" Again I replied: "Yes, General." Again he spoke: "The bridge at Point of Rocks was burned some days since!" I replied: "Yes, General." He continued: "The bridges over Gunpowder Creek beyond Baltimore have been burned!" I still replied: "Yes, General." He added: "They are closing their coils around us, sir!" Still I replied, in the same tone: "Yes, General." "Well, sir!" said the general: "I invited you to come and dine with me to-day, because I hoped that *you* could listen calmly to that style of conversation! Your very good health, sir!" And he drained his glass, while I bowed and followed his example. "Now," said the general, "how long

can we hold out here?" I replied: "Ten days, General, and within that time the North will come down to us."

"How will they come? The route through Baltimore is cut off."

"They will come by all routes. They will come between the Capes of Virginia, up through Chesapeake Bay, and by the Potomac. They will come, if necessary, from Pennsylvania through Maryland directly to us; and they will come through Baltimore and Annapolis."

"Well, sir, how many men have you?"

"In all, General, there are four thousand nine hundred. But that number includes the battery of artillery near your headquarters, and the Ordnance men at the Arsenal, not under my command, and who will have enough to do to guard the Arsenal."

"How many miles of picket line between your outposts?"

"About eighteen miles, General."

"Eighteen miles of picket line and less than five thousand men! Then you must, in case of attack, fight your pickets!"

"Yes, General; but as the enemy attacking could not be strong enough to make a serious effort at more than one point, the pickets on the points attacked seriously can, when pressed, fall back slowly and firing constantly or frequently, and the moving fire would soon inform us as to which quarter is most threatened. Then force can be withdrawn from unthreatened points and marched to strengthen the real resisting force. This is all we can do, and what we can do must be done."

"Well, sir! where are your centers?"

"There are three, General. *First*, the Capitol, where have been stored some two thousand barrels of flour, and where Major McDowell remains every night with from two hundred to three hundred of my volunteers. *Second*, the City Hall hill, a commanding point, with broad avenues and wide streets connecting it with most important points, having in its vicinity the Patent-Office and the General Post-Office, in each of which I place a force every night. In the General Post-Office we have stored a large quantity of flour. *Third*, the Executive Square, including the President's house, the War, Navy, State, and Treasury Departments, in each of which, and in Winder's building, I place a force every night after dusk. The citadel of this center is the Treasury building. The basement has been barricaded very strongly by Captain Franklin of the Engineers, who remains there at night and takes charge of the force. The front of the Treasury building is well flanked by the State Department building, and fifty riflemen are nightly on duty there. The building opposite is also occupied at nights. The outposts at Benning's bridge and the pickets in that

direction will, in case of attack in force, retire, fighting, to the Capitol. Those on the northeast and north will, if pressed, retire by 7th street to the City Hall hill, while those on the northwest and west will, in case of attack, fall back and finally take refuge in the Treasury building, where they will be joined by the detachments guarding the river front when the attack shall have become marked and serious that only the centers can be held. In the Treasury building are stored two thousand barrels of flour, and perhaps the best water in the city is to be found there. The city is so admirably laid out in broad avenues and wide streets centering on the three positions chosen, that concentration for defense at any one of the three is made easy. The field battery can move rapidly toward any outpost where heavy firing shall indicate that the attack is there serious, and with the aid of this battery the retreat from that point can be made slowly enough to give time for concentration on that line of the outlying companies in positions not threatened. In case a sharp resistance outside the city may fail to prevent an advance of the enemy, we can occupy the centers until the North shall have time to come to our relief. All our information tends to show that the force of the enemy which can immediately act against the Capitol does not exceed five thousand organized men; and before that number can be largely increased our relief will come. These District of Columbia volunteers would be fighting in defense of their homes, and would fight well."

The general listened attentively, and looked over the map of the city which I had drawn from my pocket and placed before him while indicating the positions.

He then said: "It is all that can be done. Your plan is good. Your pickets will have to fight well, and must try to not fall back more than fifteen paces at a time, and to fire at least once at each halt. This requires good men and good devoted officers. These soldiers of the District will probably fight quite as well in defense of their homes as will the enemy in attacking them. But you have too many centers. You cannot hold three. You will need all your force concentrated to hold one position against an energetic force equal to or superior in numbers to all you have. The first center to be abandoned must be the Capitol. It is a fire-proof building. There is little in it that is combustible excepting the libraries of the Congress and the Supreme Court, and I do not believe that American soldiers, even in rebellion, are yet capable of burning or destroying public libraries and the archives of courts of justice.

"The second center to be abandoned will be the City Hall hill."

Here I ventured the remark that it would be a pity to abandon so com-

manding a position, with such admirable avenues of communication to all parts of the city.

The general continued: "It is a pity to abandon so commanding a position, as you say, my young friend. But we must act according to the number of troops we have with which to act. All else must be abandoned, if necessary, to occupy, strongly and effectively, the Executive Square, with the idea of finally holding only the Treasury building, and, perhaps, the State Department building, properly connected." He paused a moment, and then said: "The seals of the several departments of the government must, this night, be deposited in the vaults of the Treasury. They must not be captured and used to deceive and create uncertainty among public servants distant from the capital. And," said he, speaking more impressively, "should it come to the defense of the Treasury building as a citadel, then the President and all the members of his cabinet must take up their quarters with us in that building! They shall not be permitted to desert the capital!"

Such was the condition of the capital of our country at that time, and such was the plan adopted by the old General-in-Chief.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. Scott", written in a cursive style with a large flourish at the end.

FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, *April*, 1884.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

*Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

*(Continued from page 444, Vol. XI.)*

*Intelligence rec<sup>d</sup> from Cap: Beckwith,*

*dated 17 June, 1781.*

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

There is 1700 prisoners in Lancaster Barracks, the Rebels say 900. They want for every necessary of life ; many of them lying in the intermitting fever, and has no care taken of them. I can't but think they might be relieved by a little assistance, for they have attempted to rise twice, but were prevented by the Rebel Guard which is about 40 men. I could collect 100 arms, and 100 lbs of powder, and lead equivalent. It is but 35 miles from the lower ferry on Susquehanna to Lancaster. There is always a large store of powder in Lancaster. By accounts I have had from the Rebels, they are going to move all the British prisoners to the Yankee country.\* There is thousands of barrels of flour in Philadelphia.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Yours

H. N.

Doctor Henry Norris†

(In another hand.)

Sir,

I have made bold to put the author of this letter's name, as he is a stranger to you. He is the person that carried the letter, &c from Col : R. † and thinks hard there is no compensation allowed him. He may be commanded to do anything that is in his power to the relief of the above.

\* The "prisoners" mentioned in this letter were Burgoyne's troops captured at Saratoga, in 1777. They were not "prisoners" but were detained by Congress, in violation of the capitulation.

† Or "Norrice," of Pennsylvania. He was tried in 1778 on a charge of supplying the Royal army with provisions, and found guilty. He was sentenced to confinement with hard labor for one month, and to pay £50 for the use of the sick in the Whig camp.—*II. Sabine*, 121.

‡ Col. Beverly Robinson.

*Intelligence from Gould.\**

2nd July, 1781.

Sir

I have had a long conference this day with D——; † he is in the greatest want to know the situation and strength of the different posts at Kingsbridge, Fort Washington and its vicinity. He wants to know whether the bridges are in good repair or not and how many cannon are in the works that command the bridge. Likewise the number of cannon in the fort at Brooklyn. The number of ships of force in the harbour, and their names. The several guards and patrols at Kingsbridge. He is packing up his baggage to day, and is going to march tomorrow, I believe towards Tappaan. He would not tell me where. ‡

*Letter from —— to**Col : James DeLancey**Morrisania, 3<sup>d</sup> July 1781*

My business from home was on purpose to acquaint you, with the Rebel schemes, that will shortly be put in execution. The French fleet is to move from Rhode Island to Sandy Hook; and the Rebels are collecting all the shipping together, whaleboats and flatboats to [come] down the East River with a view of landing on Morrisania Point, and from thence to Haerlem. The Connecticut Militia is to land on the East end of Long Island, and to march down the Island, and at the same time the body from the Whiteplains is to march down upon these lines. The movement depends entirely upon the French fleet; and yesterday an express went from the French Admiral to the French Duke at Whiteplains. You may depend upon [it] the French's baggage has been these three days steady in coming to them in abundance. We have various accounts about the numbers at Whiteplains, but the most I have heard is 12000.

This day Waterbury was to move to Byram but had not when I came from home. I have nothing more material to add, but have the honor, &c. §

\* The same "Gould," the New Jersey informer, who gave the account of the mutiny of the New Jersey line mentioned in the first entry of this "Private Intelligence," of 20th January, 1781. (*Vol. X. Mag. Am. Hist., p. 331.*)

† Col. Elias Dayton, of N. J.

‡ This statement by "Gould" of his interview with Col. Dayton, shows how detailed and minute were the directions for intelligence given by Washington to that officer, prior to the projected surprise, of Col. James DeLancey's corps at Morrisania, and of the forts on Manhattan Island. Dayton's march, for which he was "packing up his baggage," was to the North River, to support Washington's movement if it succeeded.

§ The first part of this letter gives probably the current story of the day in the writer's neighborhood. But the last clause, about Waterbury, was important in its result. Waterbury was posted at Horseneck, just east of Byram River, with about 300 men. Washington, on 30 June, ordered him, on receipt of his letter of that date, to march his force "to form a junction without fail

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith. 3<sup>d</sup> July 1781.*

Ezek<sup>l</sup> Yeomans informs me, that he came from the Bergen shore this afternoon ; he was told by people upon whom he can depend, that yesterday an officer came from East side of Hudson's River, and landed at Kloster-dock. They told him at first that he was a General, but upon more particular enquiry he found he was only a Colonel, but could not learn his name. This officer viewed the ground about the Liberty pole : he had a party of Dragoons with him. The inhabitants gave out, that the chief object was to scour the country in order to secure the grain and forage \*

with Colonel Sheldon, at Clapp's on King Street, on the 2d July, by sunset," with four days' cooked provisions and without baggage ; and to keep the proposed movement "a profound secret from every officer under your command." (*VIII. Sparks*, 88.) The next day, July 1st, he wrote him that he would be joined at Clapp's by the Duke de Lauzun and his Legion, and to put himself under that officer's command. (*VIII. Sparks*, 92.)

