

YORKTOWN:

A COMPENDIOUS ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIED FRENCH AND
AMERICAN FORCES, RESULTING IN THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS
AND THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION; THE SUC-
CEEDING EVENTS, TO THE TREATY OF PEACE; AND
THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL
ANNIVERSARY OF THE SURREN-
DER AT YORKTOWN.

BY

JACOB HARRIS PATTON, A.M.,

AUTHOR OF "A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE;" "RESOURCES OF THE UNITED
STATES;" "THE LAND WE LIVE IN," ETC.

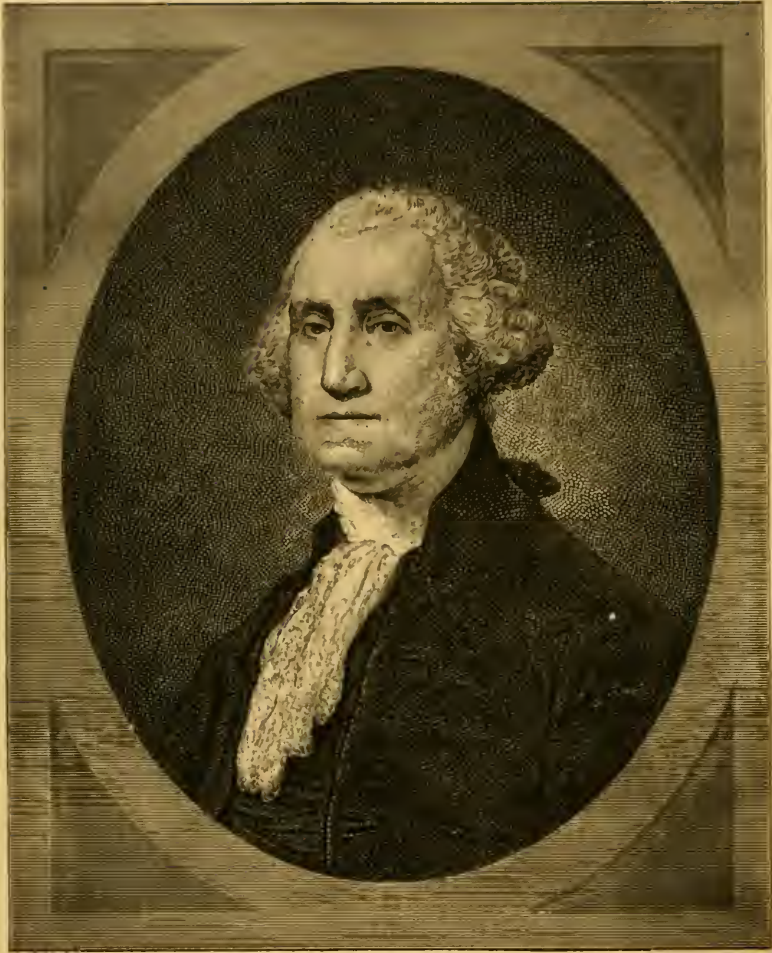
Illustrated

*With Portraits of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, De Grasse, and Steuben; Maps of
the Peninsula and the Siege; and Drawings of the Commemorative
Franklin Medal and the Yorktown Monument.*



NEW YORK:
FORDS, HOWARD, & HULBERT.

1882.



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P R E F A C E .

OF the celebrations of our "centennial" period, only two have been really national—the one at Philadelphia in 1876, commemorative of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the one at Yorktown in 1881, on the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis.

Herein is given an account of the latter celebration, including such facts as seemed worth preservation, printed in connection with an account of "The Campaign of the Allies," distinctively so called because it was the only instance during our Revolution in which there was perfect co-operation of the French navy and army with the American forces. The sketch of the allied campaign and its attendant circumstances and results, was published in the *Magazine of American History* for October, 1881; to it I have added some interesting details concerning the Yorktown siege, and the story of the two years immediately after the surrender of Cornwallis, down to the treaty of peace and the disbandment of the army; together with descriptions of the Franklin medal, the monument ordered by Congress, and finally of the Centennial celebration, with excerpts showing the tone of the addresses.

The Yorktown celebration was peculiarly interesting because of the presence of representatives of those foreign friends who aided our fathers and were present at the surrender. The careers of Lafayette and Steuben receive some appropriate attention, and, throughout, the design has been to combine under the general title of "Yorktown" such material as should contribute to form a memorial of the two groups of events in 1781 and 1881.

J. H. P.

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THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES

THE SURRENDER OF LORD CHARLES CORNWALLIS

WE have little conception of the difficulties that surrounded Washington and his compatriots during the year and a half preceding the capture of Cornwallis. The resources of the country were well-nigh exhausted; many had been drawn to the battle-field and there perished, and so great a number still remained in the army that the mechanical industries of the people were nearly ruined; villages were more or less dilapidated, while innumerable farms were lying waste for the want of cultivation. The influence of the war overshadowed the whole land, blighting its progress, and interfering with the comfort and success of the people. The Continental money was next to worthless, and that issued by the separate States was even of less value. Distrust of the ultimate success of the struggle discouraged many of the people, yet there was a gleam of sunshine in the hearts of the hopeful few; their zeal never flagged, and their intelligence prompted them to make great personal sacrifices in the expectation of securing for their country liberty and independence for all future time.

Another impediment to the success of the patriots was the multitude who sympathized with the royal cause, some no doubt from pure, and some from sinister motives. Among these disloyalists were many who were unwilling the Colonies should separate from England, which they characterized by the endearing name of "Home." They were proud of her glories in literature and arms, and claimed them as part of their own inheritance. Another class of the more unenlightened among the tories were often disloyal from an indefinable reverence for the persons of the royal family, and of their shadow, the aristocracy. These clung to the cause of the king for the reason they were unable to comprehend the vast importance to themselves and their children of being separated from England and untrammelled by her restrictions and influence as a sovereign.

The limited means of movement at that time from one portion of the country to another cannot be fully appreciated by the people of to-day, who have so many facilities for easy and rapid communication with each other. Sir Henry Clinton had his main army in New York City, in whose harbor was also a large and effective British fleet; Cornwallis had an army in Virginia three or four hundred miles distant, and other generals commanded troops stationed still further south in the Carolinas and Georgia; between these points were no places occupied by British troops. These armies were all accessible by sea from Sir Henry's headquarters in New York, while for the patriots the only way was by land—a route long and tedious, with bad roads to be passed over on horseback, on foot or by means of cumbersome wagons. The advantage on the part of the British to transport soldiers and military stores, was in comparison almost incalculable; in addition they were supplied with the most approved war material of the time, while the army of the patriots was as indifferently accoutered as their opponents were well armed and drilled. The war vessels of the United States consisted of only two frigates; the others had been either captured or destroyed.

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PATRIOT TROOPS—In the winter of 1780–81, and spring of the latter year, the troops under Washington were camped so as to threaten New York City, while to repel a movement from Canada, should one be made, a portion of the State forces were stationed at Albany. At West Point and along the Hudson in the Highlands, were troops from New England; at Pompton, New Jersey, were the soldiers belonging to that State, and at Morristown was a portion of the Pennsylvania contingent. The French army, for the most part, was wintering at Newport, Rhode Island, while one *légion*, that of the Duke de Lauzun, was at Lebanon, Connecticut. Washington had his headquarters in a central position, at Windsor on the Hudson. In different parts of the South were stationed American soldiers—militia and Continentals—under Lafayette, Gen. Greene and the Baron Steuben.

The disposition of troops in the northern division was owing to the fact that the main portion of the British army was located on Staten Island, and in New York on Manhattan Island; in the harbor was moored their fleet—the right arm of their power. Yet they were confined closely to the city, not daring even to make foraging raids very far into the country, because they were liable to be roughly handled by the patriots, who were on the lookout, and their arrangements were such that almost



MAJOR-GEN. MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

on the appearance of the marauders, the whole country was immediately roused to repel them. Philadelphia, at that time, had the larger population, but not being so accessible from the ocean as New York, the British commander had his main army in the latter city, in whose harbor he could have his fleet for the purpose of defence, and in readiness to send aid wherever needed.

AFFAIRS IN THE CAROLINAS—When Cornwallis captured Charleston, the capital of the Colony of South Carolina (May 12, 1780), he imagined he had subdued the whole region. Thinking, perhaps, capital cities in the Colonies bore the same relation to the surrounding country that they did in Europe, we may judge his surprise when the numerous patriots under Sumter, Marion and others were continually harrassing his foraging parties whenever they ventured out from his main army. There was, it was true, the quiet of a conquered land, but of one in which the people were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to fly to arms. Since the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden (August 16, 1780), Cornwallis had better reason to suppose the conflict in that section virtually ended, but in a few months Gen. Nathanael Greene appeared as Commander of the American forces; by his indefatigable exertions, and skillful handling of his men, he kept his lordship busy in warding off attacks, especially in unexpected quarters.

In the South the state of affairs was sad indeed; Whigs and Tories were unrelenting foes; they ravaged in turn the whole region, destroying private property and burning the houses of each other. There is no sadder picture of the horrors of the Revolutionary struggle than the fiendish animosity toward each other that seemed to pervade the souls of the Whigs and Tories of these States. Why it was is hard to define. Under such repeated pillagings and raids, that whole section became almost a desolation. The three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, were in the ordinary sense subdued, as their most important points were occupied by the British.

Early in the year (January, 1781) was fought the battle of Cowpens, in which Gen. Daniel Morgan defeated Col. Banastie Tarleton, the noted British cavalry officer. Then commenced the pursuit of Morgan by Cornwallis with a superior and well equipped army; but after a forced march of two hundred miles, the latter found himself completely baffled and forced to fall back, to be in turn closely followed by Gen. Greene, now in command. At length a conflict took place near Guilford Court House, N. C., from which place Greene fell back, after crippling his

adversary so much that really the gain was on his own side; while Cornwallis marched northward, leaving the Carolinas to the care of Lord Rawdon. About a month later (April 25), was fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, S. C.—a drawn battle, but the advantage, if any, was on the side of the Americans. Soon after several fortified places fell into the hands of the patriots, and Lord Rawdon retired to within a short distance of Charleston. Both armies remained inactive during the hot weather, except the skirmishing of foraging parties, till the battle of Eutaw Springs (Sept. 8, 1781), which in the main resulted favorably to the Americans, though in none of these engagements were they equal to their enemies, either in numbers of regular soldiers or equipments. In these various conflicts, and in the movements connected with them, Greene displayed remarkable skill in deceiving his enemies, and in striking where he was least expected.

THE MARCH OF CORNWALLIS TOWARD VIRGINIA—After the battle of Guilford Court House, the army of Cornwallis was so much reduced in number that he resolved to fall back by way of Wilmington, N. C., toward the North. He tarried in the vicinity of the former place sometime, to refresh his troops and await reinforcements, intending as soon as prepared to return southward to aid the royal cause in South Carolina. Meantime he learned that Greene, who had been cautiously following him, attacking his foraging parties and cutting off his messengers, had suddenly turned, and was far on his way toward Camden, S. C., where Lord Rawdon was in command. It was useless to attempt to overtake Greene or to make an effort to aid Rawdon; the risk was too great, for if he went in that direction he might be hemmed in by the patriots and distressed for provisions, as that whole region had been swept over more than once by the opposing forces. His army had been on the move for the greater part of a year, having, it was estimated, marched and countermarched more than a thousand miles, through a country in the main bitterly hostile, the roads being few and very difficult to travel. These considerations induced him to move northward from Wilmington to join Gen. Phillips by appointment at Petersburg, Virginia. He commenced his march about the 1st of May, the distance being more than two hundred miles. Phillips had superseded the traitor Benedict Arnold, about one month before (March 26, 1781), in the command in Virginia.

Previous to this time, Arnold had been marauding for some months in that region, though closely watched, and sometimes attacked, by



MAJOR-GEN. BARON VON STEUBEN.

Baron Steuben ; he was not prevented, however, from effectually pillaging the country along the James and the lower portion of its tributaries, but did not dare to venture far from navigable waters. On one occasion he appeared before Richmond and offered to spare the place if permitted to carry off the tobacco in store; this was refused by the Governor, Thomas Jefferson, and he burned a portion of the village. This part of the State was specially defenceless, as the slaves were numerous and the planters few in comparison. Baron Steuben was in general command in Virginia; he had, however, a small force of only five or six hundred militia, having sent all the men he could spare to aid Gen. Greene in the Carolinas.

There had been a plan laid to capture Arnold, and Washington in the early spring sent Lafayette with troops and artillery to aid in the enterprise. The French also sent, under the command of De Tilly, a sixty-gun ship and two frigates to surprise the British vessels in the Chesapeake, but Arnold learned of the expedition, and withdrawing his shipping up the Elizabeth river into shallow water, the French had to content themselves in lying off in their large ships, while those of the enemy were safely anchored twelve miles distant. Soon after, another French naval force was sent from Newport to cooperate with that in the Bay, and with the army expected under Lafayette, but they were pursued by the British fleet. These fleets met off the Capes, and after a short conflict, without definite result, they parted. The French were so disabled that they returned to Newport, and the English entered Chesapeake Bay. This was the fourth time the French fleet had failed to cooperate effectually with the American land forces. Arnold was now reinforced by two thousand troops under Gen. Phillips, who, as has been stated, assumed command.

We may imagine the disappointment of Lafayette and his wearied soldiers, who had reached Annapolis, when they learned that the fleet reported at anchor in the Roads was the British and not the French, as they had reason to suppose. The object of the expedition was defeated. After some delay, caused by the blockade of the port by the British vessels, the troops were withdrawn to the Head of Elk, and marched early in April to Baltimore, where Lafayette refitted his men. Marching them southward, he joined Steuben in Virginia, and took command of the forces there.

BRITISH RAIDS AND OUTRAGES—When Cornwallis joined his forces with those in Virginia and assumed command, he resolved to crush

Lafayette before he should receive the reinforcements said to be on their march from the North, under the command of Gen. Anthony Wayne. He was so confident of success that, in writing to Sir Henry Clinton, he represented himself as having the Marquis within his grasp; in consequence the latter, in a dispatch to the home government, said: "Lafayette, I think, cannot escape him." When Cornwallis moved from Petersburg to unite with the fresh troops sent from New York under Gen. Leslie, Lafayette was at Richmond, but having an inferior force, he retreated towards the north to meet Wayne, who was approaching with a portion of the Pennsylvania line. Cornwallis crossed the James below Richmond, and moved rapidly in pursuit, but finding it impossible to prevent their junction, he fell back toward the lower James.

There has been in the American mind a peculiar odium attached to the traitor Arnold, because of his committing so many outrages in Virginia. As much disgrace should attach to the name of Cornwallis for the ravages committed by his immediate command. His cavalry speedily scoured the country, and seized all the horses they could reach; these were considered at the time to be the finest in the colonies. Gen. Greene, when passing through Virginia on his way to the Carolinas, urged the planters to remove these fine animals into the interior, lest they should be captured to replenish the British cavalry. The advice was disregarded, and ere long about six hundred of Tarleton's men were mounted on horses, great numbers of which had been trained for the races, common in that State. Oftentimes the marauders wantonly cut the throats of colts that were too young to be of service for cavalry. Outrages of this character were not perpetrated elsewhere during the war. Tarleton ravaged the country, destroying stores of provisions and crops; he attempted by a bold dash to capture the members of the Legislature, then in session at Charlottesville, and came near making a prisoner of the Governor himself, Thomas Jefferson, in his home at Monticello. For some reason he would not permit the premises at Monticello to be injured; yet, "under the eye of Cornwallis," another farm of Jefferson was thoroughly plundered, the growing crops destroyed, the horses carried off, and the throats of the colts cut, while the barns and fences were burned.

INDECISIVE CONFLICTS—Lafayette and Wayne, having united their forces, immediately moved, and by a rapid night march presented themselves in front of Cornwallis and, being joined by large numbers of the

militia, their force made so formidable show that the British general thought it prudent to fall back to Richmond, and finally down to Williamsburg (June 25). Lafayette was now joined by Steuben, and his entire army amounted to about 4,000 men, one-half of whom were regulars or Continentals. He sent detachments that interfered materially with the foraging parties of the British army, meanwhile advancing with his main force toward Williamsburg.

About this time Sir Henry Clinton became much alarmed at the demonstrations making against New York. He expected to be attacked by twenty thousand men, and believed that De Grasse,* when he learned that Cornwallis was out of reach, would sail to New York to assist in an attempt on that city. This theory seems to have made him afterward unable to give due weight to evidence coming to his knowledge respecting the movement of Washington toward Virginia. He now sent an urgent demand to Cornwallis for reinforcements.