As the writer of this letter to Col. De Lancey evidently knew of Waterbury's projected movement before he had begun it, and "came from home" to inform of it, the "profound secret" was evidently not very well kept. As it is only about 20 miles from Horseneck to Morrisania, where De Lancey was posted, and he, after receiving this letter, had time enough to send it to Clinton's headquarters in New York, in season to be entered in this Private Intelligence on the 3d of July, it is clear that Col. De Lancey had prior notice of the movement on the night of the 2d of July, in ample time to make the attempted surprise the failure that it was. This letter, though not dated, was evidently written the 1st of July, and must have been received by Col. De Lancey either the same day or the next—the 2d.

\* The officer here referred to was really General Lincoln, and the reconnoissance described decided him not to make the attempt on the forts on New York Island.

This movement, the very first in which the American and French armies acted together, and which was unsuccessful, is thus described by Washington himself in his "Journal:" (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, Vol. VI., 117-118.)

"June 28th.—Having determined to surprize the Enemy's Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island, if the prospt. of success continued favourable, & having fixed upon the Night of the 2<sup>d</sup> July for the purpose—and having combined with it an attempt to cut off De Lancey's and other light Corps, without Kingsbridge, and fixed on Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln to command the first detachment, and the Duke de Lauzun the 2d, every thing was put in train for it, and the Count De Rochambeau requested to file off from Ridgebury to Bedford, and hasten his mar[ch]—while the Duke de Lauzun was to do the same & to assemble his command (which was to consist of abt. 3 or 400 Connecticut State Troops under the command of Gen<sup>l</sup> Waterbury—abt. 100 York Troops under Captn. Sacket—Sheldon's Legion of 200, and his own proper Corps)—Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln's command was to consist of Scammell's light Troops and other detachments to the amount of 800 Rank and file properly officered—150 Watermen—and 60 Artillerists. \* \* \* \*

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

At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to

*Extract from a letter from Capt. Marquard 3<sup>d</sup> July, 1781.*

"There is a deserter at Morrisania who will be sent to Head quarters tomorrow. He says he saw Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington himself this day, and that he was about 3000 strong, 800 French were with him. Col: De Lancey has not been able to get any

cover the detached Troops—and improve any advantages that might be gained by them—made a small halt at the New bridge over the Croton abt. 9 miles from Peekskill—another at the church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 miles more) and completed the remaining part of the mar[ch] in the night—arriving at Valentine's Hill (at Mile Square) about sunrise.

Our Baggage & Tents were left standing at Peekskill.

July 3<sup>d</sup>—The length of Duke Lauzun's march & the fatigue of his Corps prevented his coming to the point of action at the hour appointed.

In the mean time Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln's Party who were ordered to prevent the retreat of De Lancey's Corps by the way of Kg's Bridge & prevent succour by that route were attacked by the Yagers and others—but on the march of the Army from Valentine's Hill returned to the Island.—Being disappointed in both objects from the causes mentioned I did not care to fatigue the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their arms while I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemy's Works. In the afternoon we retired to Valentine's Hill & lay upon our arms—Duke Lauzun and Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunx river on the East Chester road. Our loss in this day's skirmishing was as follows—viz. ;—[*the figures are not given, unfilled blanks being left by Washington. Capt. Marquard's letter of 4<sup>th</sup> July, which succeeds, said, "Two officers and 17 rebels have been buried near Fort Independence and two more have been found dead this morning. Four prisoners badly wounded are sent this morning to New York."*]

July 4<sup>th</sup>—Marched and took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left:—Duke Lauzun marched to the Whitepl<sup>a</sup> & Waterbury to Horseneck."

The diary of Du Bourg, Rochambeau's Aid, under July 2,-5, says, "Messieurs de Fersen and de Vauban, to whom M. de Rochambeau had given permission to follow the Legion, returned; they told us that De Lancey's corps, which they had expected to surprise at Morrisania, was at Williamsbridge, and informed of our approach, for at the moment they appeared, they saw about three thousand English debouch in several columns, which compelled them to re-cross a stream, and fall into line of battle behind General Lincoln, who was in charge of another expedition, which was not successful, losing four men killed, and fifteen or sixteen wounded. The Legion fired a few shots, but there was no one killed or wounded." *IV. Mag. Am. Hist., 296.*

In his report to the President of Congress, of 6 July, from Dobbs' Ferry, Washington says: "Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln with a detachment of 800 men, fell down the North River in boats, landed near Phillips's House before daylight on the morning of the 3<sup>d</sup>, and took possession of the ground on this side Haerlem River, near where Fort Independence stood. This movement was principally intended to support an enterprise, which I had projected against a corps of refugees under the command of Colonel De Lancey at Morrisania, and other light Troops without the bridge, and which was to have been executed by the Duke de Lauzun with his own Legion, Col. Sheldon's regiment, and a detachment of State Troops from Connecticut under the command of Brigadier General Waterbury. The Duke, notwithstanding the heat of the day of the 2<sup>d</sup>, marched from Ridgebury in Connecticut, and reached East Chester very early the next morning; but on his arrival there finding by the firing that General Lincoln had been attacked and the alarm given, he desisted from a further prosecution of his plan (which could only have been executed to any effect by surprise) and marched to the General's support, who continued skirmishing with the enemy and endeavouring to draw them so far into the country that the Duke might turn their right and cut them off from their work on the east side of Haerlem River, and also prevent their repassing that river in boats. Gen-



intelligence of them. There is only a report that they were encamped at, or near Valentine's Hill."

*From Cap<sup>t</sup> Marquard 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

I directed one Hunt from East Chester to wait on you. I hope he has complied with my directions.

Another patrol of the Jagers\* returned just now. The Country people told them that the rebels marched from Valentines hill to White Plains, and that Frenchmen had been with them.

Mr. Cortlandt said that Generals Washington and Parsons came to his house; † the former did not go in, but went back; and that those that came down towards Kingsbridge had been 1,800 strong. They have driven almost all the cattle and horses off.

Two Officers and 17 rebels have been buried near Fort Independence, and two more have been found dead this morning. Four prisoners, badly wounded, are sent this morning to New York.

P. S.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Ogden, late of Emmerick's Corps, was here this moment; he was kept a prisoner all night at Washington's headquarters, which was at Valentine's hill, at Tho<sup>s</sup> Valentines. He estimates those he saw at 4,000 men. They marched this morning early towards the White Plains. The boats in which the Rebel Detachm<sup>t</sup> came down, went up the North River yesterday morning about 4 o'clock. Ogden saw no French but a few horse. †

eral Parsons had possessed the heights immediately commanding Kingsbridge, and could have prevented their escape by that passage. Every endeavour of this kind proved fruitless; for I found on going down myself to reconnoitre their situation, that all their force except very small parties of observation, had returned to York Island."—*VIII. Sparks, 97.*

\* These were of Col. de Wurmb's Regiment of Yagers, which had shortly before been ordered from Queen's County, Long Island, to Kingsbridge.

† "Mr. Cortlandt" was Mr. Augustus van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt House, Little or Lower Yonkers, which is about a mile and a half north of Kingsbridge. He was for many years before, and at the outbreak of the Revolution, Clerk of the City of New York. On April 1st, 1781, his elder brother James van Cortlandt died without issue, and he succeeded to the great Yonkers estate of the family, where he lived till his death on the 20th December, 1823, at the great age of 96 years. Both were sons of Frederick van Cortlandt of Yonkers, and his wife Francina Jay, 3d daughter of Augustus Jay (the first of the Jays in America) and his wife Anna Maria Bayard, daughter of Balthazar Bayard, whose mother was a sister of Gov. Stuyvesant. Both brothers married sisters, daughters of Cornelius Cuyler, of Albany, but neither lady left issue; Augustus's wife died in 1761, and in 1763 he married, secondly, Catherine Barclay, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Barclay, of Albany. Cortlandt House, erected in 1748, is still standing, and, with the estate, is the property and residence, of his great grandson, the present Mr. Augustus van Cortlandt. This year nearly the whole estate has been selected by commissioners for one of the great parks of the City of New York, within which it now lies.

‡ "Capt. Ogden" was Benjamin Ogden of Westchester County, a captain in Col. Andreas Emmerick's Regiment of Chasseurs. Emmerick's corps had been sent on July 1st, to "Phillipse's

*Information given by Col. Hunt, 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Colonel Hunt came from Kingsbridge this morning, and informs that about daybreak yesterday morning, as he lay concealed on the ground behind his garden at Hunt's hill, he saw about 400 Cavalry passing towards Williamsbridge; that about a q<sup>r</sup> of an hour after sunrise he saw some French troops, about 500, marching the same road; a few Rebel troops were with them. He knew them to be French by their white Clothes, and language. They had no coats on. On Valentine's hill that morning he saw about 1000 Rebel troops, and on the West side of Brunx he saw, he thinks, about 400. They were posted last night on Valentine's hill, and about Hunt's bridge and Brunx River bridge.\* About 7 this morning he saw them on their march back, by the same road they advanced. Some Rebel Officers were at his house last night, and told his wife they came down with an intention to attack the lines; that they were only going back as far as Ward's house,† but would return soon with the French and attack the lines.

Some people told him they heard Washington say he only came to reconnoitre. Some who saw the troops told him they believed there were about 5,000 down.

He spoke to a Rebel soldier who was wounded, who told him they had only 3 or 4000 down.

Washington, Lincoln, Parsons, Waterbury, and the French General‡ were with the troops.§

*Information from Cap<sup>t</sup> Sullivan 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

He arrived at Philadelphia the 12<sup>th</sup> June, waited upon his brother, General Sullivan, and delivered a letter to him from Cap<sup>t</sup> Holland; after reading it several times the General told him it was very well, but would not descend into particulars, as his coming to Philadelphia twice might give suspicions,|| and as soon as he had an answer from New Hampshire, he would inform him of everything in his power.¶

House," now the Yonkers City Hall, with a foraging party. The next day they were recalled and on their way back in the fight with Lincoln, Ogden was taken prisoner. He went to Nova Scotia after the war, became a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and died at Antigonish, N. S., in 1835.—II. *Sabine*, 127.

\* Williamsbridge.

† In the upper part of Eastchester.

‡ "The French General" means the Duke de Lauzun, who was a colonel, and the only French commanding officer engaged in this operation.

§ The "Hunt" mentioned in the preceding letter, and who gave the information, was the Colonel Hunt, of Hunt's Hill near Huntsbridge, Westchester County, on the Bronx River, about three miles north of Williamsbridge. He was of the family of the Hunts of Hunt's Point on the Sound.

|| So in the MS.

¶ This refers to Captain Daniel Sullivan's former visit to his brother, Gen. John Sullivan, detailed in the affidavit of the former entered before in this secret intelligence on the 17th May, 1781. That visit was made in the first week of May, 1781; Daniel Sullivan leaving, on his return to New

That Cap<sup>t</sup> Holland might assure the person which he mentioned in his letter to him, in whose full confidence he was, that he would do everything in his power to serve him.\*

Capt<sup>t</sup> Sullivan asked his brother, if M<sup>rs</sup> Holland's visit would be limited to any certain time; he said he had not the least doubt she might stay as long as she pleased; that Captain Holland would follow her in less than six months, and that the purchasers of Holland's property had thrown their money away.† That it was his opinion that unless the French make very great exertions in America this summer, the Congress will be torn to pieces and the people would return to their allegiance; that the Congress was at present in great Confusion, and that he was determined to take care of himself.‡ Cap<sup>t</sup> Sullivan further says that in every part of Philadelphia the people were swearing they would pull the Congress house down.§

(Signed)

Dan<sup>l</sup> Sullivan

New York, 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.

York, on the 7th of that month. On this visit, with a second letter, he arrived in Philadelphia on the 12th of June, some five weeks later, according to this affidavit, and as it was not entered in this "Private Intelligence" till July 4th, 1781, he apparently stayed there some time on this occasion.

\* The "person" mentioned in Holland's letter, and referred to by General Sullivan, was evidently either Sir Henry Clinton or Major Oliver de Lancey, the Adjutant-General, most probably the former.

† The mention in this affidavit of Holland's wife and property and the expected "answer" from New Hampshire, shows that Gen. Sullivan was in correspondence with parties there, in relation to Holland and his private affairs,—a result probably of an old friendship between them as brother New Hampshire men.

‡ Nothing could show more conclusively the threatened collapse of the American cause in the spring and early summer of 1781, from which it was only saved by French aid than this private opinion of so prominent and active a member of the Continental Congress as General John Sullivan.

§ Daniel Sullivan, who gives this account from his brother the general, of the then wretched condition of the Continental Congress and its unpopularity with the people of Philadelphia, arrived there, he tells us, on the 12th of June, 1781. Four days later, on the 16th of June, 1781, President Reed wrote a long, private, confidential letter to General Greene, in which he refers to the Congress and the general condition of affairs, from which the following are extracts. The comparison of these two perfectly contemporaneous accounts by Reed and General Sullivan is very curious:

"To write confidentially and on interesting particulars has become so hazardous, that I could not think of it unless some such opportunity as the present offered. \* \* \* We have had in this quarter the most remarkable disclosures of private correspondence that could be imagined; four mails have been carried into New York this winter and spring, and Rivington retails out the letters weekly. Much public dissatisfaction and private enmity has ensued, as you will suppose. My situation you will know, does not admit of my running any risks of adding to the number of my public or personal enemies; and this, I assure you, has been the only reason of my silence. \* \* \* You will naturally wish to have some estimate from me of our manners and principles, and a view of our situation as ruled and rulers—the former necessarily precedes the latter; and indeed, my dear

Then Capt<sup>t</sup> Daniel Sullivan personally appeared, and made Solemn oath to the truth of this Information by him Signed,

Before [me]

Stephen Holland

Capt<sup>t</sup> P. W. A. V.\*

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Justice Palding, and Sears Crane, came from Bergen point this morning. They left Newark yesterday Morning at 11 o'clock.

They report that the Jersey brigade are to march this morning from Pompton and Chatham, to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. They are supposed to be about 500. They cannot tell where they are to cross the North River.

They were told by a person at Newark, that a French frigate had received a number of Pilots on board at Newport, and had put to sea.

General, I am sorry to be obliged by the all powerful voice of indisputable facts to acknowledge that the Independence of the country seeming to be pretty well established, a passion, and a raging one, too, for gain has evidently taken the place of those considerations which were formerly deemed so honourable and so necessary. \* \* \* The auri sacra fames has taken universal possession, and our Legislature seduced from their duty by the vile popularity which every great and good mind must despise, dare not attempt any thing vigorous, and where authority ought to supply the place of enthusiasm, and support private virtue, we behold it dwindled to a shadow. Congress is not supported by the people, not, as our Tories flatter themselves, that the cause is less revered, or their persons respected, but because dire necessity has compelled them so often to promise without the means of performance, and that they have so little at their disposal. Their officers are badly paid, their contracts unperformed, and every man of independent spirit flies from their service as from a thankless bondage. \* \* \* The present Congress though not composed of the greatest men of the country is much less contaminated with party than most of their predecessors, and I verily believe if the baneful influence of New York, that hot bed of calumny and seditious interference with the business and characters of others, could be suppressed [*the members from New York at this time were James Duane, William Floyd, Ezra L'Hommiedieu, Alexander McDougall and John Morin Scott*], Congress would soon rise into more dignity and consequence; but they have sown the seeds of eternal discord between the Southern and the Northern States, and those characters of the Middle who could not be brought to think that every vice and wickedness that can disgrace a people were the characteristics of the New England States. General Washington complains of us all. Engrossed by military concerns he has not time or opportunity to know the real state of the country, or the difficulties which environ men in civil life. He will always deservedly possess great splendour of character, but I am of opinion it has seen its meridian, and it is not improbable he may one day, as we now, have reason to complain of ingratitude and unkind returns of essential and disinterested services." II. Reed's Life of Reed, 353-6-7.

\* "P. W. A. V." These initials stand for "Prince of Wales' American Volunteers," a regiment of loyal Americans, of which Montfort Browne was the colonel, and in which it seems, Stephen Holland had a captaincy. Montfort Browne, a half-pay officer, was, in 1764, appointed Lt.-Governor of East Florida, and on 5th Feb., 1774, was made Governor of the Bahama Islands. His post was in the island of New Providence, at Nassau. On March 3d, 1776, the town and island were captured, with slight resistance, by Capt. Esek Hopkins, with the first fleet fitted out by

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Beckwith. 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.*

Mr Chamier\* who gave some intelligence yesterday of the state of affairs to the Eastward, adds to his information of yesterday having got into Conversation with an Inhabitant near New London. The conversation turned upon the intended attack against New York; this gentleman who is of a Communicate turn, being asked how they proposed to Carry on their operations for want of boats, he replied, that a great number were Collected up the Connecticut River, and sufficient to answer their purposes.

*From Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marquard to Maj<sup>r</sup> DeLancey.*

Morris's house, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1781. ¼ past 3. P. M.

Sir

Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col. Wurmb† has received information, that the Enemy's Army was in motion; whether back, or forwards, he dont know. When the Rebels left Peekskill, they left their tents pitched, under a Camp Guard; whether they have followed the army, or not he could not learn.

I am &c

Marquard.

*Capt. Marquard to Maj<sup>r</sup> DeLancey. Morris house. 6<sup>th</sup> July 1781. 12 at noon*

Sir

Contrary to Col. DeLancey's expectation, every thing has remained quiet here last night.

Lt. Totten,‡ with a party of Refugee Rangers lay last night beyond Stephen Ward's,§ but discovered nothing.

Congress, in violation of his instructions, for which he was censured by Congress, and Gov. Browne, two inferior officials, and seventy men taken prisoners. Browne was exchanged on Oct. 8th, 1776, for Lord Stirling, taken at the battle of Brooklyn, and on 30th Aug., 1777, was appointed by Sir Wm. Howe as Brigadier-General in the Provincial establishment, in addition to the colonelcy of the above-named regiment, which he had obtained before. *Beatson's Political Index, 3d ed., 455; III. Sparks, 352, 3d note; II. Ford's Archives, p. 42.*

\* Daniel Chamier of Maryland, a refugee, who in 1776 was appointed by Sir William Howe "Commissary of Stores and Provisions" in New York. See Jones's Hist, 109 for his extortions.

† Commander of the Yager Regiment, stationed at this time at Kingsbridge.

‡ Of the Totten family, who lived near Pine's Bridge, south of the Croton River. He was a lieutenant in De Lancey's corps.

§ "Stephen Ward's" was "Ward's house," before mentioned, in the town of Eastchester, seven miles south of Whiteplains, a well known position, and the scene of the surprise of Capt. Saml. Delavan's Continental Guard in the spring of 1776, by Captain Archibald Campbell. "After an offer of surrender had been made by the Americans, a shot was fired from one of the windows (by Lieut. Baddock), which unfortunately killed Captain Campbell. The British, seeing their commander fall, instantly fired the house, and no resistance being made, revenged his death by killing upwards of twenty on the stairs and in the adjoining rooms, a few effected their escape by jumping out of the back windows." *II. Bolton's Hist. Westchester, 2d ed., p. 253.*

By a man who came in yesterday from the Whiteplains I am informed that Washington's quarters is at Jos: Appleby's, on the Saw Mill River road, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Hammond's. His troops lay from the Saw Mill River to the Plains. The French headquarters was at Sam<sup>l</sup> Purdey's,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile North of the Court house at the Whiteplains: and that the French are encamped on Gallows hill.\*

The French and Sheldon's horse, are no longer at Tuckey-hoe,† but near to the Main Army. This report is Confirmed by a Man sent out by Col: Wurmb: and a Woman who came to Morrisania this morning from the lower part of the Plains‡ tells the same story.