To comply with this requisition, Cornwallis moved all his force toward Portsmouth in order to embark the troops. Lafayette cautiously followed, intending, if opportunity served, to attack the rear-guard of the British army when the main portion had crossed the river, but the wary Cornwallis, suspecting the design, laid plans to deceive his pursuer. Accordingly on the 6th July he sent over his pack-horses and wagons to an island in the James, and of these he made a great display. Meanwhile Tarleton deputed a dragoon—who pretended to be a deserter—and a negro, to throw themselves in the way of the Americans, and announce to them that the main portion of the army had passed over, and only the rear-guard was waiting to cross. The story seemed plausible, and Wayne was sent to make the attack; he was to be supported by the main body. Wayne, moving rapidly forward, apparently surprised a picket, which, in accordance with orders, after a resistance lasting only a few minutes, retreated. Thus encouraged, Wayne dashed on, when presently he found himself confronted with what seemed the whole British army. In a moment he divined the stratagem by which he had been deceived; his fearless spirit suggested his course. He at once sounded a charge, and his Pennsylvanians, nine hundred strong, and three cannon in full play, with shouts of victory, dashed against the enemy. This vigorous attack continued for a few minutes, when, at his command, the men as speedily fell back, losing, however, their cannon, the horses which drew them being killed. Cornwallis was in turn bewildered; the sudden and

* Commanding a French fleet in the West Indies.

vigorous assault, as well as the rapidity with which the Americans retreated, disconcerted him. He refused, as it was growing dark, to permit his men to pursue, lest they should fall into an ambuscade. The following day he passed over the river and proceeded to Portsmouth; but, when in the act of sending a detachment on board the ships, he received another message from Clinton, informing him that he had been reinforced by three thousand Hessians from Europe, and he should not need more troops.

According to Stedman, Sir Henry Clinton at first favorably entertained the idea of Cornwallis, when he had joined Phillips, making a raid north, along the Chesapeake and up the valley of the Susquehannah. He was led to think of such an expedition by the representations of Tories, who assured him if a British army would make its appearance in that region, there would be an uprising of the loyalists. Cornwallis was not so sanguine; he had little faith in promised uprisings of these gentlemen, and in consequence he was opposed to the whole scheme. Perhaps he also called to mind his experience in being harrassed when marching through the thinly settled Carolinas, and reflected that on the shores of the Chesapeake and up the Susquehannah the population was much more numerous. He would only enter upon the movement when ordered; and he intimated his willingness to return to Charleston and take command there.

Sir Henry Clinton also took occasion to inform Cornwallis of the rumors afloat that the Count de Grasse intended to visit the American coast in order to co-operate with the allied forces. Sir Charles Rodney, who was on the West India station with a British squadron, gave it as his opinion that De Grasse would go to the Chesapeake. This information seemed to allay the fears of Clinton, as a French fleet in the bay could not injure the forces under Cornwallis. It appears never to have occurred to him that possibly Washington, by forced marches, might lead his army from the Hudson to the Chesapeake, nor did he avail himself of the suggestion of Rodney, to send a fleet to counteract the plans of the Count. Cornwallis on his part felt equally safe, as he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York.

The home government and Clinton were both unwilling to abandon the control of Chesapeake Bay and Virginia; hence an order was sent to Cornwallis to select some place accessible from the sea, and there fortify himself. This order came with the message countermanding the previous one to send a reinforcement of troops to New York. To



ADMIRAL COMTE DE GRASSE.

comply with this command, on the 26th July, 1781, Cornwallis chose Yorktown and Gloucester Point. These are on opposite sides of York river, which here narrows to about one mile in width, and are accessible from the bay, which is about fifteen miles distant. His army now amounted to nearly eight thousand effective men. He began to throw up strong entrenchments, while a number of ships of war were moored in the river.

THE FRENCH FLEET, AND DELAYS—It was long evident to Washington and Congress that if success was to be obtained, the superiority of the British naval force must be overcome. This could be done only by inducing the French government to send a sufficiently large number of men-of-war to the American coast. Hitherto it had seemed fated that the French fleet should fail to cooperate with the American land forces. Congress some time before had commissioned John Laurens of South Carolina, one of Washington's Aids, to France for the special purpose of inducing that government to send a strong fleet and a large number of troops to the United States. Laurens was remarkable for his pleasing manners no less than for his diplomatic ability; he succeeded in obtaining the promise of a large fleet and a body of troops, and also a loan of money, which amounted to more than a million dollars. In accordance with this promise, Count de Grasse sailed (March, 1781) from Brest with twenty-five sail of the line, on board of which were several thousand troops—the greater portion of the latter, however, were designed for the West Indies.

While the operations already referred to were going on in the southern section of the country, nothing special was done in the northern except to watch the enemy's forces in New York, and make preparations to capture the city. To obtain that result was utterly impossible without a sufficient naval force to overcome that of the British in the harbor, and for this assistance Washington was waiting till it could be sent by France, and also for the States, severally, to furnish more soldiers and supplies.

INSUBORDINATION—On the first day of this eventful year (1781) a revolt of an alarming character had broken out among the Pennsylvania troops at Morristown, New Jersey. Their sufferings were great, and what they deemed the indifference of Congress to their wants roused their indignation, and led them to leave their camp and march in an

orderly manner direct to the doors of that body, then in session at Philadelphia, and demand redress in person. These men, though guilty of military insubordination, were every one of them true to their country's cause, but were for the time exercising, in this irregular way, their rights as freemen to ask a redress of grievances. Says Gen. Wayne, their commander, "they were poorly clothed, badly fed, and worse paid; exposed to winter's piercing cold, with no protection but old worn-out coats, and but one blanket between three men." They received relief for the present, and marched back to their camp, after delivering up to their officers the emissaries of the British commander, who had sent them to seduce the mutineers from their duties as patriot soldiers. In less than a month afterward, influenced by the success of the Pennsylvanians, the same spirit was manifested among the Jersey troops stationed at Pompton; they, too, for the same reason, mutinied. Now there was danger lest insubordination should spread throughout the army, and the latter rebellion was put down with some severity. Yet there was evidently great dissatisfaction in the army; the soldiers were intelligent and understood for what purpose they were in arms, and they had received the impression that Congress wasted much precious time in wrangling over questions of minor importance, while some of the States had apparently grown indifferent, and failed to furnish supplies in food and clothing. The soldiers no doubt compared their hard lot with the comfort enjoyed by other able-bodied men at their well furnished homes. We must bear in mind, however, that Congress had not full power to enforce its own decrees, which took more the form of urgent advisory resolutions than of laws to be obeyed; the weariness incident to a seven years' war: the utter prostration of commerce and industry, except to provide the necessaries of life, had almost paralyzed the energies of the people. It was only the hopeful, the intelligent, the persevering, that bore up—meanwhile encouraging their desponding neighbors—and performed as best they could their own duty, to supply the wants of the soldiers. With this state of feeling in the army, we may imagine what would have been the ultimate issue had it not been for the cheering prospect of help from France, both in fleet and land forces. during this long and trying winter.

THE POSITIONS OF ARMIES—During the spring and summer of 1781 the British army held two important positions. The capture of either would have a decisive effect upon the contest. One was New York, in which was their main force, and from which reinforcements of men,

ships and war material were sent as required to other points, especially to sustain operations in the South; the other position was that held by the army of Cornwallis in Virginia, where rumor said it was preparing to winter. It was possible, under favorable circumstances, to capture either of these before aid could come from the other.

It was thought best to make an attempt on New York, as the French army, which had been for nearly eleven months at Newport, was ready to move in aid of the enterprise. Preparatory to making the attack, the available roads leading to the city were repaired and new ones cut, while its fortifications were carefully reconnoitered. Washington's headquarters were at Windsor, a few miles from West Point; his entire force did not amount to five thousand effective men, though he had nominally nearly seven thousand. Owing to the defects of the militia system then in force, the army had not been increased to the full number authorized by Congress, which had *resolved* to have thirty-seven thousand men under arms at the beginning of the year. But the resolutions of Congress or of the State Legislatures were of little avail in rousing the exhausted country. British marauding parties in force were continually pillaging the country for miles around the city; they called it foraging. The most effective of these depredators was a band of Tories under Col. Delancy, whose place of rendezvous and stronghold was in the vicinity of Morrisania, Westchester county. Up the country from that place to near Washington's lines, these marauders made the whole region almost a desolation, driving from the farms the live stock, and carrying off the grain when harvested. These worthies were characterized Cow Boys by the inhabitants, because of their aptness in seizing the patriots' cattle.

CAMPAIGN PLANS—In February word had been brought Washington that the Count de Barras had arrived at Boston to take command of the naval force of the French then at Newport, Rhode Island. De Barras also brought the news that the Count de Grasse was soon to sail with a large armament to the West Indies; but twelve of his ships were to come to Newport, in order to relieve the French squadron stationed there, and that these ships were to bring an additional number of land forces. This reinforcement was expected to arrive in July or August.

Count de Rochambeau received fresh instructions from his own government, and arrangements were made for an interview between Washington and the Count, at Weathersfield, Connecticut, on the 22d May,

1781. Many plans were discussed; among others to send a land force to aid Greene in the Carolinas. These troops would be compelled to march the entire distance, as the French squadron, which might have carried them, was closely blockaded in Newport harbor by a superior British fleet. The main objections to this plan were the long march, the difficulties of transporting war material, and the season of the year being summer, the heat of which in that climate was dreaded so much as to become an obstruction almost insuperable.

It was therefore thought best to strike a blow at New York. The time seemed propitious, as, owing to the large detachments which had from time to time been sent to the South, the garrison was comparatively weak. To capture this stronghold, with its immense amount of war material, appeared to Washington and the patriots as most important. Here was the British fleet, which had absolute control of the harbor and all the waters accessible to it; its position was central. If once taken, the outposts in the South would succumb, and the struggle, it was thought, must virtually end. Accordingly, to carry out this enterprise, arrangements were made at the council, and soon the French troops were on their march from their quarters at Newport, delighted to be relieved from the irksome monotony they had experienced during the preceding eleven months, and with the hope of seeing active service. Their march through the country was enlivened by the manifestations of welcome made by the inhabitants, who cheered them as friends.

In order to make the capture certain, Washington wrote to the Governors of the New England States and New Jersey, calling upon them to render assistance by filling up their quotas of men. With all these exertions the American army was not materially increased, and his letters written at the time show the mortification caused him by this deficiency. The only apology was the utter prostration of the country, both in respect to its finances and the fewness of the men found to enter the army. The Legislatures passed energetic resolutions, and so did Congress, but neither had the power to enforce them. Meanwhile Rochambeau dispatched a vessel to inform De Grasse of the plan of operations, and urge his cooperation.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE AMERICAN FINANCIER—The efforts of one patriot must here be mentioned. Robert Morris was a successful merchant of Philadelphia, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He grasped the idea of furnishing the "sinews of war,"

by conducting the money matters of the government on a specie basis (1780). Heretofore the management of the finances had been entrusted to a committee of Congress, no two of whom seemed to have had the same views on the subject. One man of true education knows more than a multitude of the ignorant; and one common sense and thorough practical financier knows more than a regiment of theorists. Morris urged Congress to establish a *bank* as an agent to transact the finances of the government. The Bank of North America—our First National bank—was chartered for ten years, with a capital of \$2,000,000. The fact that it was pledged to redeem its notes in coin, inspired confidence in its success. The public at once looked favorably upon the scheme, and those who had the means invested in the bank, both as a profitable investment and as a patriotic duty. The credit of Congress began at once to revive, and finally attained a point never reached before. By this means Morris was enabled to pay the soldiers to a certain amount, and furnish supplies for the army. He accomplished this by sending as agents discreet men to secure in the way of business, all the coin they could obtain, thus keeping his vaults replenished, and when notes were presented they were promptly redeemed. The result was that soon the notes of the bank were received for all demands, and the Continental money passed out of use. Morris was now of immense service in furnishing provisions for the army on the Hudson.

DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE CITY OF NEW YORK—Now began a series of reconnoiterings in the vicinity of the city. New roads were cut through the woods and others repaired. It was known that a large force of the British was absent foraging in New Jersey, and the opportunity was seized to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon New York during their absence, and meanwhile fall on Delancy's Tories who were stationed at Morrisania. The latter attack was to be made by the French, who were to march from Ridgebury, Connecticut, and Washington himself was to throw his troops between the routed Tories and the upper end of Manhattan Island, then to pass Harlem River, capture the posts or stations near at hand, and work his way down some miles to the north side of the city. But soon after the movement began it was ascertained the British force had returned from Jersey, and their boats were in the Hudson. To surprise the forts was now out of the question, yet the expedition was successful in meeting and attacking a large foraging party of fifteen hundred Tories and others which had set out the same morning to ravage the lower end of Westchester county. The latter made haste

to abandon their stronghold and retire over Harlem River to the island, where they reported that they had been attacked by a large force.

THE ALLIED ARMIES—To secure unity of action, Congress had conferred full and perfect authority upon Washington in the northern and southern departments, and France, for the same reason, had also placed her troops under his command. The two armies were now encamped—at Dobbs Ferry and on the Greenberg Hills—within striking distance of New York, and were waiting for a French fleet to cooperate. Recruits were coming in slowly, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, yet there was no relaxation in reconnoitering and making preparations for the grand attack. Count de Rochambeau sent a swift-sailing vessel to inform De Grasse, who was in the West Indies or on his way thither, of the intended effort to capture the city, and to urge his cooperation with his fleet. Meanwhile (Aug. 14) there came a French frigate from him to Newport, bearing dispatches, saying that he would sail on the 3d August with a fleet of some twenty-five or thirty war vessels, having on board a land force—not to New York, but to the Chesapeake. This announcement necessarily changed the whole programme; the disappointment was very great to Washington and his officers.

THE OVERRULING HAND—We at this day can see, in the influences that led to this disappointment, the hand of an overruling Providence, which Washington and the Christian patriots of that day so much delighted to recognize. It is very doubtful if the combined forces could have captured New York at all. The situation was such that only on the north end of Manhattan Island could it be assailed by land forces, and if a landing were made at this point, the city was still several miles distant, every foot of which was capable of being defended, if not successfully, at least sufficiently to cause a great loss of life to the assailants. The Hudson could be patrolled by the British men-of-war, whose cannon shot could easily sink the transports used in conveying troops across below the Harlem River. The British had also control of the harbor, and with the aid of the forts around its shores and on its islands, could have repelled the French fleet if it attempted an entrance; but only the smaller vessels could come in, the pilots giving it as their opinion that the large men-of-war belonging to the French could not cross the bar at Sandy Hook. In addition to this, both the British fleet and the garrison had in the latter part of June been strongly reinforced. The sacrifice of life on the part of the combined army would certainly have

been very great, and even if successful, much more than in the capture of Cornwallis, while virtually the result in either case would have been the same; the crippling of the British force in the Colonies to such an extent as to lead ultimately to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Moreover, British military affairs had arrived at such a crisis, that the capture of either New York in the North, or of Cornwallis in the South, would have brought about the end of the contest. The English people were becoming inclined to give up the conflict, as they became more conversant with the true state of the case. We can now see how merciful to the Americans was the non-appearance of Count de Grasse at New York with his fleet, for had he come the effort to take the city would certainly have been made.

CHANGED PLAN OF CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES—The announcement that De Grasse was about to sail for the Chesapeake led at once to the change of plans; there was no alternative. The attack must be made on Cornwallis, and the army must march nearly four hundred miles to accomplish it. To secure success it must be far on its way before Sir Henry Clinton could discover or suspect the object of the march, and to “misguide and bewilder” him, reconnoissances were ostentatiously made on the north of the city towards Kingsbridge, and on the opposite west side of the Hudson, as if an attempt was to be made to throw a force across that river. The British no doubt learned from spies of the boats built at Albany and originally designed for this purpose.

These continued demonstrations convinced Sir Henry that an assault was imminent, and when the plan to move against Cornwallis was conceived and the necessary arrangements were making, he would not credit the surmises of the British officers stationed nearer the American lines, who began to suspect that a movement was about to be made other than upon New York. These officers communicated their suspicions to Clinton, but he seemed to be thoroughly impressed that the apparent change of programme on the part of the patriots was purposely designed to mislead him. One of the most earnest of these officers in persisting that the prospective movement would be against Cornwallis and not New York, was Von Wurmb, a Hessian officer, stationed at Kingsbridge. But Sir Henry was stubbornly predisposed to believe all indications that seemed to foreshadow an attack upon his own position. After it was decided to march to Virginia, letters were written at Washington’s headquarters, as if in relation to an impending attack upon the city. These letters were

purposely sent in such manner as to insure their interception, and when brought to Sir Henry they confirmed him more than ever that he was to be attacked without delay. Nor did this system of misleading end here; in addition, a space was marked out for a camp, as if for a large army in New Jersey opposite Staten Island, and numerous ovens were built and fuel provided for baking bread in immense quantities, while numbers of row-boats were prepared and kept in sight as if to ferry troops across the narrow channel to the island. Spies and Tories were unmolested in conveying to the British headquarters accounts of these preparations.