The Enemy's patrols come down to Phillips's; yesterday afternoon about 100 Foot and 40 of Sheldon's Drag<sup>s</sup> were seen there. There is no fixed post at Phillips's.§ No positive account of their strength; the general computation is 6 to 7000; some say 10,000.

Several people are gone out for intelligence; I am in hopes to receive something authentic about their situation, Artillery, Provisions, &c.

It is said amongst the country people that Washington only intended to bring off all the grain and forage.

I am &c.

Marquard.

*Extract of a letter from S. W. to D. C. || dated Phil<sup>a</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> June. 1781*

You ask, "Will the late money not damn your paper money"? Yes. It is truly damned, and out of the power of Congress, or any other body of men in America ever to give credit to any kind of paper again while the War lasts. You

\* The two days, July 5th and July 6th, covered by this letter, were occupied by Washington in effecting the junction with Rochambeau's army, which explains the quietness Col. De Lancey did *not* expect. Washington's entries in his private journal (VI. Mag. Am. Hist., 119) are in these words:

"July 5th.—Visited the French Army which has arrived at North Castle.

"July 6th.—The French Army formed the junction with the American on the Grounds marked out [*by Washington himself on the day before, the 4th of July*]. The Legion of Lauzun took a position advanced of the Plains on Chittenden's Hill [*Chatterton's Hill*] west of the River Brounx.—This day also the Minister of France (*Luzeur*) arrived in camp from Philadelphia."

The above letter gives what Washington does not mention, the very houses, and their situations, and their owners' names, occupied by himself and Rochambeau, respectively, as their headquarters at the time of that most interesting and important event, the junction of their armies.

† Tuckahoe, a small hamlet about six miles south of Whiteplains.

‡ The short designation of Whiteplains, still in common use.

§ Philipse Manor House, now the City Hall of the city of Yonkers.

|| "D. C.," to whom this letter is addressed, was Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey. Two former letters to him from the same "S. W." are the entries of 11th February and 22d of May, preceding, in this Private Intelligence. The italics in this letter are underscored in the MS. There is no clue to the identity of "S. W."

further ask, "If so, what can you possibly do, or what expedient adopt in its place"?

This question is a most extensive one, and would employ a quire of paper to give one quarter of the reasons which our High Mightinesses\* offer upon this occasion. They affect to make light of the matter, tho' at the same time the question is a *most serious one to them*. The Assemblies of Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Delaware State, and Maryland, are all sitting upon the important subject. I expect they will *generally* repeal all tender laws, levy their taxes in hard money, and take off all restrictions on trade; except to what they call the Common Enemy. You ask, "Where is all the hard money to come from to pay the taxes in case ordered to be collected in specie?" We answer you with saying, you have been so very obliging for a considerable time past, as to leave our ports so open, as to admit of at least  $\frac{7}{8}$ <sup>ths</sup> of our provision trade to go clear. By this means we have had in return for our flour, *I think I may venture to say with safety*, near half a million of Dollars; and as we hope and believe that you will *continue* to indulge us, we are about to take off all incumbrances on trade, and we expect the French and Spaniards, will not only give us their money for the support of their West India Islands, but for provisions for the use of their Fleets and Armies. You will perhaps ask, where all these provisions are to come from? There never was so great an appearance of crops since the settlement of North America, as is at present all over the Middle Colonies. I have been very lately thro' great part of the Peninsula,† as well as over a great deal of Jersey and Pennsylvania, and in the whole course of my ride I did not see a single field that was not uncommonly fine. These advantages we expect, will afford us ways and means to keep up the flame until the European Powers are so well convinced of the necessity of establishing our independence, as to induce them to interpose, and do it.

The trade (which is now confined to the Delaware, and seems to be all on which we build our hopes to enable us to pay these Enormous taxes) I should imagine would be easily interrupted and prevented, by cruizing against such of it as was intended to be sent to supply your Enemies, as well as by encouraging as much as possible the sending it to your port &c. This would be not only getting supplies for your army much cheaper than you do from Europe, but would be bringing over to your party and interest thousands of people who are now busy against you. I could engage Members of Congress in the trade, provided it was properly gone into. Quere? whether or not, a political project of this sort, does not deserve consideration. Give me if you please your opinion on the subject. I am sure you may contract for any quantity you please, and pay for it with Convention bills.‡

N. B. Received 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1781.

\* The Continental Congress.

† Between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

‡ This accords with former information in this Private Intelligence, It is not improbable that

The Original sent this date to Commodore Affleck, to be sent to Admiral Graves.\*

*Intelligence by J—— S—— M—— 6<sup>th</sup> July 1781.*

A few days ago I received information by one that acts as an Aid to Col: D——† that they were to march on Thursday morning towards Kings ferry, (but) I thought it might be premature. They have marched. He told me that Col D—— believed that General W—— expected a French fleet to act in conjunction to attack W. J.

From F  
favoured by J. T. J. July 6. 1781.

some "Members of Congress" were really engaged *sub rosa* in this sort of trade. The "Convention bills," were those allowed by Congress to be drawn for supplies for the "Convention Troops," as Burgoyne's captured forces were termed, and proved an easy and safe means of payment.

\* Then in command of the British Fleet in American waters.

† Col. Elias Dayton.



## TWO UNPUBLISHED LAFAYETTE LETTERS

CONTRIBUTED BY MR. HENRY E. PIERREPONT.

*The Marquis de Lafayette to William Constable Esq. of New York.*

Paris May 13<sup>th</sup> 1785.

My dear friend

I have been honoured with your letter of New York March the 18th, for which I return my best thanks. The information it contained gave me a great pleasure, because I am always happy to hear that you are well, that you often think of your absent friend, and because you are pleased to enter into particulars of your political and mercantile proceedings, both of which are very interesting to the future consequence and wealth of the United States. The more I live on this side of the Atlantic, the more I see the necessity to invest Congress with powers to regulate trade. Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox's appointment to the War Department is a very good measure. If his plans are not cramped, I am sure they will be very useful. The conduct of England respecting America is very strange. I think that either a temporary prohibition of their commerce, or our open attack against them in Canada may bring them to. But I would prefer the former, as a more moderate measure, altho in the latter, whenever it happens, and it will be the case before ten years, I will be very happy to be concerned. Let the Confederation be strengthened, a proper guard be appointed for the frontiers, a good plan of militia adopted, political and mercantile views to be federal and the five per 100 impost be generally fully adopted, and then I don't care for the snarls or attacks of any power in Europe.

I think with you, my dear Constable, that upon a proper experience of the matter, Gallo American trade will flourish. The West India arrê<sup>t</sup> has excited your clamour, and yet it is short of what we had wished for. Among the reasons given by French commercials, I remark this, that the British who restrain and contradict, run away with the trade of America, and that the complaisance of France does not ——— American Vessels going to England.

Marechal Casmei, the Naval minister, has been prevailed upon to make essays of the Northern and Southern timbers of America. He has in consequence sent to New England, and to the Southern States. I had applied for him to give me two orders for two cargoes of Maine timber, one of which directed to you, but he answers he will defer doing so until he has got the returns and the samples he has sent for. I have left the name of your house with him, and I hope when he sends orders for cargoes, it will be to you. In the mean while I beg you will forward me some particular proposals. The minister has also promised he would send for

some American Hemp, in order to encourage that cultivation, the benefits of which we now give to Russia.

As I think the greatest service we can now render to America with respect to her trade, is to induce this country to favor American importations, I have been very desirous to obtain an exemption of duties on whale oil, but find it the more impossible, as this government is now endeavoring to set up its fisheries again, and is fitting out vessels to that purpose. In consequence of this I took a round about way, and made a bargain to be proposed to the American merchants, which I think to be advantageous, and which I requested M<sup>r</sup>. Adams to communicate particularly to you, in case you find it profitable to enter into the Society.

I am going through Rochelle, a place that was much concerned with the Indian trade. I wish to encourage them to set it up again, and form Societies in New York. If they choose to do so, I will write to you by the next packet. A propos of indians, there is a young man of the Oneida tribe whom I wanted to have with me, and who now is about Niagara. As he was willing to come the only difficulty is to find him out, and to send him to me. Chief Louis of the indians, who lives at Oneida Castle, knows everything about it. The only thing would be to send an express to him and diffray the expenses which will be ——— and indeed some man or other ought to accompany him to the Havre, where the packets are now to arrive.

The Havre being near Paris, I would be obliged to you to send by them several articles, mostly like these, cranberries, butter, cod fish, cider which you may apply for to M<sup>r</sup>. Breck, and so on. It is pleasing to me to have in Paris those things which I have seen in America, and those little enjoyments can only be felt by those who have lived at a great distance from a beloved country—to others they must seem whimsical. You must also let me know to whom I must direct my bills, or simply draw on me when we have an account to settle.

We have long been negociating, and I dont think there will be any war this year. Bavaria and the Ottoman Empire are two bones of Contention. But as France is very desirous to avoid a quarrel, and as on the other hand it may be produced by the ambition or the interest of a few individuals throughout Europe, it is difficult to form a precise judgment. I will in the course of the Summer visit the Imperial and the . . . . troops.

The Duke de Choiseul the former prime minister of the late king died a few days ago in Paris.

When you send me to the Havre, I beg you will direct to *M. Cadrau at the Havre* who will forward it.

I beg, my dear friend, you will present my best respects to Mrs. Constable, and remember me most affectionately to my friends—adieu, with every sentiment of tender regard, sincere esteem, and enduring attachment, I have the honour to be

dear Constable

Yours

Lafayette.

*The Marquis de Lafayette to Wm. Constable Esq.*Utrecht 4<sup>th</sup> November 1799.

My dear friend

The inexpressible pleasure I felt in our unexpected meeting has been increased by the receipt of your letter from the Hague as the loving attention and Kindness of yours to me is highly precious and cordially welcomed. The loan you have offered to me by enclosing a bill of £200 Stg. I would have, at any time, gratefully accepted, but find a particular satisfaction to tell you, that, in this moment, it proves very seasonable. Receive my best thanks, dear Constable, and may I soon present them personally to you.

I much wish for the speedy arrival of the American Commissioners. It appears to me by my intelligences from France, and by some circumstances relative to myself, that the politics of my native country are likely to enter a better channel. Should the movement become so favorable as I expect it, we would rejoice in an immediate beginning of the negotiation, which is to put an end to the unhappy position. I would as much as anybody, spurn a reconciliation in any degree inconsistent with the honor and interest of the United States, but whenever it is effected on proper grounds, no body can so heartily enjoy it, as your Gallo-American friend.

With a most lively sense of your constant affection to me, and with an attachment not less tender and long-lasting, I am my dear Constable

Yours

Lafayette.

## NOTES

REFORMATION OF NEW JERSEY—*Extract of a letter from Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, March 5, 1785.* It will afford you I know, some degree of pleasure to be informed that there is, both in this town and in Newark, a glorious revival of religion, which, under God, is greatly to be attributed to the indefatigable labours of that pious servant of Christ, the Rev. Mr. Ogden, aided by the worthy and judicious Dr. McWhortor. Bigotry, that bane to society and religion, dissipates fast, and the episcopalians and non-episcopalians can now worship together with that catholic spirit which characterises a true Christian. Many among us who have led very dissolute lives, are now crying out with the pious Job, *O that I knew where I might find him.* Happy era! Blessed transition from vice to virtue!—*N. Y. Packet, March 14, 1785.* W. K.

CHARLES READE—A writer in the *Contemporary Review* for May, says of Chas. Reade: "In his undergraduate days the future novelist seems to have been rather Byronic. A tall graceful youngster with a splendidly-proportioned figure and muscles to match, he attracted attention by his long flowing curls. Abhorring alcohol in every form, as well as tobacco, he did not assimilate largely with his junior common-room, though he was far from unpopular. He read—in his own fashion—and at the age of twenty-one figured in the third class, and was at once elected fellow. His fellowship rendered him independent, and for the best part of twenty years he lived a life of incessant action, mostly in the

open air. Nevertheless, unlike Lord Beaconsfield's fine young English gentleman, he was devoted to books, and in effect was storing up material which afterwards enabled him to construct situations, not only stagey but real. At the time the man was very much a Guy Livingston. He was a dead shot; he knocked Alfred Wynn round the field at Liverpool; he excelled as an archer and as a pedestrian; few, if any, could beat him in throwing a cast-net, and among other accomplishments he reckoned theatrical dancing. Anon he was in Scotland herring-fishing—a rather dangerous amusement, for which he entertained a passionate preference; anon for the shooting at Opsden, delighting the family circle by a geniality which he lost in later life; anon in the vicinity of Leicester Square, where his chambers were alive with uncaged squirrels; anon in Paris, where he studied to some purpose the art of dramatic construction, and, oddly enough also, by way of pastime, the arcanæ of the violin-trade."

"THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY"—A writer in the *North American Review* makes the assertion that the famous song of "*Tippecanoe and Tyler too*," was to the political canvass of 1840, what the *Marseillaise* was to the French Revolution; that "it sang Harrison into the Presidency." But powerful as was the influence of that song, it was not, in my opinion, any greater than was that of "*The Hunters of Kentucky*," in promoting the election of General Jackson. Innumerable copies of the latter, in hand-bill form, were printed and circulated extensively;

every Jackson man and boy almost—particularly all the Jackson young men—committed the words to memory, and it was everywhere sung with great animation and eclat. As there is still a goodly number of persons living who might be gratified to see it once more, I venture to offer it to the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. H. K.

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1884.

#### THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY.

YE gentlemen and ladies fair,  
Who grace this famous city,  
Just listen, if you've time to spare,  
While I rehearse a ditty ;  
And for the opportunity  
Conceive yourselves quite lucky,  
For 'tis not often that you see  
A hunter from Kentucky :  
O ! Kentucky,  
The hunters of Kentucky.

We are a hardy free-born race,  
Each man to fear a stranger ;  
Whate'er the game, we join the chase,  
Despising toil and danger :  
And if a daring foe annoys,  
Whate'er his strength or force is,  
We'll show him that Kentucky boys  
Are alligators—horses :  
O ! Kentucky,  
The hunters of Kentucky.

I s'pose you've read it in the prints,  
How Pakenham attempted  
To make Old Hickory Jackson wince,  
But soon his schemes repented ;  
For we, with rifles ready cocked,  
Thought such occasion lucky,  
And soon around the general flocked  
The hunters of Kentucky :  
O ! Kentucky ;  
The hunters of Kentucky.

I s'pose you've heard how New Orleans  
Is famed for wealth and beauty ;

There's gals of every hue, it seems,  
From snowy white to sooty :  
So, Pakenham he made his brags  
If he in fight was lucky,  
He'd have their gals and cotton bags,  
In spite of Old Kentucky ;  
O ! Kentucky,  
The hunters of Kentucky.

But Jackson he was wide awake,  
And wasn't scared at trifles,  
For well he knew what aim we take  
With our Kentucky rifles ;  
So, he led us down to Cypress Swamp,  
The ground was low and mucky ;  
There stood John Bull in martial pomp,  
But here was Old Kentucky :  
O ! Kentucky,  
The hunters of Kentucky.

We raised a bank to hide our breasts,  
Not that we thought of dying,  
But then we always like to rest,  
Unless the game is flying :  
Behind it stood our little force—  
None wished it to be greater,  
For every man was half a horse  
And half an alligator :  
O ! Kentucky ;  
The hunters of Kentucky.

They didn't let our patience tire  
Before they showed their faces ;  
We didn't choose to waste our fire,  
But snugly kept our places ;  
And when so near we saw them wink,  
We thought it time to stop 'em,  
It would have done you good I think,  
To see Kentuckians drop 'em :  
O ! Kentucky ;  
The hunters of Kentucky.

They found, at length, 'twas vain to fight,  
When lead was all their booty,  
And so, they wisely took to flight,  
And left us all the beauty.  
And now, if danger c'er annoys,  
Remember what our trade is ;  
Just send for us Kentucky boys,  
And we'll protect you, ladies :  
O ! Kentucky ;  
The hunters of Kentucky.

## QUERIES

WILL some reader of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY give me information concerning the British Ship *Huzzar* wrecked in Hell-gate during the Revolution? Where may the history of the affair be found?

N. C. HUSTED, M.D.

TARRYTOWN, N. Y., *May 10*

I HAVE seen the inquiry and interesting replies as to "Webster Chowder" in recent numbers of the Magazine, and desire information as to the origin of the word "Chowder"?

I would also like to inquire who was

St. Clair Pollock, whose grave is in Riverside Park, New York (near the drive), at about One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Street, Hudson River?

And will some one give me a brief sketch of the house "Claremont," near this grave, and oblige.

A. M. D.

NEW YORK, *April 28, 1884*

[The two first Queries of A. M. D. are referred to our readers for solution; the brief sketch of the house "Claremont," requested, will be found embodied in an article on Riverside Park in the *Manhattan* for July, from the pen of the editor of this Magazine.—EDITOR.]

## REPLIES

WEBSTER CHOWDER [xi. 360, 458]— Since the publication of the May Magazine the following interesting letter appeared in the *Boston Budget*, contributed by the Washington correspondent of that paper. In the reply by Montauk [xi. 460] allusion is made to Webster's skill in planking shad, and as the communication contains a full account of that delightful accomplishment, and also the failure of the distinguished statesman in making a chowder, it is deemed proper to preserve it in connection with the Magazine articles on that subject:

"In ante-bellum days, at this season of the year, when there was a long session, a party went down the Potomac every Saturday on the steamboat *Salem* to eat planked shad. It was chiefly composed of Senators and Representatives, with a few leading officials, some prominent citizens, and three or four news-

paper men, who in those days never violated the amenities of social life by printing what they heard there. An important house in Georgetown would send on board the steamer large demi-johns filled with the best wines and liquors, which almost everybody drank without stint. Going down the river there was a good deal of card-playing in the upper saloon of the boat, with some story-telling on the hurricane deck. Arriving at the White House fishing grounds, some would go on shore, some would watch the drawing of the seine from the boat, some would take charge of the culinary department, and a few would remain at the card-tables. The oaken planks used were about two inches thick, fourteen inches wide, and two feet long. These were scalded and wiped dry. A freshly caught shad was then taken, scaled, split open down the back, cleaned, washed and dried. It was then

spread out on a plank and nailed to it with iron pump tacks. The plank with the fish on it was then stood at an angle of forty-five degrees before a hot wood fire and baked until it was a rich dark brown color, an attendant turning the plank every few moments and basting the fish with a thin mixture of melted butter and flour. Meanwhile an experienced cook was frying fresh shad-roe in a mixture of eggs and cracker dust at another fire, where sweet and Irish potatoes were being roasted in the ashes. On one occasion Mr. Webster, who had some codfish sent him in ice on a Government steamer from Boston, carried them down on a shad-bake, with a large kettle, some pork, some ship biscuit, some milk and some onions, and had a chowder made by a couple of us who were from Massachusetts. He was very particular in having the pork first cut into dice, fried, and then taken out with a screen. The melted pork remained in the kettle, and in it were placed successive layers of fish, crackers, onions and potatoes until the kettle was two-thirds full, when we poured in a generous quantity of milk. I regret to say that the chowder was slightly burnt and was not a success, although Mr. Webster persisted in calling it excellent and ate several platefuls. The planked shad, meanwhile, were served on the planks on which they had been cooked, each person having a plank and picking out what portions he liked best, breaking up his roast potato on the warm shad, while the roe was also served to those who wished for it. After the fish came punch and cigars, and then they embarked and the bows of the steamer were turned toward Washington. When

opposite Alexandria an account was taken of the liquor and wine which had been drunk, and an assessment was levied, which generally amounted to about \$2 each. I never saw a person intoxicated at one of these shad-bakes, nor heard any quarrelling."