The wisdom of exercising great caution can be seen in the manifold difficulties in the way of this long march in the heat of summer from the Hudson River to the York. These adverse contingencies were all taken into consideration by the Commander-in-chief, and in no instance during the war did he display more sagacity than in the plan and execution of this movement, and in his complete outgeneraling of Sir Henry Clinton. The passage in ships from New York to the lower Chesapeake could be completed in a few days, while it took almost as many weeks for an army to reach there by land. If Sir Henry, who was proverbial for his tardiness, had been prompt, he might have interfered seriously with the expedition, even after he was assured that the movement was against Cornwallis. He could have sent a large number of ships of war, and of men, and perhaps been able to land strong reinforcements at an available position. Keeping the secret so carefully required the greatest caution; only one or two of the officers of the higher rank knew the destination of the allied armies, much less the ordinary soldiers. The armies commenced their march on the 19th of August, and in little more than a month they came in sight of the British works at Yorktown.

THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES—The movement covered by a final demonstration against New York, the armies, in two divisions, set out on their march toward Yorktown. Not a soldier was aware of their destination. When the American division was first put in motion as if to march toward Kingsbridge over the Harlem River, they were unexpectedly ordered to face about and move north along the east side of the Hudson; the following day they began to cross the river at King's Ferry. Meanwhile the French army was moving from the vicinity of White Plains toward the same river, heartily cheered by the grateful people along their route; two days later they crossed at Stony Point, both armies having with them their artillery and military stores.

Major-Gen. Heath was placed in command of the army left to watch the enemy in New York, to guard the Highland passes, and as far as possible to protect the surrounding country from marauders. The two armies marched across the Jerseys (East and West as then known); the French toward Trenton on the Delaware, and the Americans in the same general direction. To facilitate the rapidity of the march, wagons in great numbers were obtained from the farmers along the two routes, to carry the heavy arms and knapsacks of the soldiers. Both armies had reached the Delaware before Sir Henry became aware that a march had been stolen upon him; to what extent he was still uncertain.

When the Americans found themselves at Philadelphia, they suspected their destination to be Virginia, and demurred to marching south under the broiling sun. They were also dissatisfied with the lack of pay, as the want of money debarred them from purchasing many comforts, to do which they had now an opportunity. Providentially John Laurens had arrived a month before from France, bringing with him a large supply of clothing, of arms and munitions, and what was specially needed, about half a million dollars. Robert Morris was at hand, and with a portion of the money brought by Laurens, the amount raised by himself, and twenty thousand dollars borrowed from De Rochambeau, he was enabled to pay the soldiers a portion of the money due them, and they promptly moved on in the line of duty.

The incidents on this hurried march were few. The American division was the first to pass through Philadelphia, amid the cheers and blessings of the better portion of the inhabitants, who appreciated the labors, the privations, the dangers to which these patriotic men were exposed. In their appearance the two armies were in striking contrast; the one wore coats having little uniformity of style, and showing the effects of hard usage in being somewhat shabby. They were preceded by the music only of the fife and drum, so common. On the following day came the French, who had halted outside the city to burnish their arms and carefully brush the dust off their beautiful uniforms of white broadcloth with colored facings; they were preceded by a complete band of music of many instruments, a novelty to the majority of the spectators. They were admired for their orderly bearing and neat appearance, and they too were warmly received and cheered as friends and allies.

BRITISH ATTEMPTS AT A DIVERSION—The combined armies were beyond the Delaware (Sept. 2d) before Sir Henry Clinton began

seriously to suspect their destination. He had heard of movements in the Jerseys, but not sufficiently definite, as he thought, to act upon; at first he took for granted they were a mere ruse designed to draw him from the city into the open country, where the superior numbers of the American and French forces might be made available. The reports of their rapid march, entirely across the Jerseys, he still hesitated to credit. Evidently in accordance with this theory, he hastened to create a diversion, which would compel a portion of the armies to be sent back for the purpose of defending places in the vicinity of New York. He first caused a rumor to be circulated that he intended to make an assault on the posts in the Highlands; of course this was to divert the attention of Gen. Heath, who was in command in that region, lest he should send assistance to those whom Clinton really designed to attack; then Arnold was sent to ravage a portion of Connecticut. The latter, in order to avoid Heath, passed up on the south side of the Sound, and crossing over from Long Island suddenly appeared before New London, the fortifications of which were very imperfect, and after a heroic defence, the main work, Fort Griswold, was taken, the town plundered, and many outrages committed. At the fort fell Col. Ledyard, the cousin of the celebrated American traveler, after he had surrendered his sword, which was immediately plunged into his own breast. This was on the 6th September, and Clinton learned definitely on the 10th that Washington had crossed the Delaware. If he really believed at the time of his sending Arnold, that the allied armies were on their march to Yorktown, he never committed a greater blunder than to suppose detachments would be sent back nearly two hundred miles to prevent a raid, which would be ended and the marauders out of harm's way long before the force thus sent could reach the scene of action. It is evident that when Clinton sent Arnold, he thought the movements in Jersey a ruse; in this whole matter he seems to have been unaccountably deaf to reason.

Gen. Washington and Count de Rochambeau hurried on in advance of the army, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th September, and a few days later held a council with De Grasse on board of his ship, the *Ville de Paris*, when arrangements were made to prosecute the siege of Yorktown. Meanwhile the combined armies moved on till they arrived at the Head of Elk river, now Elkton, about eighteen miles from the bay (Sept. 6th). Here were found about eighty vessels of various grades sent by Lafayette and De Grasse to transport the soldiers and their war material to Virginia, while the horses were sent round by



LIEUT.-GEN. COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

land. The transports arrived at the harbor of Jamestown on the 22d. A part of the forces were marched by land to Annapolis, where vessels were in waiting to take them down the Chesapeake.

CORNWALLIS IN THE TOILS—Cornwallis was entirely ignorant of the toils that were quietly weaving around him; closing in from the South, from the North, and from the ocean. His surprise may be imagined when suddenly a powerful fleet of French men-of-war appeared in the roads, and when he learned that Lafayette and Steuben were prepared to cut off his retreat to the Carolinas, while an effective army, composed of Americans and French, were on their way floating down the Chesapeake. Though realizing that the plans concerted for his capture were about to be successful, as became a brave commander thrown upon his own resources, he began the more vigorously to fortify his position with the determination to resist to the utmost. Sometime before he had been so confident of maintaining himself, that he wrote Clinton he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York.

The French fleet under Count de Barras sailed (Aug. 28) from Newport for the Chesapeake to unite with that under De Grasse; the latter expected De Barras and was on the lookout for him, but when Clinton learned that this squadron was to sail from Newport, he divined its destination was the Chesapeake, perhaps to join another fleet from the West Indies, of which rumors had reached him. He immediately dispatched Admiral Graves with a naval force to intercept De Barras, Graves was surprised to find De Grasse already anchored within the Capes, and the latter equally surprised when he saw that the ships in the offing composed a British fleet instead of the one he expected. De Grasse immediately took measures to decoy the British Admiral away from the mouth of the Bay, by putting to sea in order that De Barras might have an opportunity to slip in, as he knew from the time the latter had probably left Newport that he must arrive shortly. Therefore, avoiding a general engagement, De Grasse commenced to skirmish, meantime slowly receding from the shore, and the Admiral followed so far that De Barras passed in unmolested. This irregular fight lasted about five days, most of the time being taken in manœuvering. When De Grasse thought De Barras had had time to reach the Bay, he returned within the Capes, and there found the latter safely anchored (Sept. 10). Graves had been outmanœuvered and completely deceived as to the motive of De Grasse—whom he perhaps took for De

Barras—in not coming to a close engagement, meanwhile receding from the Capes. He soon, however, learned the result of the stratagem, and was mortified to find both the French fleets within the Capes. Their united strength was now much superior to his own. The expedition had been a failure, and the Admiral returned to New York, giving as a reason, according to Stedman, that he “wished to put his ships in harbor before the equinox.” In this singular action the French lost in killed and wounded two hundred and twenty men; the British ninety killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded, while one of their men-of-war was so disabled as to be abandoned and burned.

When De Grasse first anchored in the Bay, Lafayette sent an officer who gave him information in respect to the situation in Virginia, and made arrangements for landing troops. The French Admiral at once sent a sufficient number of ships of the line and frigates to blockade the mouth of the York River, and by means of other war vessels took possession of the James. When Cornwallis learned of these forces gathering around him, he resolved to cut his way to the Carolinas, but on making the attempt his progress was effectually checked by the foresight of Washington. He found himself confronted by a force of three thousand French troops, who, under the Marquis St. Simon, had already passed up the James, and at a point some eight miles in the rear of Yorktown landed on the south side of the river; Wayne had also crossed to the same side to unite with the French, and both were ready to intercept him. He reconnoitered Williamsburg, twelve miles from Yorktown, where Lafayette had taken position, and was surprised to find it fortified too strongly to be assaulted without great loss of life. He was completely hemmed in; there was no alternative; he must strengthen his defences as best he could, and meanwhile send expresses to Sir Henry Clinton informing him of the situation and to ask for aid. The entire British army went to work with determination, and labored incessantly to strengthen their somewhat advanced works.

The hamlet of Yorktown is on the south side of York River; directly opposite is a projection of land known as Gloucester Point. The river between these places is about one mile wide, and sufficiently deep to float ships of large burdens. Cornwallis took great pains, and his engineers showed much skill in fortifying Yorktown. On the land side were seven redoubts and six batteries; these were connected by intrenchments; in addition were lines of batteries along the river bank. The town was situated between the mouths of creeks, whose beds were deep ravines, and these natural advantages were also skillfully made available.

Gloucester Point was similarly fortified; in the river, out of range of the French fleet, were stationed British ships of war, while the stream below was obstructed by sunken vessels. Only about seven hundred men, under Col. Dundas, composed the garrison of the small fort at Gloucester Point; the main force, nearly seven thousand strong, was within the fortifications of Yorktown.

THE INVESTMENT OF YORK—On the afternoon of September 28, 1781, the French and American armies came in sight, and encamped about two miles from the British lines. They approached cautiously and made no attack on the enemy's outposts. In the evening of the same day came to Cornwallis an express from Clinton, dated four days before, announcing that sufficient naval and land forces would be sent within twelve days to relieve him. Induced by this assurance of aid, during the following night Cornwallis withdrew his troops within the fortifications proper of the town, which, from their limited extent, could be more effectively manned and defended. The outworks thus abandoned were occupied the next morning by the besiegers, and the town was completely invested. The Americans were stationed on the right; the French on the left—each wing resting on York River—in a semicircle, at the distance of more than a mile from the British works. Gloucester Point was also invested by the Duke de Lauzun's Legion, aided by marines from the French Fleet and by Virginia militia. The whole besieging force numbered about twelve thousand men besides the militia, which were drawn from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The greater part of the French squadron remained down the Bay at Lynn Haven, a convenient point to intercept aid from the ocean, as it was expected Clinton would send to the rescue a fleet from New York.

A large body of the besiegers during a dark night (Oct. 6), in silence, but working with great energy, constructed their first parallel within six hundred yards of the enemy's works—this parallel was nearly two miles in length. The English were astonished when daylight revealed this formidable approach to their defences. The rapid manner in which the Americans threw up intrenchments had oftentimes surprised the British generals from Bunker Hill onward. The besieged immediately opened with artillery upon the men at work, but, being cautious and well protected, the latter continued their labor, and within a few days placed their guns in position and were ready to open fire upon the defences in front of the town. The cannonade began in the afternoon of the 9th of October, Gen. Washington himself applying the match to the

first gun; this was followed by a general discharge from cannon, mortars and howitzers. The balls and shells even reached the vessels in York River, and several transports, with the *Charon*, a forty-four gun ship, were burned by exploding shells and red-hot balls thrown by the French artillerists. Many of the British guns were dismounted; the heavy ordnance brought by De Barras told tremendously on their defences.

When Cornwallis withdrew his men from the outworks, there still remained in line two well-manned redoubts in an advanced position of three hundred yards; these had withstood the cannonade for four days. The British garrison labored unceasingly during the night to repair breaches, and during the day kept up a spirited fire from what guns they had, as many had been disabled, and a large number of the men had been killed or wounded.

When the besiegers attempted to throw up a second parallel, three hundred yards nearer the enemy's defenses, these redoubts from their position were able by a flanking fire to sweep the line of men when at work. It was found necessary to capture these redoubts; one was assigned to be taken by the French, the other by the Americans. This enterprise was undertaken by both parties in a spirit of generous emulation. The time chosen was eight o'clock, in the evening of the 14th of October; both detachments were promptly ready for the assault, and when the signal—a rocket sent up—was given, they rushed to the attack; the Americans under Alexander Hamilton made short work of the abattis, and scrambling over the parapet captured their redoubt with the bayonet alone, losing nine men killed and thirty-three wounded; the French, under the Baron de Vioménil, made their attack in a more formal manner, even waiting for the sappers to remove the abattis, and when the soldiers rushed in they found the garrison prepared for them; the struggle, though short and sharp, ended in the capture of the redoubt, but at the expense of nearly one hundred men. Men were at once put to work, and before daylight these captured redoubts were also included within the line of the second parallel. Guns were promptly brought forward, and a fire, heavier than before, was opened upon the defences of the besieged.

Two days later the British commander, wishing to retard the approach of his enemy, ordered a sortie to be made. The attacking force was nearly four hundred strong and in two divisions, one under Col. Abercrombie and the other under Major Armstrong. The time chosen was a little before daybreak, and by a spirited assault they carried two redoubts in the French position, and hastily spiked eleven can-

non. The supporting troops in the trenches soon rallied, and as daylight was approaching drove the assailants back to their own quarters. Within twelve hours the spikes were drilled out, and the guns were again doing effective service. The besiegers had now nearly one hundred guns, large and small, to play on the fortifications of the English, while the latter could scarcely show a dozen.

Driven to desperation, but not willing to relax an effort, Cornwallis determined to abandon everything, even his sick and wounded, pass over to Gloucester, overcome the besiegers of that place, seize their horses, and cut his way toward the north. He certainly could not hope to reach New York and unite with Clinton, yet such was his horror of surrendering that he fain would struggle to the last. Boats were collected, and one division crossed over before the middle of the night following the repulse from the redoubts; the second was about to embark when suddenly a storm of wind and rain came on, which drove the boats down the river. By the time they were again collected it was too late; day was dawning, and an effort must be made to bring back the first division, which, when returning, was subjected to a galling fire from the besiegers' batteries.

Cornwallis' command was in a deplorable condition; scarcely could he mount a gun; his works were shattered under an incessant shower of cannon balls and shells; his force was reduced to less than four thousand effective men; the remainder were either killed, wounded or sick; all hope of aid from Clinton was at an end; indeed, some days before he had written to him in a despairing tone, saying: "I cannot recommend that the navy and army should run great risk in endeavoring to save us." To spare the effusion of blood in case of assault by an overwhelming and exultant force, he sent a note to Washington on the 17th of October (the anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga), asking an armistice of twenty-four hours, that terms of capitulation might be agreed upon. As Clinton might arrive any hour with reinforcements both by sea and land, only two hours were given for his Lordship to put his proposals in writing. These when presented were not found to be satisfactory. Afterward Washington transmitted the terms on which he would accept the surrender.

THE CAPITULATION AND SURRENDER.—The Commissioners on the part of the allied forces to conduct the negotiations were Col. John Laurens and the Viscount de Noailles, and on the part of the British, Major Ross and Col. Dundas. The terms of capitulation were as follows: York-

town and Gloucester Point, with their garrisons and all their war material, to be surrendered to Gen. Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the combined army, and the ships of war and other vessels, with the transports, to Count de Grasse—the land forces were to be prisoners to Congress, and the seamen to France. The officers of the higher rank were dismissed on their parole, and permitted to go to Europe, or to any port in possession of British troops. The private property of both officers and men was to be respected. One sloop-of-war, the *Bonetta*, was allowed to depart unchallenged, with such persons on board as Lord Cornwallis designated. This was designed to give the most obnoxious Tories an opportunity to leave the country. The same expedient had been adopted when Boston was evacuated—a ship, unchallenged, sailed for Halifax, in which many Tories took passage; hence the almost forgotten proverb, “Gone to Halifax.” The *Bonetta* was to return, and, with her crew and armament, given up. The traders within the lines were not counted as prisoners; they were granted a certain length of time to arrange their affairs and leave. During the occupation of Virginia an immense amount of private property had been taken from the inhabitants by British soldiers or their marauding expeditions; this could be reclaimed by its owners.