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FIRST PIECE OF ARTILLERY [xi. 360]  
 —Extract from the oration of D. T. V. Huntoon, at dedication of monument to General Richard Gridley, at Canton, Mass., May 30, 1877: "It is said that America commenced her Revolution with but ten pieces of cannon, and to the mechanical science and ingenuity of Gridley was she indebted for the first cannon and mortars ever cast in this country. His furnace was for a long time employed by Congress under his direction casting cannon for the use of the army. In February, 1776, we find him at Mashapog Pond with a number of men proving some mortars, which were afterward placed on Dorchester Heights. He was assisted at this time by Capt. Curtis, who like himself was a veteran of the French war. One year later, February 14, 1777, Congress empowered Robert Treat Paine to contract with him for forty-eight howitzers, to be sent to Ticonderoga."

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BEMUS'S HEIGHTS [vii. 226, viii. 577]—  
 For sale, that very valuable tract of land and farm, in the possession of Jonathan Bemus, situate at Stillwater, about twenty-six miles north of the City of Albany, containing two hundred and forty-seven acres; it is bounded on Hudson's River, and is fifty-six chains in breadth along the said river. This

tract and farm is the well-known place called Bemus's Heights. *N. Y. Packet*, Sept. 5, 1785

W. K.

my hand and seal, this 7th day of March, 1818.

Mary Vought.

.....  
Seal.  
.....

SLAVERY IN THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK [xi. 408]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: I have read with great interest the article in your last number on "Slavery in the Colony and State of New York." I have in my possession a rather curious old document in regard to the subject—a bill of sale of a negro woman. I send you a copy, thinking it may perhaps interest some of your readers.

W. G. VER PLANCK

NEW YORK, *May 7*, 1884

[THE BILL OF SALE.]

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Mary Vought, of the Town of Duaneburgh, do hereby in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars, money of account of the United States, to me paid by James Williams, of the same place, grant, bargain and sell to the said James my negro woman slave named Bett, aged Thirty-seven years and six months. To have and to hold the said Bett unto the said James Williams as fully as the said Mary Vought is authorized by the laws of this State to convey her as a slave; also all such right and title as the said Mary Vought has by law to the service of all or any of the children of the said Bett, except a boy named Fortune.

In witness whereof, I have hereto set

Sealed and delivered in the presence of the wards }  
"to the said James," in- }  
terlined,

Jno. Vought."

PORTRAIT OF THOMAS NELSON, JR. [xi. 383]—Since the publication of our *May Magazine*, a letter from R. Channing Page, M.D., who has recently examined Trumbull's painting of the Signers, in Washington, informs us that Nelson's portrait is missing from that group of worthies, and that the artist who made the copy for the engraver—from which our illustration—was probably misled, and sketched some other likeness in the place of the one intended. We cannot understand why Trumbull should have omitted the portrait of so conspicuous a character, and await further investigations with much interest. Meanwhile, Dr. Page further states that there is but one original portrait of Thomas Nelson, Jr., the signer, in existence (in Gloucester County, Virginia), from a photograph of which our portrait of him was engraved for the *Magazine* in December, 1883 [x. 457]; thus our readers may be assured of possessing an approved picture, even though a doubt rests upon the correctness of the latter presentation.

EDITOR.



## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the monthly meeting, May 6, Dr. George H. Moore submitted, on behalf of the Executive Committee, a memoir of the late Hon. Augustus Schell, President of the Society, an extended and scholarly tribute of respect for his public services and lifelong interest in the Society, to which the members present listened with the deepest interest.

The paper of the evening, on "Curious Forms of the Ballot," was read by Ludovic Bennet, Esq., in which he contributed the result of an exhaustive research into the history of election by ballot, tracing it from its origin, and describing the various forms in use in ancient Athens and Rome, the many unique methods employed in modern Europe, its introduction into Great Britain, and its first adoption in America in 1634. The paper was an extremely valuable addition to the history of the subject, and was rendered particularly entertaining by the many amusing anecdotes and bits of pleasant irony with which it was happily interspersed.

The death of the venerable Dr. Willard Parker on April 25th, was announced to the Society, and resolutions, offered by Dr. Jared Linsly, were adopted expressive of the Society's sense of the great loss to it and the community, occasioned by the decease of its distinguished associate.

Charles G. Havens, Esq., was elected a resident member of the Society.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—A monthly meeting was held Wednesday afternoon, May 7, at the

Society's house, 18 Somerset Street, the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph. D., in the chair. Rev. Henry A. Hazen, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose at a former meeting, reported a resolution on the recent death of Rev. Dorus Clarke, D.D., which, after remarks by several gentlemen, was unanimously adopted. Several valuable gifts to the Society followed, of which those of Reuben Rawson Dodge, of Wilkinsonville, the original portraits painted in 1670, of Edward Rawson, secretary of the Massachusetts colony, and his daughter Rebecca, whose sad and tragical history has been made familiar to us by Whittier in his "Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal," were perhaps the most notable. Rev. John H. Heywood, of Cambridge, then read an interesting paper on "Daniel Boone and the Genesis of Kentucky," the purpose of which was to show the historic significance and value of Boone's life in its connection with the exploration and founding of the State.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its first annual meeting in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, April 23, 1884, the President, Hon. John Jay, presiding. The organization has since its beginning increased from twelve to one hundred and fifty members. The officers elected for the ensuing year were:—President, John Jay; Vice-President for New York, Edward F. DeLancy; Secretary, Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer; Treasurer, Morey Hale Bartow. Chauncey M. Depew was elected Vice-President of the Society on Staten Island; Rev. E. De Puy, Vice-

President in New Paltz ; Robert G. Winthrop, Vice-President in Boston, and Charles M. De Puy, Vice-President in Pennsylvania.

The following evening a public meeting was held in the Reformed Church, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-eighth street. President John Jay occupied the chair, an address of welcome was delivered by Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers, and the paper of the evening was read by Rev. Dr. A. G. Vermilye, entitled "The Mingling of the Huguenots and Dutch in early New York." Rev. Dr. Vedder, pastor of the Huguenot Church of Charleston, S. C., spoke of the Huguenots of South Carolina.

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THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY assembled in Chickering Hall, New York City, on the evening of April 23, and listened to a lecture by Gen. James Grant Wilson, entitled "Memorials and Footprints of Columbus." The President, Judge Daly, was absent, and Col. T. Bailey Myers presided in his stead. The lecturer traced the life of Columbus previous to his voyage in 1492, and described the places in which he lived, some of which remain almost unchanged, and the various books and relics which have been preserved in his memory in the cities of Spain. He also read the following letter from the Duke de Veragua, a lineal descendant of Columbus, dated Madrid, April 5.

"The most authentic portrait of Columbus, in my opinion, is the one recently restored, which you saw last winter in the National Library of Spain. It has been engraved by the Royal Historical Society. The best statue of the discoverer is the one recently erected on the Columbus

monument in Madrid, now nearly completed. I do not think any of the historians or writers have been successful in their efforts to deprive Genoa of the honor of being the birthplace of Columbus, or of taking from Havana the glory of possessing his ashes. In regard to the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, I am positive that the King of Spain and his Government purpose commemorating that event of 1492, in a grand and appropriate manner, giving to the United States the first place among the Nations invited to join in this important celebration. Should your Republic decide on a commemoration to be celebrated in the great metropolis of the New World, it is to be hoped that it will occur at a time, and in a manner, that will not conflict with the programme of the King of Spain. So I trust that your definite arrangement will be postponed until you are duly acquainted with our project."

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—At a meeting held at Los Angeles, December 6, 1883, the following officers were elected for the year 1884: President, J. J. Warner; Vice-Presidents, H. D. Barrows, A. F. Coroneel, J. G. Downey, John Mansfield; Treasurer, J. M. Guinn; Secretary, C. N. Wilson; with a General Committee of ten members.

The objects of this Society are "the collection and preservation of all material which can have any bearing upon the history of the Pacific Coast in general and of Southern California in particular; also the discussion of historical subjects; the reading of such papers and the trial of such scientific experiments as shall be

determined upon." It was organized in November, 1883, and has a membership of forty-three.

At a meeting on the 7th of January, 1884, President Warner delivered an inaugural address of great power and exceptional excellence, and his words of wisdom have been appropriately preserved in a neat little pamphlet of thirteen pages, which might be read with profit in many sections of our country.

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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, April 14, 1884, Mr. Lewis W. Wilhelm, of Baltimore, fellow in the Johns Hopkins University, read a paper upon "Sir George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore," in which he endeavored to give a more connected and detailed biography of Lord Baltimore than has been given by previous biographers, John P. Kennedy and Dr. John G. Morris, since new facts have been lately brought to light by earnest investigators. Mr. Wilhelm identifies the birthplace of George Calvert as the little village of Kiplin, Yorkshire, and remarks that it is a curious historical fact that the Winthrops of Massachusetts, the Penns, the Washingtons and the Calverts of Maryland, as well as the great body of New England Puritans, had been residents of Yorkshire.

The exact date of Calvert's birth is yet uncertain. The probable date is 1580, though by some writers it is placed as late as 1584, the year in which Raleigh landed in Virginia. Mr. Wilhelm described Calvert's career, his education at Oxford and his public career. Cal-

vert's political career began in 1597, when he accompanied Sir Robert Cecil in his splendid embassy to the French court, the ambassador's retinue containing not less than two hundred men. While Calvert was Secretary of State (1619-1625) occurred the beginnings of the famous thirty years' war on the continent; the famous Spanish negotiations between Spain and England, looking toward the Spanish match, and the beginnings of that parliamentary struggle (1621) which led to such tragical results in the reign of King James's successor, Charles I.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the monthly meeting at Hodgson Hall, May 5, Vice-President General G. M. Sorrel presided in the absence of the President, General Jackson. The Secretary was absent and the Librarian, Mr. William H. Harden, read the minutes of the last meeting. Gen. C. W. Darling, Secretary of the Oneida (N. Y.) Historical Society, and Hon. John D. Washburne, Secretary of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, were elected corresponding members.

Rev. J. P. Strider, who was to have lectured before the Society on this occasion, was prevented by illness. Several letters were read, gifts acknowledged, and reports made. The Chairman formally announced the death of Hon. John O. Ferrill, and, upon motion, a committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Holt, Larcombe and Harden, was appointed to prepare suitable resolutions in the form of a memorial.

## BOOK NOTICES

STUDIES IN HISTORY. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 16mo, pp. 403. Boston, 1884: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A more acceptable volume than this collection of eleven essays could hardly be provided for the lover of American history. Mr. Lodge is a brilliant writer, the master of a vigorous, engaging style, and in these studies gives unmistakable evidence of having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the best authorities. The book is both delightful and informing. The subjects treated are biographical, chiefly, and form a closely connected series of chapters in the early history of the great Federalist party. The author gives us a charming essay on Fox, and another, amusing and entertaining, on Rev. Samuel Sewall, entitled "A Puritan Pepys;" then follow essays on William Cobbett, Alexander Hamilton, Timothy Pickering, Caleb Strong, Albert Gallatin, Daniel Webster, and others, all bearing more or less directly upon the growth and development of our political system. William Cobbett's name is, presumably, less familiar to the public of to-day than the others mentioned, but he had a remarkable and interesting life, and with his irrepressible pen played an important part in the public affairs of the period. He was one of the founders of the party press, and by far the ablest; and his brief but stormy career in Philadelphia casts a strong side-light upon the movements of the great Federalist leaders.

Mr. Lodge does not find it an easy matter to write of Alexander Hamilton. Not, as he tells us, that the difficulty is in analyzing his character, but in estimating his worth, the measure of his success in the many fields of human intelligence which he entered, to appreciate and properly criticize him, under all aspects, and in all his varying pursuits; for however much the historian may analyze and dissect, the final tribunal passes sentence on the whole man, moral and intellectual, statesman and financier, jurist and soldier, orator and writer all combined. But the singular aptitude of Mr. Lodge for grasping just such a many-sided subject appears to marked advantage and with exceptionally gratifying results in these terse pages. He has expressed his thoughts from a high ethical standpoint, and reasoned with a fairness of judgment that cannot fail to render the production permanently valuable. His study of Timothy Pickering is excellent and forcible; it brings before us in the flesh that uncompromising and severely republican statesman, with all his reckless courage, ardent ambition, and uncontrollable will. And we turn with a freshly awakened interest to the career of Caleb Strong, of Northampton, who as Governor of Massachusetts (1812-16) denied on constitutional grounds the right of the President to make requisition for

troops to carry on the war with Great Britain. The work as a whole is one of peculiar merit, and we commend it with enthusiasm to our readers.

FIFTH AVENUE TO ALASKA. By EDWARD PIERREPONT, B.A. With maps by Leonard Forbes Beckwith, C.E. 12mo, pp. 329. New York, 1884: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The opening paragraph to this volume arrests instant attention. The author says he is assured by everybody that an unknown author will not be read by anybody, and then adds: "but how to become a known author before one has published anything is the puzzle." This apology is wholly unnecessary. Mr. Pierrepont has plunged into the arena with a book of travels—not in the Old World, after the prevailing fashion, but in our own newer civilization, and through our own American forests and fields—and its signs of promise from the very beginning are sufficient to secure its complement of appreciative readers. It is written in a pleasant, engaging, familiar style, and as it describes a well-planned journey across this great Western continent, by rail, steamer, stage, and on horseback—covering a period of four months, and a distance of some twelve thousand five hundred miles—it will, we predict, find a cordial welcome wherever knowledge is sought concerning our recently acquired "Russian Possessions," where there is no night, and the sun rises some four hours after it sets. The work teems with geographical and other information concerning the various points on the route, particularly along the Pacific coast; and valuable maps illustrate what the text so admirably pictures, how we are severed from Alaska by the British Possessions, and how no part of Alaska comes anywhere near the United States. This Alaska is a country of vast dimensions, more than twice larger than the thirteen original States, and it possesses one of the largest and grandest rivers in the world. Its breadth from east to west in direct line is two thousand two hundred miles, and from north to south one thousand four hundred miles; and its most western island is further west of San Francisco than San Francisco is west of the coast of Maine. It was purchased by treaty with Russia in 1867, and delivered in due form upon payment of \$7,200,000. Secretary Seward regarded the acquisition as quite the crowning act of his official life, and though many people then thought the region would never be more than a land of ice-bound rivers, it is now conceded that the seal-fisheries alone will pay a six per cent. interest on the cost. The inhabitants of Alaska, the author tells us, are chiefly ignorant, ungrateful and cruel savages. They are pe-

nurious, even miserly, and can exist on a little dried salmon the year round. The volume contains picturesque sketches of the region along the Columbia River, of Yellowstone Park, and of many and varied thrilling experiences in the Hoodoo Mountains.

**HAND-BOOK OF TREE-PLANTING**; or, Why to Plant, Where to Plant, What to Plant, How to Plant. BY NATHANIEL H. EGGLESTON. 16mo, pp. 126, 1884. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The special object of this timely book is to aid landowners, who are inexperienced in the cultivation of trees in masses, and whose lot is cast in portions of the country nearly destitute of trees. It is so prepared, however, as to be an excellent guide to all tree-planters, whether prospective forests or ornamental shade are under consideration. The author treats of the ruthless warfare upon the woods which has characterized our growth as a nation, and shows how the new word, *forestry*, has come into our common daily speech, through the sudden awakening to the fact that trees have an intimate connection with climate, with the distribution of rainfall, and with agricultural success: in short, that forests possess a positive value. He tells us that the world is habitable by man only as man and the trees hold it by joint occupancy. And then he proceeds to the general lesson of Where, What, and How, with some tables at the close of the work stating the number of trees needed to plant on an acre of ground, etc.

**HER WASHINGTON SEASON.** BY JEANIE GOULD LINCOLN. 12mo, pp. 207. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1884.

The author of this novel has displayed considerable ingenuity of method: telling her story in a series of letters, assumed to be from the pens of her principal characters, one to the other. The plot, however, is weak—hardly worthy of comment—and the picture of Washington society presented of little moment seriously considered. Through the vivacity of the accomplished letter-writer we are entertained with a variety of glimpses of social life in our national capital, and there are some forcible descriptions of men and manners in the volume—as, for instance, where the author says: “Among Aunt’s guests was the dignified, handsome, and genial Mr. Corcoran, Washington’s noted philanthropist. Beside a multitude of private charities of which the world will never know, he has given to Art the fine gallery which bears his name; to the aged a Ladies’ Home that is to them a veritable haven of rest; and to the dead, the beautiful cemetery of Oak Hill. Mr. Corcoran goes out into society but

seldom now; yet when he does appear, Washingtonians feel that he confers at once an honor and a pleasure.”

**THE NATURALIST’S DIRECTORY.** 1884.

Containing the names, addresses, special departments of study, etc., of the Naturalists, Chemists, Physicists, Astronomers, etc., etc. Also, a list of the SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA. EDITED BY SAMUEL E. CASSINO. 12mo, pp. 191. Boston: S. E. Cassino & Co.

In the preparation of this directory it has been deemed expedient to exclude all names from which the editor has had no direct communication within a year and a half. The addresses should, of course, be trustworthy in a work used largely in making valuable exchanges. One thousand or more addresses have been eliminated, and in each case two or more circulars were first sent without effect. In the second part of the work the members corresponding with those in the body of the book are arranged alphabetically by States, and by special studies under each State.

**FLOWERS AND THEIR PEDIGREES.**

BY GRANT ALLEN. 12mo, pp. 266. New York, 1884: D. Appleton & Co.

Among the essays brought together in this little volume the reader will find none more interesting and instructive than the third, entitled “Strawberries.” The ancestry of the strawberry, and how the edible fruit has developed from the inedible seeds, are discussed clearly and with much spirit. The botanical scholar will naturally profit more from these scientific investigations than the general reader. But each subject throughout the volume is presented in such a winning style as to excite curiosity, and at the same time is so thoroughly informing that the tendency of the work in any event will be to create taste for floral study, even where it does not now exist. We particularly commend the essay on “The Origin of Wheat,” to our readers; and also the “Romance of a Wayside Weed.” The book is inexpensive, and should find a place in every home.

**THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AND THE ACQUISITION OF THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.** A Paper read before the Missouri Historical Society, April 15, 1884, by Rt. Rev. C. F. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D. Pamphlet, pp. 27. 1884. St. Louis.

“It is worth our while, at a time when we are recalling centennial memories,” says the

accomplished bishop, "to draw together the scattered threads which go to make up the varied fabric of our Western life, and to consider the causes and the elements which have contributed to its past and present. At its foundation are some of the brightest names, the purest strains of blood, and the strongest characters in our national annals." The orator then goes on to point out the widely diversified causes that affected the peopling, and thus the progress and political condition of this portion of America. The essay is timely and instructive, and deserves wide circulation.

ILLINOIS AND THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, January 15, 1884, by WILLIAM BROSS, A.M. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 8. 1884. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

The details of the official record of the part taken by Illinois in confirming the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States are here given in full. "But they show no sign of the deep solemnity which accompanied the passage of the resolution," says the author of the paper. "The whole history of the struggles of mankind for freedom through all the ages seemed pictured on the minds of the members. Especially did visions of the dear ones sleeping their last sleep that the Union might live, that by this sublime act this dark, foul blot might be wiped from her proud escutcheon, appear to drive out every other thought. Men spoke in whispers, as if standing among the tombs of the past, and before them was the angel of light and liberty pointing to the glorious future of the Republic. The few who opposed were merely maintaining their consistency, and in their inmost souls were glad that this day would mark another forward and substantial movement in the progress of the race. At the distance of nineteen years, some—doubtless all—of the men who voted for this great measure of freedom regard it as the most important act of their lives, and I certainly do—signing it for the people of Illinois, as presiding officer of the Senate. That in all the future it will stand out as a marked event in human progress there cannot be a particle of doubt."

WHAT PROFESSION SHALL I CHOOSE, AND HOW SHALL I FIT MYSELF FOR IT? With a brief statement of facilities offered at the Cornell University, and a prefatory note by ANDREW D. WHITE. Pamphlet, pp. 58. 1884.