The terms of capitulation were arranged and signed by eleven on the morning of the 19th October; the British army was to march out at two o'clock the same day and lay down their arms. In the presence of quiet, but rejoicing, thousands who had flocked from the region round about, and of the allied armies, numbering sixteen thousand men, drawn up in becoming silence as for a review, the garrison of York marched to the place designated, and there laid down their arms. Lord Cornwallis, on the plea of indisposition—whether physical or moral is not definitely known—declined to be present, but sent Gen. O'Hara as his deputy to make the surrender. At Charleston, when Gen. Lincoln capitulated, the Americans were not permitted to march out with their colors flying, as had been granted to Burgoyne, but with colors cased. It was thought proper, therefore, on this occasion to deny the courtesy granted at Saratoga, and the British soldiers were directed to march out with their colors cased; and Gen. Lincoln was deputed by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. The garrison of Gloucester was surrendered with similar formality.

Yorktown was now a name to be honored, even beyond those of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. How much was involved in that surrender! The long struggle was virtually ended. It had been a contest, not for

power, not for aggrandizement, but for the establishment of a great principle. Said Lafayette to Napoleon, when he sneered at the smallness of the armies engaged in the American Revolution: "It was the grandest of causes, won by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts." It is true, the number who fell on the battle-fields of this war was comparatively small. The names of but few of these have come down to us; they were written only on the hearts of friends and relatives who mourned their loss. Scarcely was there a family but had a precious record; the cherished memory of some one who had thus sacrificed his life.

REJOICING AND THANKSGIVING.—The morning following the surrender, Washington, in General Orders, congratulated the combined armies on the success their bravery achieved. He added: "Divine service will be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions," and recommended that the soldiers should attend, "with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us." Such was the tone of feeling that pervaded the whole land; it burst forth from the household, from the pulpit, from the press. When Congress received the news, it proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God "for the special favor He had manifested to their struggling country." They also appointed a day of National Thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence."

The Congress voted thanks to Washington and to Counts de Rochambeau and de Grasse and to the officers and soldiers of both armies. It likewise passed resolutions to erect a monumental column at Yorktown in commemoration of the union of the American and French armies, and of the victory they had achieved. On the day of the surrender the tardy Sir Henry Clinton left Sandy Hook. Arriving at the Capes on the 24th October, he learned of the result, and found a French fleet far outnumbering his own. After lingering four days off the Capes, as nothing could now be done for the royal cause in Virginia, he returned to New York.

Washington was anxious to prosecute the war in the South vigorously and at once; especially to capture the two most important places held by the British, Charleston and Savannah. To accomplish this, it was necessary to have the cooperation of the French fleet, but Count de Grasse declined to assist, pleading as a reason the orders of the French Government, and that his presence with the fleet was essential

in the West Indies. Had this cooperation been attained, no doubt the enemy would have been forced to surrender those strongholds; instead, Washington could only send a detachment of two thousand Continentals or regulars to reinforce Gen. Greene.

A portion of the French troops, those under the Marquis St. Simon, embarked for home, while with the remainder De Rochambeau went into winter quarters at Williamsburg, in a central position, that, if need be, he could cooperate with Gen. Greene in the South or with the army on the Hudson. Meanwhile the British prisoners, under escort, were sent inland by regiments to Winchester in Virginia, to Frederick in Maryland, and to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. They were supplied, in respect to rations and comforts, in the same manner as the American soldiers.

Washington returned north, lingering for some weeks in Philadelphia to concert measures with the committees of Congress relative to the affairs of the army, and for the energetic prosecution of the next campaign. Meanwhile the victorious patriots moved on to their old quarters in Jersey and on the Hudson.

BE IT REMEMBERED!

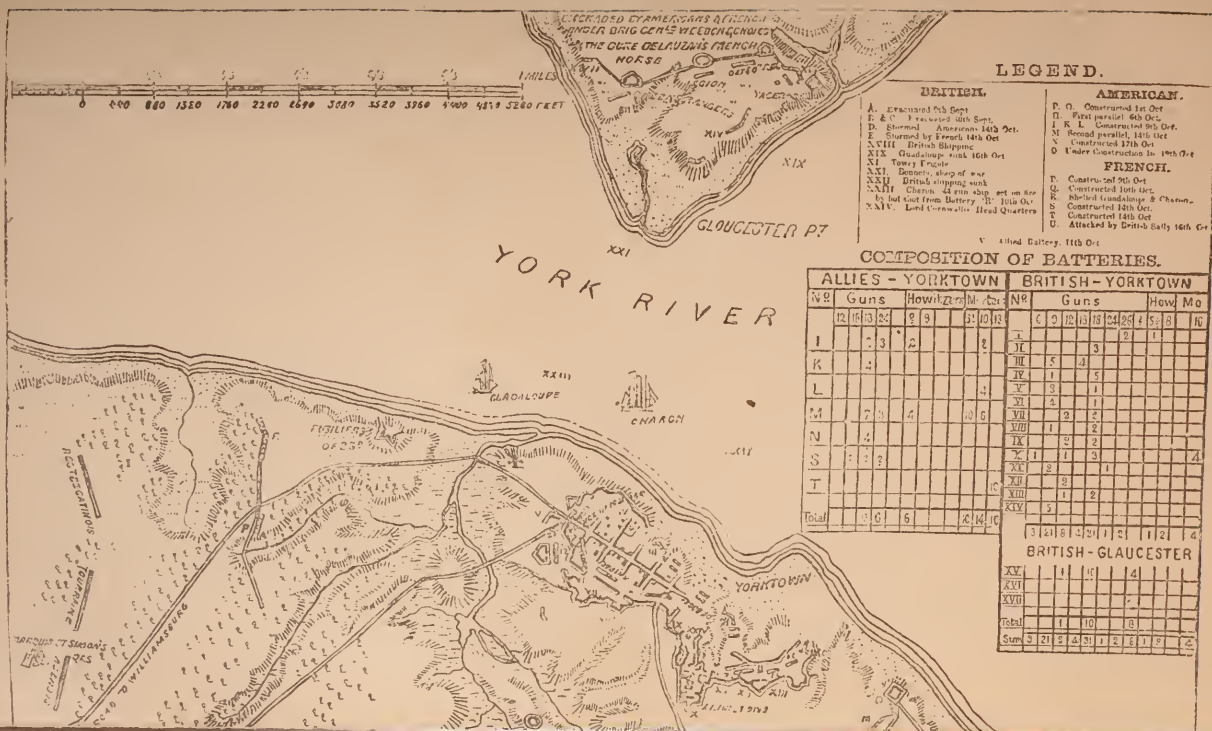
THAT on the 17th of October, 1781, Lieutenant-General Earl CORNWALLIS, with above Five thousand British Troops, surrendered themselves Prisoners of War to His Excellency Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, Commander in Chief of the allied Forces of France and America.

LAUS DEO!

FROM LOUDON'S NEW YORK PACKET

(Printed at Fishkill, Nov. 1, 1781)

On the three pages following are given the names and military disposition of the allied forces engaged in the Yorktown campaign, as arranged for the *Magazine of American History* (October, 1881), in which they were published.



THE SLUG OF YORKTOWN, 1781, COMPILED FROM THE FADEN (LONDON, 1781) AND THE RENAULT (AMERICAN, 1781) MAPS, BY LIEUT. L. V. CAZIARC, 2d ARTILLERY, 1881.

FRENCH OFFICERS AT THE SIEGE OF YORK

Arranged from original authorities

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, COMMANDING

GENERAL OFFICERS—Baron de Vioménil, Chevalier de Chastellux, Marquis de Saint-Simon, Chevalier de Vioménil, *Maréchaux-de-Camp*; M. de Choisy, *Brigadier*; M. de Béville, *Quartermaster-General*; M. Blanchard, *Commissary-General*.

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU—FIRST AID, Count de Fersen, *Second Lieutenant*; Chevalier de Lameth (Charles), *Colonel*; Count de Damas, *Colonel*; Count de Dumas, *Colonel*; Baron de Closen, *Captain*; M. de Laubardière, *Captain*; Baron Cromot-du-bourg, Chevalier de Béville, *Captain*. TO BARON DE VIOMENIL—Chevalier d'Olonne, *Second Lieutenant*; Marquis de Vauban; TO CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX—M. de Montesquieu.

GENERAL STAFF—AIDES MAJOR-GENERAL—M. de Ménonville, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Tarlé, *Lieut. Colonel*; M. de Bouchet, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR OF INFANTRY—M. Lynch, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR—M. de St. Félix, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR OF ARTILLERY—Chevalier de Plessis-Mauduit, *Capitaine-en-Second*; QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S AIDS—M. Collot, ———; M. M. de Béville (Junior), *Captain*; Count de Chabannes; Chevalier de Lameth (Alexandre), *Captain*; TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS—Alexander de Berthier, *Captain*; CAPTAIN OF THE GUIDES—M. Mullens, *Lieutenant*.

FIELD OFFICERS OF ROCHAMBEAU'S ARMY

REGIMENT BOURBONNAIS—Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Rochambeau, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. de Bressolles, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Gambs, *Major*.

REGIMENT SOISSONNAIS—Count de Saint-Maime, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Noailles, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. d'Anselme, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. Despeyron, *Major*.

REGIMENT ROYAL DEUX-PONTS—Marquis Christian des Deux-Ponts, Comte de Forbach, *Colonel*; Count Guillaume des Deux-Ponts, *Colonel-en-Second*; Count de Fersen, *Mestre-de-Camp*.

REGIMENT SAINTONGE—Count de Custine, *Colonel*; Count de Charlus, *Colonel-en-Second*; Chevalier de la Vallette, *Lieut.-Colonel*; de Fleury, *Major*.

LAUZUN'S LEGION—Duke de Lauzun, *Brigadier Commanding*; M. Scheldon, *Mestre-de-Camp of Hussars*.

REGIMENT DILLON—Count Arthur de Dillon, *Colonel*; Barthélémy Dillon, *Lieut.-Colonel*; Jacques O'Moran.

FIELD OFFICERS OF MARQUIS DE SAINT-SIMON'S ARMY

REGIMENT TOURAINE—Vicomte de Pondeux, *Colonel*; M. de Montlezun, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Ménonville, *Major*; Count de Flechin, Chevalier de Mirabeau (brother of the famous Tribune), *Mestres-de-Camp*.

REGIMENT AGENOIS—Count d'Audichamp, *Colonel*; Chevalier de Cadinau, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Beauregard, *Major*.

REGIMENT GATINOIS (ROYAL AUVERGNE)—Marquis de Rostaing, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Bethisy, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. de l'Estrade, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. Chapuy de Tourville, *Major*.

ROYAL ENGINEERS—M. de Querenet, *Colonel*; Cantel Danetville, *Major*.

ARTILLERY (REGIMENT AUXONNE), M. de Buzelet.

DISPOSITION AND ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES

ON THE

MARCH FROM WILLIAMSBURGII, TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

27TH SEPTEMBER 1781

Arranged by ASA BIRD GARDNER

His Excellency General GEORGE WASHINGTON, Commander-in-Chief

RIGHT WING (*first line*)

American forces

LEFT WING (*first line*)

French Auxiliary Forces

RIGHT WING (*American*)

Major General BENJAMIN LINCOLN, U. S. A., of Massachusetts, Commanding

FIRST OR RIGHT DIVISION (*right wing*)

Major General the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, U. S. A., Commanding

ADVANCE GUARD

1. Pennsylvania Volunteer Battalion Riflemen, Major WM. PARR of Pa., Commanding
2. 4th Regiment Continental Light Dragoons, Colonel STEPHEN MOYLAN of Penn.

Second or Left Brigade (1st Division)

Colonel MOSES HAZEN, Canadian Regiment, Continental Infantry, Commanding Brigade, viz.:

Regiment of Light Infantry, composed of the Light Infantry Companies of the 1st and 2d New Hampshire Continental Infantry, of the Canadian Regiment, and 1st and 2d New Jersey Continental Infantry, under Colonel ALEXANDER SCAMMELL, 1st New Hampshire Continental Infantry, and Major NATHAN RICE, A. D. C., of Mass.

2d Battalion of Light Infantry (4 Companies) composed of the Light Companies 1st and 2d New York Continental Infantry, and 2 Companies of New York Levies, under Lieut. Colonel ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of New York, and Major NICHOLAS FISH, 2d New York Continental Infantry.

3d Canadian Continental Regiment, Infantry, Lieut. Colonel EDWARD ANTILL, Commanding.

First or Right Brigade (1st Division)

Brig. General JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUELLENBERG, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, Commanding Brigade, viz.:

Regiment of Light Infantry (8 Companies) composed of the Light Infantry Companies of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Regiments, Massachusetts Continental Infantry, under Colonel JOSEPH VOSE, 1st Massachusetts, and Major GALVAN, unattached.

Regiment of Light Infantry (8 Companies) composed of the Light Infantry, Companies of the 9th and 10th Massachusetts Continental Infantry, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th Regiments, Connecticut Continental Infantry, and Rhode Island Regiment, Continental Infantry under Lieut. Colonel J. GIMAT, A. D. C., and Major JOHN PALSgrave WYLLIS, 3d Connecticut.

SECOND OR CENTER DIVISION (*right wing*)

Major General BARON DE STEUBEN, Inspector General U. S. A., Commanding

2d or Left Brigade (2d Division)

Brig. General ANTHONY WAYNE, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, Commanding, viz.:

1st Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of 1st and 2d Regiments consolidated. Colonel DANIEL BRODHEAD, Commanding.

2d Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of 3d and 5th Regiments consolidated. Colonel RICHARD BUTLER, Commanding.

3d Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of the 4th and 6th Regiments consolidated. Lieut. Colonel WM. BUTLER, Commanding.

1st Virginia Continental Infantry, Lieut. THOS. GASKINS, 3d Virginia Continental Infantry, Commanding.

1st or Right Brigade (2d Division)

Brig. General MORDECAI GIST, U. S. A., of Maryland, Commanding, viz.:

3d Maryland Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel PETER ADAMS, Commanding.

4th Maryland Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel THOMAS WOOLFORD, Commanding.

5th Maryland Continental Infantry, Major ALEXANDER ROXBURGH, Commanding.

Baltimore Light Dragoons, Colonel NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE.

Frederick Light Dragoons, ———.

THIRD OR LEFT DIVISION (*right wing*)

Brigadier General JAMES CLINTON, U. S. A., of New York, Commanding

2d or Left Brigade (3d Division)

Colonel ELIAS DAYTON, 2d New Jersey Continental Infantry, Commanding, viz.:
 1st Regiment New Jersey Continental Infantry, Colonel MATTHIAS OGDEN, Commanding.
 2d Regiment New Jersey Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel FRANCIS BARBER, Commanding.
 Rhode Island Regiment Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel Comd't JEREMIAH OLNEY, Commanding.

1st or Right Brigade (3d Division)

Colonel GOOSE VAN SCHAIK, 1st Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Commanding, viz.:
 1st Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel CORNELIUS VAN DYCK, Commanding.
 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Colonel PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT, Commanding.

LEFT WING (*French*)

Lieut. General COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, Commanding

The precise disposition of these French troops is not known. The composition of the army of Rochambeau will be found on the next page.

INTERMEDIATE LINE

<i>Left</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Right</i>
1st Virginia State Regiment Infantry in Continental Service, Colonel GEORGE GIBSON, Commanding.	Brig. General CHEVALIER LE BEGUE DU PORTAIL, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., Commanding. Battalion of Sappers and Miners.	Brig. General HENRY KNOX, U. S. A., of the Artillery, Commanding Park of Artillery, viz.: 2d Regiment Continental Corps of Artillery, Colonel JOHN LAMB, of New York, Commanding, Lieut. Colonel EBENEZER STEVENS, Major SEBASTIAN BAUMAN. To this regiment was attached temporarily Lieut. Colonel EDWARD CARRINGTON, of Virginia Artillery.

RESERVE OR SECOND LINE

His Excellency, THOMAS NELSON, Governor of Virginia (ranking as Major General U. S. A.), Commanding Division Virginia Militia

Left Brigade

Brigadier General EDWARD STEVENS, Virginia Militia (formerly Colonel 10th Virginia Continentals), Commanding Brigade Virginia Militia.

Right Brigade

Brigadier General ROBERT LAWSON, Virginia Militia (formerly Colonel 4th Virginia Continentals), Commanding Brigade Virginia Militia.

REAR GUARD

Major JAMES R. REID, Canadian Continental Regiment Infantry, Commanding Rear Guard and Camp Guard

THE FRANKLIN MEDAL

THE medal (outlines of which are given below) struck in France by Benjamin Franklin, then Minister of the United States to that court, originated in connection with the project of erecting the memorial monument already mentioned, as shown in the following extracts from correspondence between Dr. Franklin and Robert R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

Livingston to Franklin.