Young men and young women who are seek-

ing to avoid aimless lives will find this little work extremely useful and suggestive. It embodies the replies of several learned professors in Cornell University to a series of eight questions propounded by President White. Among the subjects discussed are Theology, Medicine, Law, Teaching, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Farming, Mining, Journalism, etc., together with the facilities afforded for preparation in either profession. Concerning journalism, the author of the essay on that subject says: "No profession, in the present condition of American society, offers more attractions to the man who desires to exercise a commanding influence for good upon his day and generation. Time, however, has brought about a change in the requirements for success. Geniuses, who are above all rules, may at this day 'pick up' the profession; but the great majority of aspirants must more and more give themselves preparatory discipline and culture. Editorial chairs established originally by men of uncultivated genius are now more and more occupied by successors who have been thoroughly educated. This is an additional proof that the American people are less and less inclined to be satisfied with the sort of newspapers that pleased their grandfathers. What they need is the discussion of living questions thoroughly, cogently, with broad knowledge of principles and facts, and in small compass."

HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA VALLEY, including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota. By REV. DUFFIELD NEILL. And the HISTORY OF THE SIOUX MASSACRE. By CHARLES S. BRYANT. Imperial 8vo, pp. 1,016. North Star Publishing Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

This handsome work covers a broad field and extends over a long period of time, embracing the accounts of early explorers and reaching back among the legends of the past; it touches recent events also, and the present condition of affairs, with a prophetic glance into the future of the Minnesota Valley. It has evidently been prepared with painstaking care, and will grow in value and interest with each succeeding year. The admirably written description of the Sioux Massacre in 1862 occupies thirteen chapters, or nearly one hundred pages, of the body of the book, and reads like a veritable romance of the olden time. The forty-fourth chapter is devoted to chronology, and one chapter each is given to the history of twenty-one counties. There is also a valuable chapter on the "Geology of the Minnesota Valley," prepared by the able Professor N. H. Winchell, State Geologist. Mr. Neill's contribution to the volume is a vivid picture of the early history of the Territory, showing its remarkable development. He relates many

incidents of great interest, among which is a graphic account of the visit of the venerable widow of Alexander Hamilton to the Upper Mississippi in 1838. She came West to visit her son, W. S. Hamilton, engaged in the lead mines of Wisconsin, and embarked with some tourists for Fort Snelling. "She bore her age with graceful dignity, and every morning before breakfast would, unattended, take a long walk in search of wild-flowers."

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STORIES BY AMERICAN AUTHORS.

Vols. I., II., III., 16mo, pp. 177, 198, 198.  
New York, 1884: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These little books come to us opportunely, and will accompany us one and all on our summer trips, being of fitting size for the pocket and the satchel, and in their contents offering much that is delightful for summer reading in cars, steamboats, and by the wayside. They are a collection of noteworthy short stories, contributed during the last twenty-five years—and especially during the last ten—by representative writers to various periodicals and publications not now easily accessible. Volume I. represents such authors as Bayard Taylor, Albert Webster, and Rebecca Harding Davis. Volume III. contains "A Story of the Latin Quarter," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "Two Purse-Companions," by George Parsons Lathrop; "A Memorable Murder," by Celia Thaxter, and other exceptionally interesting stories. Three volumes of the series are already issued and others are to follow. The tiny books are tastefully bound, and each coming volume will be warmly welcomed.

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JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT. Life and Letters. Edited by their granddaughter. ANNA DAVIS HALLOWELL. With Portraits, 12mo, pp. 557. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

James Mott and Lucretia Coffin were united in marriage according to the order of Friends, on the 11th of April, 1811, "with a gravity and weight becoming the occasion." The bridegroom was almost twenty-three, tall, shy, sandy-haired, with a pleasant face and a kindly blue eye, and the bride was a tiny, graceful girl of eighteen, whose sparkling vivacity and sense of humor were in striking contrast with her Quaker breeding. Her perceptions were very quick and generally very clear. The two were happy in each other; their agreement on all controverted questions was almost perfect. The pursuit of moral truth was the exercise in which Lucretia Mott's mental powers were most at home. She was fortunate in herself, blessed with divine gifts; but she was doubly blessed, in the companionship of a noble, loving husband, who was

a support and an inspiration in all her undertakings. She called him her bulwark. She was the more widely known; yet no one can contemplate the lives of two persons, so united—each seeming the other's complement—without realizing that *his* life made *hers* a possibility. He was calm, sensible, clear-sighted, one who was without fear, and whom nothing could move to the slightest bitterness. His was the gentler and more yielding disposition; hers the indomitable energy and resolution, which in a less disciplined character might have been willfulness. He was a good listener, she a good talker; and it naturally fell to her part to express the convictions they held in common. The contrast between his quiet ways and her animation was fully appreciated by themselves; and she would often rally him on his taciturnity.

In the early abolition movement Mrs. Mott was indefatigable in her activity. She was President of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, organized in 1833, and was at all times an inspiration to its members. As a speaker she was argumentative, practical, and incisive, holding to her motto, which she always wrote beneath her signature, "Truth for authority, not authority for truth." The letters, speeches, and journals which appear in this volume reveal the beauty of her character afresh at every reading. With all her intellectual acumen, no woman was ever more beloved. Her granddaughter has excellently well fulfilled the duty of a biographer, and enabled us to look into the peaceful home of James and Lucretia Mott, where all who sought help and sympathy—particularly in the stormy days of the anti-slavery struggle—were warmly welcomed, and where no cloud ever obscured the sweetness and brightness of their hostess.

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THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., with Portrait and Maps. 8vo, pp. 607. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

Only those who have written history can adequately estimate the labor bestowed on such enlightened work as that of John Richard Green. Before his ideas could be presented in the clear, realistic, and fascinating style in which we find them, an immense amount of varied material must be gathered, analyzed, and digested. Much has been said of this great author's power of condensation, his talent for shortening without losing the interest and color, the light and shade, or any of the substantial worth of his story; but the average reader will never find it possible to comprehend the extent of the learning necessary for acquisition before attempting to produce a work of this character. Mr. Green made himself the master both of the original authorities and of their modern interpreters. He was on all points fortified with knowledge. "The Conquest of England" and the "Making of England"

really form but one connected narrative. The first eight chapters of this volume bring the history down to the death of Edmund Ironside. The remaining three chapters were in part dictated by Mr. Green, and in part written after his death by his notes. The preface by Mrs. Green is a touching sketch of the manner in which the work was accomplished by the dying historian. Writing whenever his malady permitted him to hold a pen, learning to dictate when he could no longer write with his own hand, and finally passing away and leaving to his wife his unfinished labor, which it has since been her task of love to give to the world. Mr. Green's account of Danish warfare and the success of the Danes presents new features and characteristics, notwithstanding that the story has been told again and again. The charm which all his writings display, and the secret of his extraordinary literary success, may be credited in large measure to his quick perceptions, his apprehension of the perspective of a picture—the great outlines—and his ability to measure accurately the relative importance of the events he described. He could place before his readers such a picture of a period as would teach them not only the origin, but every stage of the development, of institutions, laws, and customs which still exist at the end of a thousand years. And in so doing the vigor, the effectiveness, and the very brilliancy of his writings excite so much admiration that there is danger of losing sight of his complete command of the facts relating to his subject. The book is handsomely printed, and is destined to live and teach in all the future. An author who is always learning, even to his last moment of existence, has something new in his legacy of printed lessons which it will be well for us to cherish.

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Q. P. INDEXES, NO. XV.—The Q. P. Index Annual for 1883. 12mo, pp. 62. Bangor, U.S.A.: Q. P. Index, Publisher. 1884.

This little volume by W. M. Griswold, A. B. (the third annual issue), is, as its name indicates, an Index to a large list of periodicals. The mode of arrangement is simple and of special service to literary workers. Hosts of articles of great value on particular subjects, inclosed in volumes of essays, magazines, and miscellaneous writings, are practically inaccessible because the general title of the volume gives no clue to what is in it. This index is a key to unlock many a treasure of the kind relating to history, biography, society, literature and travel. The interpretation of the figures and abbreviations used, is repeated at the foot of each page for convenience. Mr. Griswold deserves the thanks of every scholar and reader in the land.

HADDEN'S JOURNAL AND ORDERLY BOOKS. A Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777. By LIEUT. JAMES M. HADDEN, Roy. Art. Also orders kept by him and issued by Sir Guy Carleton, Lieut.-General John Burgoyne, and Major-General William Philipps, in 1776, 1777, and 1778. With an explanatory chapter and notes by Horatio Rogers, Brevet Brigadier-General, U.S.V. 12mo, square, pp. 581. Albany, 1884. Joel Munsell's Sons.

The importance of this publication is apparent even from the merest cursory glance at its contents. The journal of Hadden formerly belonged to William Cobbett, of London, and is undoubtedly one of the most valuable manuscript documents bearing upon Burgoyne's campaign yet discovered. "A knowledge of the British," says the accomplished editor of the work, "no less than of the American participants in Burgoyne's campaign, are necessary to a proper understanding of that great event." Of Burgoyne's Canadian and Provincial officers, and especially of the leader of Burgoyne's Indians, General Rogers gives in his notes much new and welcome information. Of Burgoyne himself we have a full biographical sketch. The editor, although writing of Englishmen, who were fighting against a cause in which his grandfather was an officer, seems to write without prejudice, and draws his conclusions with becoming fairness. His thought has been for the historical student, rather than for the general reader; hence, as he tells us, no dates and no precision of statement of any fact have been omitted, merely to add to rhetorical effect. It is a volume of intrinsic worth, and one which no library in the United States, of any pretensions whatever, can afford to miss from its shelves.

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ANNOUNCEMENT.—The July number of the Magazine will contain an article of exceptional interest from the pen of J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., President of the Connecticut Historical Society. Mr. Lewis Rosenthal will contribute an able and timely essay touching the origin of the Declaration of Independence. Another paper of great general interest, prepared by the distinguished historical scholar, James W. Gerard (to be read before the New York Historical Society at its June meeting), concerning French spoiliations on our commerce prior to 1801, with a history of the various efforts made before Congress by claimants to secure indemnification for losses, will be given to our readers in the July issue.



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