PHILADELPHIA, December 16, 1781.

"I enclose a resolution of Congress for erecting a pillar to commemorate the victory at Yorktown. I must request your assistance in enabling me to carry it into effect, so far as it relates to me, by sending the sketch they require, with an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended. . . ."

Franklin to Livingston.

PASSY, March 4, 1782.

"I will endeavor to procure a sketch of an emblem for the purpose you mention. This puts me in mind of a medal I have had a mind to strike since the last great event you gave me an account of, representing the United States by the figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle strangling the two serpents, and France by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few *fleurs de lis*. The extinguishment of two entire armies in one war is what has rarely

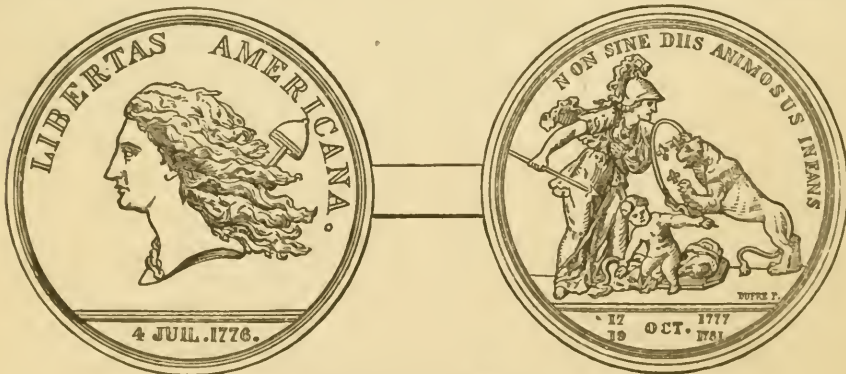
happened, and it gives a presage of the future force of our growing empire."

Franklin to Livingston.

PASSY, April 15, 1783.

"I have caused to be struck here the medal which I formerly mentioned to you, the design of which you seemed to approve. I enclose one in silver for the President of Congress, and one in copper for yourself. The impression in copper is thought to appear best, and you will soon receive a number for the members. I have presented one to the King and another to the Queen, both in gold, and one in silver to each of the ministers, as a monumental acknowledgment, which may go down to future ages, of the obligations we are under to this nation.' It is mighty well received, and gives general pleasure. If the Congress approve of it, as I hope they will, I may add something on the die (for those to be struck hereafter), to show that it was done by their order, which I could not venture to do till I had authority for it.

B. FRANKLIN."



DESCRIPTION OF THE MEDAL.

From Loubat's Medallie History of the United States.

LIBERTAS AMERICANA (American Liberty).—The head of a beautiful maiden facing the left, with dishevelled hair floating in the wind; and with the rod of liberty, surmounted by the Phrygian cap, on her right shoulder. Exergue, 4 Jul, 1776. On edge of bust, DUPRÉ F. (fecit). **NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS (The courageous child was aided by the gods).**—The infant Hercules (America), in his cradle, is strangling two serpents, while Minerva (France) stands by, helmeted and with spear in her right hand, ready to strike a leopard (England), whose attacks she wards off with her shield, decked with the lilies of France. Exergue, 1777 OCT. 1791 DUPRÉ F. (fecit).

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

AFTER THE SURRENDER—For long and weary months now the armies remained in their quarters, keeping a vigilant watch. Time wore along, and the troops became demoralized and wearied by the irksomeness of waiting while it was said that negotiations for peace were in progress—negotiations in which they had no share, and whose results they could not see. After the surrender a few skirmishes occurred between the opposing forces in the South. In one of these, in the vicinity of Charleston, John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, was slain; a young man of great promise, and whose services in behalf of his country were notable, he was universally lamented. The British, soon after they learned of the disaster to Cornwallis, evacuated their outposts in the South and concentrated their forces in Charleston and Savannah; in the North, New York was the only place in their possession. These three cities were thus held until peace was concluded.

It was two years after the surrender that the American troops remained on the Hudson and in Jersey, chafing under the delay; they were restless because they wished to be disbanded and return to their homes. They had received but little of their pay, and in consequence they suffered great privations. Congress passed resolutions to relieve the army, but it had no power to enforce them; the resources of the people were well-nigh exhausted, and distress reigned throughout the land. The soldiers of the army manifested their patriotism under these trials by remaining faithful to their duties; three years before, Congress had voted to give them half pay for life, but this promise could not be fulfilled, and it was changed to full pay for five years, and an advance of full pay for four months. Their patience was nearly exhausted. Washington wrote urgent letters in their behalf to the Secretary of War, and through him to Congress. He spoke of these patriotic men being turned out on the world "soured by penury, involved in debts, without one farthing to carry them home." It was not strange that discontent prevailed among the men and officers; they were sadly disappointed at the delay of peace, while the diplomatists of France and England at Paris were delaying negotiations in order, if possible, to overreach each other, and the American commissioners had only to wait.

At the same time rivalries and jealousies were increasing among the States; their condition was anomalous; there was no nucleus around which their hopes of success might crystallize, unless it was Congress,

which could not enforce its own decrees. The experiment of a republic on a large scale had not been tried, and it was not clear how a number of States could be welded into a government worthy of respect.

To this general condition of discontent may be traced the origin of the famous address known afterward to have been written by Captain Armstrong, son of General Armstrong, of Pennsylvania.

This address, which was privately circulated in camp, embodied the sentiments of a few officers; but there was evidently a deep undertone of feeling abroad among the soldiers which thus found expression. It called upon the officers to assemble and take measures themselves to have their wrongs redressed, and compel Congress to pay their just demands. The following morning in general orders Washington took the opportunity to disapprove of the call as a violation of discipline; he also named a day for the officers to assemble to hear the report of their committee, which had been sent to lay their grievances before Congress. This forestalled the meeting to be held under the call of the address, as four days later that of the officers was to take place. Meanwhile another but much milder address was issued from the same source.

The meeting announced by the Commander-in-chief was held. General Gates, being second in command, was elected chairman. When it was organized, Washington came in and made a forcible yet a soothing speech, pointing out the evils that would result from the adoption of the measures that were proposed in the addresses. He appealed to their patriotism, and urged them to make one more effort for their country, whose justice he hoped they would not distrust. He pledged his word to exert all his influence with Congress to redress their grievances and fulfil its own promises. The soldiers for the most part understood well the difficulties under which the people labored in the exhausted condition of the whole land. The meeting, after Washington withdrew, passed resolutions strongly condemning the spirit disclosed in the addresses. It shows the deep underlying sentiment of obedience to law, and the integrity of the people, that a crisis so threatening was safely passed through by these half-clad, half-fed, and less than half-paid soldiers.

The official news of the surrender was received in England (Nov. 25th, 1781) with great surprise; for this result seems to have been unexpected, as the impression was abroad that Cornwallis was able to take the aggressive whenever he chose. The king and his ministry and the greater portion of the aristocracy—the war party—were thunder-struck. Lord North, who had been Prime Minister for twelve years, and encouraged the king in his prosecution of the war, it is said

“paced his room, and throwing his arms wildly about kept exclaiming, ‘O God ! it is all over ; it is all over.’ ” Public opinion compelled him to resign. The king was still unwilling to give up the contest, but the people had grown weary of the war and the expense, and were willing to have peace even at the price of acknowledging the independence of the rebellious Colonies. They were convinced that the Government had been unreasonably harsh in its treatment of the Colonies ; yet the war party seem to have been unable to appreciate this feeling among the mass of the intelligent English people, who sympathized with the Americans, struggling for that political freedom which had been for generations the boast and heritage of Englishmen.

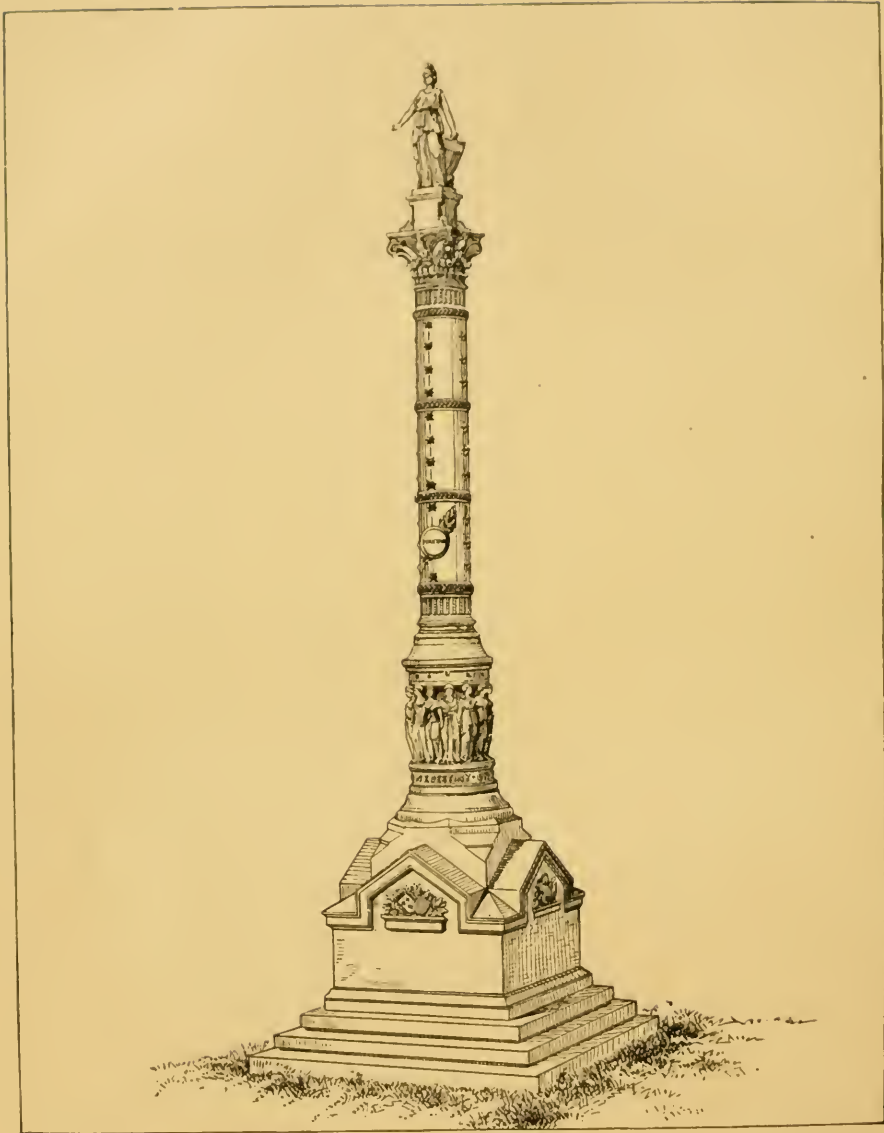
Sir Henry Clinton was recalled, and in defending himself against charges of inefficiency he endeavored to throw the blame of the great failure on Cornwallis ; the latter retorted by declaring that had he been permitted to carry out his own plans the result would have been different. Cornwallis was afterward promoted and made Governor-General of India. Sir Guy Carleton was sent to take command at New York instead of Clinton. When Governor of Canada, Carleton had won the respect of the Americans by his fair dealing. Almost the first order he now issued was to forbid the Indians and Tories making marauding incursions from Canada into New York State. Being authorized, he made overtures for peace by addressing a letter to Washington.

PEACE—Congress thereupon appointed five commissioners to arrange a treaty with Great Britain—John Adams, Doctor Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens (who had been a prisoner confined in the Tower, but now exchanged for Cornwallis), and John Jay. The two British commissioners met the Americans in Paris. The latter came prepared to demand that Britain should retain the valley of the Ohio, and the greater portion of what is now the State of Maine as belonging to Nova Scotia ; and in their instructions they were authorized to treat with “certain colonies.” The latter phrase was inserted, it seems, to gratify the stubbornness of the king. The American commissioners refused to enter upon negotiations unless in the name of the United States of America, and as an independent nation. This was conceded on the 30th of November, 1782. A preliminary treaty was made and signed ; this Congress ratified in April, 1783. Negotiations meanwhile continued, and the final treaty was not completed until the 3d of September, 1783. France and England also made a treaty of peace, and the American commissioners concluded treaties of commerce with Hol-

land and Spain, thus commencing the career of the new nation. Before the treaty of peace had been signed and ratified, on the 19th of April, 1783, the cessation of hostilities and a general peace were proclaimed in the camp at Newburgh, on the Hudson. The date is a notable one in American history. The 19th of April, 1783, was the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, eight years before, which inaugurated the War of the Revolution; and eighty-six years later, on the 19th of April, 1861, was shed in the streets of Baltimore the first blood in the War of the Rebellion. The results of both wars established great principles promoting the welfare of the American people for all time.

The soldiers of Burgoyne who had been captured at Saratoga (October 13th, 1777) had now been prisoners more than five years; they were encamped in log huts at Charlottesville, Va. Together with the men of Cornwallis' command they were now marched to New York, where a general exchange of prisoners took place. Numbers of these British soldiers, it is said, deserted on this march, and remained in the country. The Tories of New York were mostly wealthy; their lot was hard indeed, but they had little sympathy from the people, who had suffered by their rapacity when they held office in the British service. The laws of the States enacted in respect to Tories were severe, and now at the close of the contest thousands of them bade farewell to their native country. Some went to Nova Scotia and Canada; those in the South emigrated principally to the West Indies. For some time evils came home to the domestic hearth; members of families were alienated; some had been Whigs and some Tories, and the rancor that so often prevails in times of civil discord marred the happiness of many thousands. It is pleasant to record, however, that some years later a spirit of forgiveness began to pervade the minds of the American people, and this led to the repeal of the laws against the Tories; in consequence great numbers of them returned to their native land, and became worthy citizens.

With what sacrifices independence was at last attained! The ruins of towns attested the calamities of war, as well as a ravaged country and prostrated industries, while in addition an enormous debt was contracted by the States and by Congress. To estimate the amount of this debt and the difficulties in paying it, we must take into consideration the limited resources of the United States in that day. But no sacrifice can be too great to pay for such blessings as have followed in the train of liberty on this grand continent. Happy as were those who gained that for which they suffered, they could not have imagined the glorious results of their heroism.



DESIGN FOR THE YORKTOWN MONUMENT.

THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

1781-1881

THE importance of the surrender of Cornwallis made its centennial anniversary one of national interest, second only to that of the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776. All the other anniversaries of this centennial period had been more or less local; the most important being that of Saratoga.

PLANS FOR CELEBRATION—In October, 1879, the Governors of the original Thirteen States, either personally or by their representatives, met in council in Philadelphia to devise measures by which the people of the whole Union could unite in celebrating this event, so influential in the nation's history. The interest in the subject increased from the time of the meeting of this council, and nearly all the old Thirteen States, through the action of their Legislatures and committees of prominent citizens, made arrangements to take part in the ceremonies.

On the 3d of December, 1879, Mr. John Goode, of Virginia, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution which led to the appointment of a select committee of that body, consisting of thirteen members, to act conjointly with a similar one of the same number to be appointed from the Senate. The duties of this joint committee were to inquire into the expediency of erecting at Yorktown the memorial monument originally ordered by Congress in 1781, but never accomplished, and "to make all the necessary arrangements for such a celebration by the American people of the centennial anniversary of the battle of Yorktown, on the 19th of October, 1881, as shall befit the historical significance of that event and the present greatness of the nation." This bill, being concurred in by both Houses of Congress, was approved by President Hayes June 7th, 1880.

For the purpose of aiding the National Government in the celebration, The Yorktown Centennial Association was organized under the laws of Virginia. Its declared purpose was "to promote and secure a proper celebration." They resolved to purchase land, and "to secure through the issue of stock sufficient means to provide the proper accommodations for the people who will desire to visit the historic ground;" saying, "the grounds will be free to all Government and State officials, and the invited guests of the Federal Commission." The citizens were expected to pay a small charge for admission, to partly reimburse the few who advanced the funds to provide the necessary accommodations.

THE INVITATIONS—A joint resolution of Congress authorized and requested the President "to extend to the Government and people of France, and the family of General Lafayette, a cordial invitation to unite with the Government and people of the United States, on the 19th day of October, 1881, in a fit and appropriate observance of the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown." As this invitation included only the official representatives of the French Republic and the family of Lafayette, it was thought proper to extend the invitation to the descendants of other French officers who did service in the cause. In accordance with this sentiment, at a conference held in the City of New York (May 30th, 1881) by the Yorktown Centennial Association, with the commissioners appointed by the Governors of the original Thirteen States and the commissioner who represented Congress, it was resolved to invite personally "the descendants bearing the name of Count de Rochambeau, Admiral de Grasse, and Admiral de Barras, to be present at the celebration and to become our guests during its continuance;" and also that the French Government be requested to send a detachment of its fleet and army, and that "while in American waters, the fleet and army, its commanders and officers, be the guests of the nation."

The Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, by direction of President Garfield, tendered through the American Minister, Andrew D. White, at Berlin, "an invitation to the representatives of Baron Steuben* in Germany to attend the celebration as guests of the Government of the United States;" saying also, "Those who come as representatives of the Baron Steuben's family will be assured, in this day of peace and prosperity, of as warm a welcome as was given to their illustrious kinsman in the dark days of adversity and war."

The Legislature of Rhode Island (June 3d, 1881), after enumerating the advantages the people of that State received from the French fleets when moored in Narragansett Bay in 1778-80, and from their army encamped at Newport, in protection from marauding excursions of the common enemy, authorized the Governor "to invite the representatives of France who visit the United States to participate in the celebration in October, to visit Rhode Island." A committee of citizens was designated by the Governor "to assist him in entertaining the guests of the State." Similar invitations were extended from nearly all the old Thirteen States, the Governors of which were authorized to extend the courtesies of their respective States to the delegation of the French Republic. In these States also, committees composed of prominent citizens aided the authorities in entertaining the nation's guests.

* Pronounced in German, *Stoiben*.

THE CELEBRATION

OPENING SERVICES—In accordance with arrangements, religious services were held, on Sunday, October 16th, in the pavilion erected by the Centennial Association in the grounds to the south of Yorktown. The attendance was not as large as expected, the crowd of visitors not arriving till the following day.

The French and German guests were still at Washington enjoying the hospitalities of the capital. They were first conducted to the State Department by the French and German Ministers, who introduced them to the Secretary of State and the other members of the Cabinet. Thence they were taken in carriages to the Capitol, in a procession formed to escort them, and accompanied by the Cabinet. Along Pennsylvania Avenue were displayed the French and German flags blended with the Stars and Stripes. On reaching the Capitol they were formally received in the Rotunda by the President, the Senate having taken a recess in order to be present at the presentation. That body soon reconvened, and the guests were escorted to the Senate Chamber, where they were formally welcomed by a few appropriate words from Senator Bayard, of Delaware. The guests were the recipients of many courtesies while they remained in Washington.

THE NATIONAL CEREMONIES — On Monday evening, the 17th, several steamers left Washington laden with

those who were to take part in the ceremonies on the following day. They passed down the Potomac into Chesapeake Bay, and up York River to Yorktown. About daylight most of the steamers from Washington arrived. Hampton Roads presented a brilliant appearance, with its men-of-war, private yachts, and other steamers and sailing craft from the Hudson and the Chesapeake, from Richmond, Norfolk, and Baltimore. Among the war-vessels were the French frigate *Magicienne* and her consort, the ram *Dumont D'Orville*. Here were seen a long line of American war-vessels—the *Tennessee*, the *Franklin*, the old *Constitution*, the *Kearsarge*, which sunk the *Alabama*, and nine or ten other men-of-war.

The Marquis de Rochambeau, Commandant Lichtenstein, the representative of President Grévy, and General Boulanger of the French army, together with the French Minister, Outrey, and the German guests, the Von Steubens, all came down on the steamer *City of Catskill*. Mons. Edmond de Lafayette, the expected representative of the family of his grandfather, the great Marquis, was prevented by personal affairs, and did not come to the celebration; but the following great-grandchildren of Lafayette were present: Octave de Pacy, Chef de Bataillon du Génie, Attaché au Ministère de la Guerre; Comte Paul de Beaumont; Sigismond de Sahune, Lieut. 20th Dragons; Gas-

ton de Sahune, Sous Préfet de Toul ; and François de Corcelle, Secrétaire d'Embassade. The Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, had these guests and numerous invited visitors under his charge. The Magicienne was the first to fire a salute in honor of the Marquis de Rochambeau and the French officials who accompanied him. "Now," said the Marquis, as he went on board the frigate, "we shall be in France awhile." The influence of the principles in defence of which the American Revolution was fought out have more power and have met fuller recognition in France than in any other country in Europe. The soldiers who served under De Rochambeau and the Marquis St. Simon carried home ideas of human rights as yet unknown to the common people of that country. These sentiments were handed down from those soldiers to their posterity. Said De Rochambeau, "I am half an American ; I was nourished in my childhood on the memories of Washington and the American Revolution." He was a visitor at the centennial celebration of 1876.

THE MONUMENT—As we have seen, the first impulse of the Continental Congress on the reception of the news of the surrender of Cornwallis was to go as a body to the Dutch Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, in which city it was in session, and there in a public and formal manner render thanks to Almighty God, and then pass resolutions of thanks to the principal actors in securing the great triumph. It was further resolved (October 29th,

1781), to have "erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and His Most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis." But this appropriate resolution could not be carried out, for want of means, and it was postponed to a more convenient season, which arrived only at the close of one hundred years. On the 7th of June, 1880, Congress appropriated the sum of \$100,000, to be expended "under the direction of the Secretary of War, in erecting at Yorktown, in Virginia, the monument" designated by the Congress of 1781.

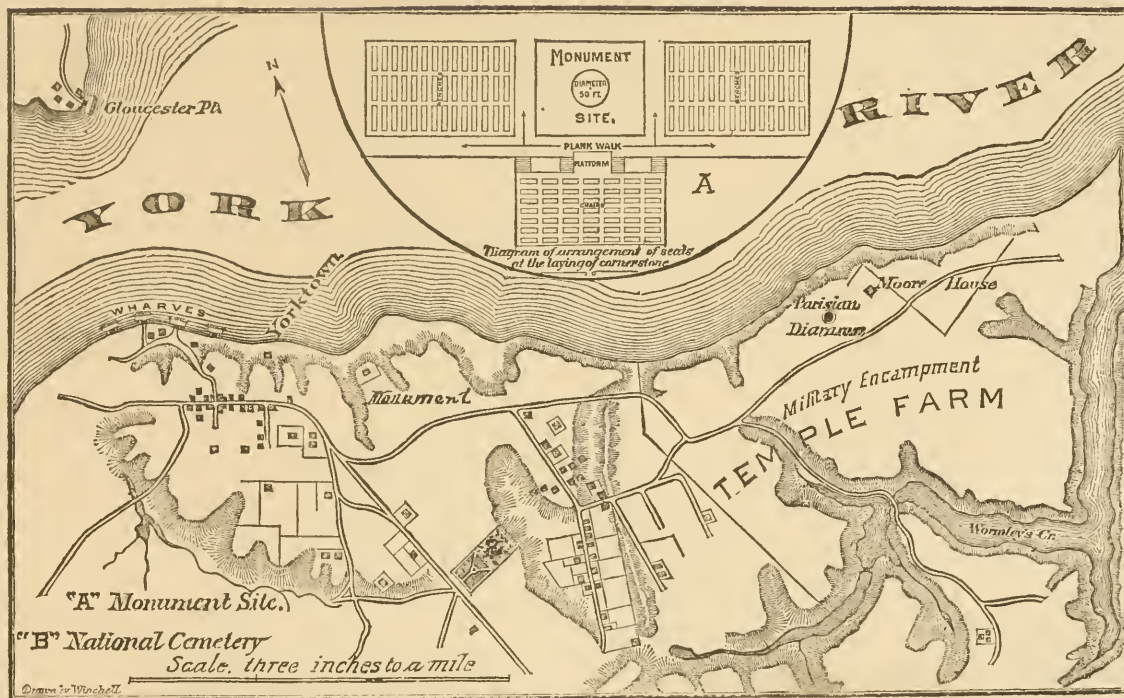
The Secretary of War appointed a commission of the following named gentlemen : J. Q. A. Ward and R. Hunt, of New York, and Henry Van Brunt, of Boston, to prepare a design for the proposed monument. They reported one which was adopted.

The monument is to be composed of three principal parts.

(*See Illustration.*) The square *Base*, mounted on graded steps and finished at the top with pediments to bear the superstructure, is 37 feet high and 38 feet square. Its four sides bear the following inscriptions :

North Side.—Erected in pursuance of a Resolution of Congress adopted October 29, 1781, and an Act of Congress approved June 7, 1880, to Commemorate the Victory by which the Independence of the United States of America was achieved. *East Side.*—The Provisional Articles of Peace concluded November 30, 1782, and the Definitive Treaty of Peace concluded September 3, 1783, between the United States of America and George III., King of Great Britain and Ireland, declare : His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be Free Sovereign and Indepen-

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SITE OF THE SIEGE—DIAGRAM OF THE CELEBRATION.

dent States. *South Side*.—At York on October 19, 1781, after a siege of nineteen days by 5500 American and 7000 French Troops of the Line, 3500 Virginia Militia under command of General Thomas Nelson, and 36 French Ships of War, Earl Cornwallis, Commander of the British Force at York and Gloucester, surrendered his Army, 7251 Officers and Men, 840 Seamen, 244 Cannon, and 24 Standards, to His Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-chief of the combined Forces of America and France, to His Excellency the Comte de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary Troops of His Most Christian Majesty in America, and to His Excellency the Comte de Grasse, Commanding-in-chief the Naval Army of France in Chesapeake. *West Side*.—The Treaty concluded February 6, 1778, between the United States of America and Louis XVI., King of France, declares: the essential and direct end of the present defensive Alliance is to maintain effectually the Liberty, Sovereignty, and Independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of Government as of Commerce.

In the pediments surmounting these four sides respectively are carved in relief, emblems of nationality, war, French and American alliance, and peace.

Above this base rises a *Podium*, in the form of a cylinder or drum, 25½ feet high and 13 feet in diameter, encircled by thirteen typical female figures, hand in hand, engaged in a solemn dance, symbolizing the youthful group of States. On a band beneath their feet are carved the words, "One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny."

Upon this drum stands the main *Column* or shaft, composed not of a single stone but of three successive drums or circular courses of masonry, the horizontal joints at once masked and adorned with bands of laurel wreaths, and the vertical joints by a decoration of stars symmetrically disposed, breaking the outline of the column. The shaft is 60 feet high and 7½ feet in diameter at the base.

The monument is surmounted by a graceful and dignified figure of Liberty. The site of the monument is at the southern end of the village. It stands on a bluff fifty or sixty feet high, and can be seen for miles, from both land and water.

LAYING THE CORNER-STONE.—An immense concourse of people had already assembled, so that almost

every section of the Union now had representatives present. The various orders, civil and military, met (October 18th) at Lafayette Hall in the village, where Governor Holliday, of Virginia, gave a formal reception to the Governors of the other States who were present, most of whom were accompanied by their wives. The ceremonies were opened with prayer by the Rev. Robert Nelson, a grandson of the Virginia Governor Nelson, whose name is so identified with the siege; who not only called out the Virginia militia, and commanded them in person during the campaign, but who, when the cannonade of Yorktown was about to commence, being asked where the attack would be most effective, pointed out a large, handsome house on a rising ground as the probable headquarters of the enemy. It was his own private residence.

An admirable and patriotic address was made by Governor Holliday. He gave in the name of Virginia a cordial welcome to the nation's foreign guests, and to the officials and others from the States and Territories. Governor Holliday's fine presence and clear, earnest delivery made his address effective, and portions of it were enthusiastically applauded, especially his reference to past discords and present harmony between sections of the common country. He said:

"A short time ago the country was torn by discord, and civil war strode through the land with a fierceness rarely equalled. When the fight was over the sword was sheathed, the

battle-flag was furled, the wrecks of dismantled and shattered homes were gathered up—sometimes with tears, sometimes with 'thoughts too deep for tears,' traditions and associations that were interwoven through the governmental and social fabric, and, though they had caused dissensions on either side, were precious, were rolled up like a scroll and laid away forever. Together again, as a united people, under the old ensign, flaming aloft and before us like a star in the serene sky, we are marching to still grander triumphs, bearing on our Atlantean shoulders an enfranchised race to the blessing of our own civilization. In the midst of the fury of partisan strife, however bitter or however honest, it has always appeared that, as we have loved our aims, we have loved our country more.

"When the hand of the assassin struck our President down, there was not a home or heart, from sea to sea, from which earnest prayers did not go up for his recovery. And when death came there was not one that was not draped in mourning and bowed in deepest sorrow. He was to have been with us to-day and have joined in these august ceremonies. It has been otherwise ordained. But his honored successor is here, and his Cabinet, and the Yorktown Congressional Commission, and representatives of every department of the United States Government, and the people of the sister States and Territories, and citizens of foreign nations, to participate in the proceedings of this historic day. Virginia gives them cordial welcome! Providence decreed that her soil should be the scene of the last great act of the Revolution. Her citizens rejoice that they can grant it to all the States, and join them in building thereon a memorial which they trust may be as lasting as the emblem it typifies, and that both may be immortal."

After the address a procession was formed and moved to the site, where the corner-stone of the monument was laid in accordance with Masonic forms. The gavel used in the ceremony was made from a portion of the

United States frigate *Lawrence*, flagship of Commodore O. H. Perry, when he annihilated the British fleet (September 10th, 1813) on Lake Erie; the same gavel had been used in laying the corner-stone of the monument on the Monmouth battlefield in New Jersey, (June, 30th, 1878), and of the Egyptian Obelisk in Central Park, New York City (October 9th, 1880). The sash and apron worn by the Grand Master were worked by Madame Lafayette and presented to Washington at Mount Vernon. Some have thought that it would have been more fitting if the ceremony of laying a corner-stone for a monument, designed as a memorial of a national event of such importance, had been performed by the President of the United States.

THE ADDRESSES—The interest in the ceremonies culminated on the 19th, the real anniversary of the surrender. The throng present was immense, including Governors of States, mayors of cities, prominent public men, and army officers. The same officials of the National Government and the foreign guests that assisted at the laying of the corner-stone the day before were present, besides an increased number of other spectators. The proceedings passed off without a jar, and gave great satisfaction to the vast assembly.

The ceremonies were opened with prayer by Bishop Harris, of New York; this was followed by appropriate music, and a Centennial Hymn was sung. President Arthur made

the following brief address, admirable in sentiment, and most felicitous in taste and style :

" Upon this soil one hundred years ago our forefathers brought to a successful issue their heroic struggle for independence. Here and then was established, and as we trust made secure upon this continent for ages yet to come, that principle of government which is the very fiber of our political system, the sovereignty of the people. The resentments which attended and for a time survived the clash of arms have long since ceased to animate our hearts. It is with no feeling of exultation over a defeated foe that to-day we summon up a remembrance of those events which have made holy the ground whereon we tread. Surely no such unworthy sentiment could find harbor in our hearts, so profoundly thrilled with expressions of sorrow and sympathy which our national bereavement has evolved from the people of England and their august sovereign ; but it is altogether fitting that we should gather here to refresh our souls with the contemplation of the unfaltering patriotism, the steady zeal and sublime faith, which achieved the results we now commemorate.

" For so, if we learn aright the lesson of the hour, shall we be incited to transmit to the generation which shall follow, the precious legacy which our fathers left to us, the love of liberty protected by law. Of that historic scene which we here celebrate, no feature is more prominent and none more touching than the participation of our gallant allies from across the sea. It was their presence which gave fresh and vigorous impulse to the hopes of our countrymen when well-nigh disheartened by a long series of disasters. It was that noble and generous aid, extended in the darkest period of the struggle, which sped the coming of our triumph, and made the capitulation at Yorktown possible a century ago. To their descendants and representatives who are here present as the honored guests of the nation it is my glad duty to offer cordial welcome. You have a right to share with us the associations which cluster about the day when your fathers fought

side by side with our fathers in the cause which was here crowned with success, and none of the memories awakened by this anniversary are more grateful to us all than the reflection that the national friendships here so closely cemented have outlasted the mutations of a changeful century. God grant, my countrymen, that they may ever remain unshaken, and that ever henceforth with ourselves and with all the nations of the earth we may be at peace."

The President's address was listened to without demonstration on the part of the audience, but at its close its sentiments were enthusiastically applauded.

Monsieur Max Outrey, the French Minister, was then introduced by Secretary Blaine, and addressed the audience in English. Speaking in behalf of the French delegation, he said :

" Each and all of us are proud of having been called to the honor of representing France on this auspicious day. The monument which is here to be erected will perpetuate the recollections of an ever-faithful alliance. . . . In coming to this Yorktown Centennial we come to celebrate the day which ended that long and bitter struggle against a great nation, now our mutual ally and friend, who, here as under all skies where her flag has floated, has left ineffaceable marks of her grand and civilizing spirit. . . . When, one hundred years ago, as to-day, the French and the Americans grasped each other's hands at Yorktown, they realized that they had helped to lay the corner-stone of a great edifice. . . . France is proud of having contributed to found this great Republic, and her wishes for your prosperity are deep and sincere. The mutual friendship is founded on many affinities of taste and aspirations which time cannot destroy, and future generations, I trust, will assist in this same place at the spectacle, unprecedented in history, of two great nations renewing from century to century a compact of fraternal and imperishable affection."

The Marquis de Rochambeau also made a graceful response, in French. Among other things, he said: "What our fathers did in 1781, we, their sons, would be willing to do today to attest our constant friendship, and to further show that we cherish the same sentiments as our fathers in that glorious day we celebrate."

Colonel von Steuben made an appropriate but brief address in German.

The Centennial Ode, composed by Paul Hayne, of South Carolina, and set to music by Joseph Mosenthal, of New York, was then sung by the chorus led by Professor Seigel, and accompanied by the Marine Band. This was followed by a song commencing with "God save our President from harm," which was rendered admirably by Harrison Millard, of New York. After this came the event of the day, the scholarly oration by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston.

THE ORATION—This was one of the most thrilling and eloquent historical orations of the period, and was listened to with intense interest by the large and unusually intelligent audience. The orator presented vividly the condition of the two united armies at the time of the campaign, many incidents of the siege, America's obligation to France, and her own responsibility to preserve intact the institutions inherited from the fathers.

His mention of Lafayette, in connection with the French intervention in behalf of the American colonies, was most apt. Said he:

"We may not forget, indeed, that our own Franklin, the great Bostonian, had long been one of the American com-

missioners in Paris, and that the fame of his genius, the skill and adroitness of his negotiations, and the magnetism of his personal character and presence, were no secondary or subordinate elements in the results which were accomplished.

"But signal as his services were, Franklin cannot be named as standing first in this connection. Nearly two years before his treaties were negotiated and signed, a step had been taken by another than Franklin, which led, directly and indirectly, to all that followed. The young Lafayette, then but nineteen years of age, a captain of the French dragoons stationed at Metz, at a dinner given by the commandant of the garrison to the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of George III., happened to hear the tidings of our Declaration of Independence, which had reached the Duke that very morning from London. It formed the subject of animated and excited conversation, in which the enthusiastic young soldier took part. And before he had left the table, an inextinguishable spark had been struck and kindled in his breast, and his whole heart was on fire in the cause of American liberty. Regardless of the remonstrances of his friends, of the Ministry, and of the King himself, in spite of every discouragement and obstacle, he soon tears himself away from a young and lovely wife, leaps on board a vessel which he had provided for himself, braves the perils of a voyage across the Atlantic, then swarming with cruisers, reaches Philadelphia by way of Charleston, South Carolina, and so wins at once the regard and confidence of the Continental Congress, by this avowed desire to risk his life in our service, at his own expense, without pay or allowance of any sort, that on the 31st of July, 1777, before he was yet quite twenty years of age, he was commissioned a Major-General of the Army of the United States. It is hardly too much to say that, from that dinner at Metz, and that 31st day of July in Philadelphia, may be dated the train of influences and events which culminated, four years afterward, in the surrender of Cornwallis to the allied forces of America and France."

The orator's description of the surrender of Cornwallis was a graphic and vivid picture:

"Standing here on the very spot to-day, with the records of history in our hands, we require no aid of art, or even of imagination, to call back, in all its varied and most impressive details, a scene which, as we dip our brush to paint it now, at the end of a hundred years, seems almost like a tale of fairy land. We see the grand French army drawn up for upward of a mile in battle array, ten full regiments, including a legion of cavalry with a corps of Royal Engineers—Bourbonnais and Soissonnais, Royal Deux-Ponts, Saintonge, and Dillon, who have come from Newport—with the Touraine, the Auxonne, the Agenois, and the Gatinois, soon to win back the name of the Royal Auvergne, who had just landed from the fleet. They are all in their unsoiled uniforms of snowy white, with their distinguishing collars and lapels of yellow, and violet, and crimson, and green, and pink, with the *fleurs de lis* proudly emblazoned on their white silk regimental standards, with glittering stars and badges on their officers'

breasts, and with dazzling gold and silver laced liveries on their private servants—the timbrel, with its associations and tones of triumph, then ‘a delightful novelty,’ lending unaccustomed brilliancy to the music of their bands!

“Opposite, and face to face, to that splendid line, we see our war-worn American army—the regulars, if we had anything which could be called regulars, in front, clad in the dear old Continental uniform, still ‘in passable condition;’ a New-York brigade; a Maryland brigade; the Pennsylvania line; the light companies made up from New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts; a Rhode Island and New Jersey battalion with two companies from Delaware; the Canadian volunteers; a park of artillery with sappers and miners; and with a large mass of patriotic Virginian militia, collected and commanded by the admirable Governor Nelson. Not quite all the colonies, perhaps, were represented in force, as they had been at Germantown, but hardly any of them were without some representation, individual if not collective—many of them in simple homespun, every-day wear, many of their dresses bearing witness to the long, hard service they had seen—coats out at the elbow, shoes out at the toe, and in some cases no coats, no shoes at all. But the Stars and Stripes, which had been raised first at Saratoga, floated proudly above their heads, and no color-blindness on that day mistook their tints, misinterpreted their teachings, or failed to recognize the Union they betokened and the glory they foreshadowed!

“Between these two lines of the allied forces, so strikingly and strangely contrasted, the British army, in their rich scarlet coats, freshly distributed from supplies which must otherwise have been delivered up as spoils to the victors, and with their Anspach, and Hessian, and ‘Von Bose’ auxiliaries in blue, are now seen filing—their muskets at shoulder, ‘their colors cased,’ and their drums beating ‘a British or German march’—passing on to the field assigned them for giving up their standards and grounding their arms, and then filing back again to their quarters.

“We are here to revive no animosities resulting from the War of the Revolution, or from any other war, remote or recent; rather to bury and drown them all, deeper than ever plummet sounded. For all that is grand and glorious in the career and example of Great Britain, certainly we can entertain nothing but respect and admiration; while I hazard little in saying that for the continued life and welfare of her illustrious sovereign, whom neither Anne nor Elizabeth will outshine in history, the American heart beats as warmly this day as if no Yorktown had ever occurred, and no independence had ever separated us from her imperial dominion. And we are ready to say, and do say, ‘God save the Queen,’ as sincerely and earnestly as she herself and her ministers and her people have said ‘God save the President,’ in those recent hours of his agony!”

The tribute to Washington, following upon mention of the various prominent officers serving in the campaign, was a noble passage, containing in brief a vast amount of history:

“There was another representative of the Old Dominion here, greater than any one who could be named, present or absent, living or dead. I do not forget that, while America gave Washington to the world, Virginia gave him to America, and that it is her unshared privilege to recognize and claim, as her son, him whom the whole country acknowledges and reveres as its father! Behold him here at the head of the American line, presiding, with modest but majestic dignity, over this whole splendid scene of the surrender! He is now in his fiftieth year, and has gone through anxieties and trials enough of late to have filled out the full measure of three score and ten. That winter at Valley Forge, those cabals of Conway, that mutiny in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the defection of Charles Lee, the treason of Benedict Arnold—with all the distressing responsibilities in which it involved him—the insufficiency of his supplies of men, money, food, and clothing, must have left deep traces on his countenance as well as in his heart. But he is the same incomparable man as when, at only twenty-one, he was sent as a commissioner from Governor Dinwiddie to demand of the French forces their authority for invading the king’s dominions, or, as when, at twenty-three, he was the only mounted officer who escaped the French bullets at Braddock’s defeat. And here he stands foremost, among their dukes and marquises and counts and barons, receiving the surrender of the standards under which he had then fought against France, as a British colonial officer.

“From the siege of Boston, where he obtained his first triumph, to his crowning siege of Yorktown—more than six long years—he has been one and the same; bearing, beyond all others, the burden and heat of our struggle for independence; advising, directing, commanding; enduring deprivations and even injustices without a murmur, and witnessing the successes of others without jealousy—while no such signal victory had yet been vouchsafed to his own immediate forces as could have satisfied a heart ambitious only for himself. But his ambition was only for his country, and he stands here at last, with representatives of all the States around him, and with representatives of almost all the great nations of the world as witnesses, to receive, on the soil of his own native and beloved Virginia, the surpassing reward of his fortitude and patriotism. He has many great functions still to fulfill—in presiding over the Convention to frame the Constitution, and in giving practical interpretation and construction to that Constitution by eight years of the first Presidency. But with this event the first glorious chapter of his career is closed, and he will soon be found at Annapolis in the sublime attitude of voluntarily resigning to Congress the plenary commission he had received from them, and retiring to private life. Virginians! you hold his dust as the most precious possession of your soil, and would not let it go even to the massive mausoleum prepared for it beneath the Capitol at Washington, which no other dust can ever fill. Oh, let his memory, his principles, his example, be ever as sacredly and jealously guarded in your hearts! No second Washington will ever be yours, or ever be ours. Of no one but him could it have been justly said.

All discord ceases at his name,
All ranks contend to swell his fame."

A glowing tribute to Lafayette, a hearty acknowledgment of America's debt to France, and welcome to her representatives, were followed by a consideration of the responsibilities devolving upon the Americans of to-day :

"It is not what we have been, or what we have done, or even what we are, that weighs on our thoughts at this hour, even to the point of oppressiveness ; but what, what are we to be? What is to be the character of a second century of independence for America? What are to be its issues for ourselves? What are to be its influences on mankind at large? And what can we do to secure these glorious institutions of ours from decline and fall, that other generations may enjoy what we now enjoy, and that our liberty may indeed be 'a liberty to that only which is good, just and honest'—a 'liberty enlightening the world'? . . . I must be pardoned as one of a past generation, for dealing with old-fashioned counsels in old-fashioned phrases. Profound dissertations on the nature of government, metaphysical speculations on the true theory of civil liberty, scientific dissections of the machinery of our own political system—even were I capable of them—would be as inappropriate as they would be worthless. Our reliance for the preservation of republican liberty can only be on the commonplace principles and common-sense maxims which lie within the comprehension of the children in our schools, or of the simplest and least cultured man or woman who wields a hammer or who plies a needle.

"The fear of the Lord must still and ever be the beginning of our wisdom, and obedience to His commandments the rule of our lives. Crime must not go unpunished, and vice must be stigmatized and rebuked as vice. Human life must be held sacred, and lawless violence and bloodshed cease to be regarded as a redress or remedy for anything. . . . The rights of the humblest, as well as of the highest, must be respected and enforced. Labor in all its departments must be justly remunerated and elevated, and the true dignity of labor recognized. The poor must be wisely visited and liberally cared for, so that mendacity shall not be tempted into mendacity, nor want exasperated into crime. The great duties of individual citizenship must be conscientiously discharged. Peace, order, and the good old virtues of honesty, charity, temperance, and industry, must be cultivated and revered. The purity of private life must be cherished and guarded, and luxury and extravagance discouraged. Polygamy must cease to pollute our land. Profligate literature must be scorned and left unpurchased. Public opinion must be refined, purified, strengthened, and rendered prevailing and imperative, by the best thoughts and best words which the press, the platform, and the pulpit can pour forth. The pen and the tongue alike must be exercised under a sense of moral responsibility. In a word, the less of government we have by formal laws and statutes, the more we need, and the more we must have of individual self-government. . . .

On the topic of Universal Education, the orator was very pronounced and outspoken, especially in regard to the necessity and duty of providing for the elevation of the masses of ignorant voters in the Southern States. He said :

"But let me add at once that, with a view to all these ends, and as the indispensable means of promoting and securing them all, universal education, without distinction of race, must be encouraged, aided, and enforced. The elective franchise can never be taken away from any of those to whom it has once been granted, but we can and must make education coextensive with the elective franchise ; and it must be done without delay, as a measure of self-defence, and with the general co-operation of the authorities and of the people of the whole country. One half of our country, during the last ten or fifteen years, has been opened for the first time to the introduction and establishment of free common schools, and there is not wealth enough at present in that region to provide for this great necessity. 'Two millions of children without the means of instruction,' was the estimate of the late Dr. Sears, in 1879. Every year brings another instalment of brutal ignorance to the polls, to be the subject of cajolement, deception, corruption, or intimidation. Here, here, is our greatest danger for the future. The words of our late lamented President, in his inaugural, come to us to-day with redoubled emphasis from that unclosed grave on the lake : 'All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the saving influence of universal education.' . . . Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole Republic, the dignity of the elective franchise, alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free!

* * * * *

"It is itself one of the great rights of a free people to be educated and trained up from childhood to that ability to govern themselves, which is the largest element in republican self-government, and without which all self-government must be a failure and a farce, here and everywhere! Free governments must stand or fall with free schools. Tell me not that I am indulging in truisms. I know they are truisms ; but they are better—a thousand-fold better—than Nihilism or Communism or Fenianism, or any of the other isms which are making such headway in supplanting them. No advanced thought, no mystical philosophy, no glittering abstractions, no swelling phrases about freedom—not even science, with all its marvellous inventions and discoveries—can help us much in sustaining this Republic. Still less can any godless theories of creation, or any infidel attempts to rule out the Redeemer from his rightful supremacy in our hearts, afford us any hope of security. That way lies despair! Commonplace

truths, old familiar teachings, the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Farewell Address of Washington, honesty, virtue, patriotism, universal education, are what the world most needs in these days, and our own part of the world as much as any other part. Without these we are lost. With these, and with the blessing of God, which is sure to follow them, a second century of our Republic may be confidently looked forward to; and those who shall gather on this field, a hundred years hence, shall then exult, as we are now exulting, in the continued enjoyment of the free institutions bequeathed to us by our fathers, and in honoring the memories of those who have sustained them."

These and many other topics were illustrated and enforced with rare eloquence. The final appeal was for a union of sentiment and action in upholding and advancing America's free institutions:

"We are one by the configuration of nature, and by the strong impress of art—inextricably intertwined by the lay of our land, the run of our rivers, the chain of our lakes, and the iron network of our crossing and recrossing and ever-multiplying and still-advancing tracks of trade and travel. We are one by the memories of our fathers. We are one by the hopes of our children. We are one by a Constitution and a Union which have not only survived the shock of foreign and civil war, but have stood the abeyance of almost all administration, while the whole people were waiting breathless, in alternate hope and fear, for the issues of an execrable crime. We are one—bound together afresh—by the electric chords of sympathy and sorrow, vibrating and thrilling day by day of the livelong summer, through every one of our hearts, for our basely wounded and bravely suffering President, bringing us all down on our knees together in common supplications for his life, and involving us all at last in a common flood of grief at his death. I dare not linger, amid scenes like these, on that great affliction, which has added indeed 'another hallowed name to the historical inheritance of our Republic,' but which has thrown a pall of deepest tragedy upon the falling curtain of our first century. Oh, let not its influences be lost upon us for the century to come, but let us be one, henceforth and always, in mutual regard, conciliation, and affection.

"Go on, hand in hand, O States, never to be disunited! Be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity! Join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds! And then—" but I will not add as John Milton added, in closing his inimitable appeal on reformation in England, two centuries and a half ago—"a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations, who seeks to break your Union!" No anathemas shall escape my lips on this auspicious day. Let me rather invoke, as I devoutly and fervently do, the choicest and richest blessings of Heaven on those who shall do most, in all time to come, to preserve our beloved country in unity, peace, and concord."*

* This noble address has been announced for publication entire by Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., of Boston.

THE PARADE, THE REVIEW, AND SALUTE—On Thursday, the 20th, was a parade of the citizen soldiery, a considerable detachment of regulars, and regiments from different sections of the old Thirteen States—the number of men being nearly ten thousand. The review was witnessed by the President and a portion of the Cabinet, the French and German guests, and many distinguished men of the nation. After Mr. Winthrop's oration the previous day, Secretary Blaine read an order from President Arthur, enjoining that the British flag be saluted at the close of the ceremonies. This announcement was enthusiastically cheered, and the order was afterward received with marked approbation throughout the country; it was an evidence that the mother and daughter, though long reconciled, have now entered upon an era in which they will be bound by ties of affection still stronger. After the military parade was held, a naval review took place, at the close of which the British flag was run up on the French and American men-of-war and formally saluted. This was the closing act of a series of celebrations of a most important event in our national history.

No one could fail to notice the deep religious tone that pervaded the public exercises during these celebrations; the influence of the recent tragic loss of the nation's Chief Magistrate had evidently softened the minds of men and turned their thoughts to an overruling Providence.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW OF THE CELEBRATION — A dispatch in the *New York Tribune* of October 20th, 1881, gave the following admirable account of the whole "occasion," which both from its graphic depiction of the scene and its complimentary view of even the infelicities of this American celebration, on the part of an Englishman trained to observe and describe events in all parts of the world, will be interesting to read and preserve :

YORKTOWN, Oct. 19.—After the ceremonies of the day were over, the *Tribune* correspondent asked Mr. Archibald Forbes, the distinguished English journalist, who had offered in a spirit of friendly comradeship to help with the work of writing, to give his impressions as an Englishman of the exercises and the audience. He wrote a few pages, but with a protest against having his name attached to them. The liberty is taken of disregarding his modest request. He was the only well-known subject of Queen Victoria on the ground, and it is obvious that the American public will be glad to hear from him directly and immediately, instead of later through the medium of the London press. Mr. Forbes wrote :

"To the outsider, it seemed that there were no pre-arrangements at all. One conversant through dire experience with the confusion and chaos that so commonly follows on an absence of settled plan, could scarcely avoid the apprehension that mischief would come of the indefiniteness that circumstances had brought about in the details of the arrangements ; but there was no mischief, not even the hitch of a moment. The all-prevalent determination that the occasion should be successful confused every obstacle. Instead of crowding, jostling, and selfishness, the features of the throng were orderliness, courtesy, and self-abnegation. Simplicity reigned, but it was the simplicity of self-respect and consideration for others ; not the crudeness which provokes a smile. In the massing of the crowd around the rostrum from which the addresses were made, there was absolutely no attempt whatever made in the direction of assigning seats. The area of chairs was a free country. There was no respect of persons, further than that the foreign guests had places in the vicinity of the President and the officials of state. Yet as the informal procession from the Lafayette Hall tramped on through

the sand toward the auditorium, its head unmarshaled, its track unguarded even by a single policeman, there was not the faintest semblance of an 'ugly mob.' For ladies there was the first thought ; the next was for the guests. They accommodated then every man in a quiet, business-like fashion, and he did the best he could for himself as regards finding a location. It was the most democratic of assemblages and the best conducted, imperceptibly, with no bustle, no thrusting, no snapping of advantages. The great area became filled by a dense mass of humanity. Of ceremonial, in the old-world sense, there was nothing at all.

"The President stepped into his place, helped on to the platform by a quaint old Virginian farmer who happened to be leaning against one of its supports. A little lady who had quietly wriggled to the front affably leaned on the back of the chair occupied by Colonel von Steuben and clapped her hands at Mr. Winthrop's good things in immediate proximity to the gallant German's ear. A corporal of foot rubbed shoulders with the General of the Army ; a contented citizen in a blue suit appeared nowise disposed to find himself incorporated bodily into the brilliant staff of the Governor of Maine. Perhaps the decorum of the throng was equalled by its evident intelligence. To the very end of Mr. Winthrop's prolonged oration all around the fringes of the audience were to be observed people with their hands at their ears, jealous lest a word should escape them. No point made by the speaker was missed or failed to obtain its fullest meed of appreciation. During Mr. Winthrop's fervent and eloquent peroration the intentness of attention on the orator's words was so close that you might have heard a pin drop. The people had come to listen, and they listened with all their force. Swiftly and inexorably falls the thunderbolt of outraged public opinion on the one man in all the throng who thought fit to misconduct himself. He stood on a chair in the background, and he interjected interruptions of a character at first irrelevant and presently insolent. He was tolerated the first time and the second time. The third time he got a stern warning, which he disregarded, with the consequence that two strong men caught him up and simply threw him away outside the bounds.

"To speak of England on such a day was a matter of no little delicacy. It was not that there was any danger she should be hardly spoken of. That, never very likely from American lips, was less likely than ever just now. But there was some fear lest in such a connection expressions of good-will with England might have a certain tone of *gaucherie*. The man with a memory of defeats finds it not easy to smile under the patronizing compliments of the man self-complacent in the memory of success. But to-day afforded a fresh proof that a warm heart is the truest guide to good taste. It was impossible that there should be any *arrière pensée* for the Englishmen who listened to the hearty and unaffected expressions of loving good-will for 'Old Mother England,' as Mr. Winthrop phrased it, that came warm from the lips of every speaker to be caught up and responded to by the audience with a fervor that was clearly genuine as it was stentorian. President Arthur gave the keynote at the very commencement of the singularly graceful and tactful observations in which he inaugurated the proceedings. The French

representatives spoke of England with no less genial consideration, and the President's order commanding that the British flag should be saluted at the close of the ceremonial was not less kindly in its spirit than it was tender and beautiful in its wording. Read by Mr. Blaine in accents that were fervent with emotion, it it was indorsed by the audience with a storm of enthusiasm that told how welcome it was to their sympathies. It is to be regretted that no official British person was present to convey to Queen Victoria some idea of the warmth evoked by the President's graceful compliments, and especially by the mention of Her Majesty's own name."

THE NATION'S GUESTS—After the close of the Yorktown celebration the French and German guests were fêted and honored with special greetings, entertainments, and rejoicing, in various parts of the country. Washington, Philadelphia, New York with its West Point and Niagara, Rhode Island to express its special gratitude to the descendants of the French who so long defended their waters and their territory, Boston for Massachusetts, and, particularly for the German guests, the great West—all held out welcoming hands. The guests traveled about, and on every side were the recipients of cordial demonstrations of welcome, which they seemed to appreciate and enjoy.

The names of the French descendants of Lafayette who were present have been given above. In respect to some of the other French officers who were with Washington at Yorktown, a word may be said. Descendants of De Grasse are to be found in several New York families at the present day. The Marquis de St. Simon has no male descendants, and the family De Barras has become extinct.

As to the Germans, the Steuben family are military in their tastes. Colonel Arndt von Steuben, of the

Prussian army, the senior member of the German delegation to the Yorktown celebration, is a grand-nephew of Baron von Steuben. The Colonel's three sons—all lieutenants—and his three cousins composed the remainder of the delegation. These all hold commissions in the Prussian army, and had leave from their Government to attend the Yorktown Centennial.

The German guests were fêted more extensively than the French, because so many hundreds of thousands of Germans and their descendants are now in the United States, so that an unusual interest was felt by these citizens to entertain the representatives from their Fatherland. As soon as the exercises at Yorktown were closed, they commenced to fulfil the many engagements they had made in accepting invitations from both Germans and Americans in the great cities of the West. Their numerous countrymen living in that portion of the Union were specially urgent, and the Von Steubens visited these cities in turn, everywhere receiving the most cordial hospitalities. They expressed themselves much gratified by the reception they received, and their surprise at the progress and thrift of their countrymen who have found a home among us. When about to return home the younger members of the delegation paid a formal visit of respect to the grave of the Baron their ancestor. A committee of citizens of Utica received them at that city, and courteously escorted them on a special train to the grave.

The closing one of these centennial festivities in honor of the nation's guests was under the auspices of the State Reception Committee, given in the city of New York on the evening of November 7th. All the foreign guests were present, the Governor of

the State, Mr. Cornell, and the committee doing the honors of the occasion. Other officials, State and municipal, were present, and also a large number of ladies and prominent citizens of the State and city.

LAFAYETTE AND STEUBEN

To no one of the generous foreigners who aided our fathers in their struggle for independence have the hearts of the American people gone out with so much affection as to Lafayette ; and Steuben holds the next place in their grateful estimation. For this reason there is a propriety in noticing somewhat at length their characters and the motives which dictated their actions, lest we of this day forget what they did for our fathers in those days of trial.

LAFAYETTE.

Most of the other French officers who fought for American liberty came either as roving soldiers in search of adventure and temporary employment, or because they were sent and merely obeyed orders ; but the Marquis de Lafayette came of his own accord, and from a deep love of liberty and sympathy with the struggling patriots ; and through his influence, more than that of any other public man, was the French Government induced to aid the cause. He was far in advance of other intelligent Frenchmen in his appreciation of the elements of true political liberty. The sentiment was to him at first more the outgrowth of a generous and enthusiastic nature than the result of abstract study. Human liberty was not a theme treated of in the books or speeches of that day in France ; he seems, therefore, not to have been aware of the principles actuating the colonists, nor indeed of the contest then going on in America, till it was unexpectedly brought to his notice at the Meñtz dinner to the Eng-

lish Duke of Gloucester (as related above in the extract from Mr. Winthrop's oration). The Duke seems to have gone into the subject fully, explaining the grounds upon which the colonists had justified themselves in resisting the enforcement of certain acts of Parliament, and making note of the fact that they had had the audacity to strive for liberty as a people, and gone so far, some six months before, as to proclaim themselves independent of England, and even called upon the governments of Europe to recognize them as an independent nation. He explained in what manner these rebels were aiming at a wider range of self-government than had ever been known to Englishmen.

The story apparently made little impression upon the other officers, but the young and enthusiastic Lafayette exclaimed, " Now I see a chance for usefulness which I had not anticipated. I have money ; I will purchase a ship, which will convey to America myself, my companions, and the freight for Congress." Though happy in his married relations, he did not hesitate

to leave home and expose his life in this cause, so new in the world's history. The struggle in many respects was unique, and Lafayette was soon able to appreciate what was at stake, and the motives of the American patriots; his wife meanwhile sympathized with him in his enthusiasm.

The French Government, in spite of its sympathies, was not then prepared to take an open stand on this subject; the authorities hoped that the rebellious colonists would succeed in maintaining their proclaimed independence, and thus humble and cripple the great rival of France; for it was only about fifteen years since the dream of a French empire in North America had vanished, when the lilies of France were supplanted by the banner of St. George, and all Canada was given to England by the Treaty of Paris (1763). But their diplomatic relations made any overt aid very difficult, and they seemed even to oppose Lafayette's private enterprise. He found difficulty in eluding his own government (it issued orders for his arrest) and in deceiving the spies of England, who swarmed in Paris. But he purchased a ship, which Mr. Silas Deane, United States Commissioner to France, managed to have laden with needed supplies for Washington's army. Lafayette stepped aboard, and was soon under way, accompanied by eleven officers, among whom the most prominent for military skill was the veteran Baron de Kalb, who afterward laid down his life at the battle of Camden (August 16th, 1780).

Lafayette landed on the coast of South Carolina at Winyaw Bay, at the mouth of the Pedee (June 14th, 1777); then found his way to Charleston, and thence to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session. He had come as a volunteer from love of the cause, and refused all pay; his whole life afterward was consistent with that disinterested sentiment. His candor and zeal won all hearts. Congress commissioned him a major-general, but without special

command (July 31st, 1777), and he then joined Washington, who received him into his military family. The story of his military life during the remaining four years of the Revolution is familiar, or ought to be, to every American. We cannot go into detail in this brief monograph.

Lafayette, near the close of 1779, ran the gauntlet of British cruisers, and visited France. There he negotiated for arms and military supplies and clothing for our soldiers. For months he was active and indefatigable in his efforts—"instant in season and out of season"—besieging the French king, his ministers, and all who were in authority to take a stand, openly espouse the American cause, and send reinforcements to the struggling revolutionists. At last his persevering efforts were successful, and hastening back to America he arrived in March the following year with the cheering news that a land force was to be sent from France, and also a fleet, which was expected to sail soon. Their coming and the story of their doings are matters not to be further entered upon here, but they found their consummation in that glorious ending of the war, the surrender of Cornwallis.

After that event, as there were no active operations, nor likely to be, Lafayette for the second time visited France and his family. During this visit he was unwearied in his efforts to promote the interests of the United States. One year after the conclusion of peace between England and her lately rebellious colonies (1784), he returned to America, "once more," as he termed it, "to see his father"—for thus he was wont to speak of Washington. During this stay he traveled somewhat through the country.

Five years afterward (1789) the French Revolution burst upon Europe; this was about three months after Washington's first inauguration as President of the United States. Lafayette of course favored the liberal cause. The people of Paris rose in

their majesty and razed to its foundation the Bastile, in whose dungeons the French king was accustomed to immure political prisoners and keep them for years without redress. The key of the Bastile was hauded to Lafayette, who sent it to Washington, and to-day it is among the relics at Mount Vernon. Lafayette's history during these days of terror and of war is full of romance. After a time the people of Paris, suspicious of those who would not countenance their excesses, forced him, their best friend, to flee for his life. Intending to come to the United States, he passed over into Luxembourg, which was neutral territory, and there he was seized, contrary to the laws of nations, by an Austrian force, and handed over to the King of Prussia, who confined him in prison for a year; then he was delivered to the Austrian Government, which held him a prisoner for four years longer in the dungeons of Olmutz. While he was thus incarcerated, a bold but unsuccessful attempt was made to release him by Francis K. Huger, a young man of South Carolina whose father was the first to welcome Lafayette at Charleston in 1777. When Bonaparte came into power he demanded from the Austrian Government, and obtained, by the treaty of Campo Formio (1797), the release of the distinguished prisoner. Lafayette never failed to aid his country to the best of his ability, but after his release he was powerless for her good during seventeen years; then he was elected and served as a member of the Assembly that voted for the downfall of the empire under Napoleon (1814). Afterward, at different times, he served in the Chamber of Deputies for nine years, and was always the friend of progress and of the people.

Just forty years after his visiting the country to see Washington, he returned to the United States, the guest of the nation, landing in New York August 15th, 1824. He had been invited unanimously by a vote of Congress; however, he declined to come

in the national vessel proffered him, but took passage on board a merchant ship. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, who when a youth spent three years at Mount Vernon, the guest of his godfather Washington. Lafayette's reception was most cordial. No Roman consul's triumph, however magnificent, compared with the ovation which the now venerable benefactor of this country received from the people. How many public men have died vainly hoping to be remembered! Yet here, more than a generation had passed, and it fell to the lot of Lafayette to receive in person expressions of gratitude offered by a second generation. He had the best evidence that he was remembered by posterity.

The spontaneous outburst of a nation's affection that manifested itself was truly marvelous. His name and what he had done had been handed down by tradition, and his memory was cherished in every household. The authorities of each State, with committees of its prominent citizens meeting him at their own boundary, escorted him to the adjoining one, to be received in a manner equally imposing; so that his tour through the States was one continual procession; sometimes the cavalcade was nearly half a mile long. The writer, then a boy, well remembers being taken by his father a drive of several miles to see the passing of Lafayette. It must be borne in mind that in that day we had no railways, and traveling was performed on horseback or in carriages; the public conveyances were lumbering coaches, to accommodate the comparatively few who traveled for business, and for pleasure scarcely any. The days were named in advance on which Lafayette would be at certain points, and there the people would assemble from the country round about; volunteer companies often came fifteen or twenty miles to give him a military salute; within the States nearly all the gentlemen, especially along the route,

turned out on horseback to accompany him through their respective counties, while the State authorities and committee went with him to the boundary. This demonstration was far more imposing than if he had been borne through the land on a railway train of the present time, for, in consequence of the slower progress, a far greater number had the privilege of paying him their respects. Lafayette, his son, and one or two of the committee, rode in a carriage beautifully decorated, and drawn by six horses richly caparisoned.

While here on this his last visit Lafayette laid the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument; visited the battle-field of Yorktown and the tomb of Washington; then the aged patriot and philanthropist turned toward home, when the President of the United States — John Quincy Adams — ordered a new frigate, about to sail on her first voyage, to convey him to France (1825). The President named the frigate *Brandywine*—a delicate compliment, as on the banks of that little stream Lafayette had been wounded in the service of the people who loved him so well.

Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, was descended from a noble family, tracing its ancestry back to the fourteenth century. He was born on September 6th, 1757, at Chavaniac, Auvergne. He had three children—two daughters and a son. The younger daughter was named *Virginie*, in memory of that American State in which he was for a time in military command; and the son, *George Washington*. The latter's son, *Edmond*, is now the only descendant in the male line to represent the family; he is unmarried, and about sixty-four years of age. *M. Edmond* was invited to attend the centennial celebration at Yorktown, but for private reasons was unable to accept the invitation. He is Senator of Haute-Loire and President of the Council-General of that department.

VON STEUBEN.

With the exception of Lafayette, no one of those who aided our fathers in the Revolution did personally as much service as the Baron von Steuben. When he arrived at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-8, the American army was in a sad condition in many respects. At that time the soldiers had not been scientifically drilled or disciplined. The Baron introduced the system of drill used by Frederick the Great, which, as far as he was able, he taught the American soldiers.

According to Kapp, in his life of Steuben, the latter was induced to come to America by the French Government. He was in Paris on leave from the Prussian army, and thought of paying a visit to England, when he was sent for by Count St. Germain, the Minister of War, who proposed that the Baron should go to the United States. The Count explained the great defects of military discipline and scientific knowledge of the subject in the American army, and some remedy for these defects St. Germain deemed very important to the cause of the colonies, reminding the Baron that here was a field of great usefulness and of glory for any one who could accomplish the desired result of disciplining the American army. Steuben, after much persuasion, agreed to enter upon the cause, but only as a volunteer, for he had heard, and St. Germain confirmed the report, that the American officers disliked to serve under inefficient foreigners placed in positions of responsibility. St. Germain stated, in effect, that many of the European officers in the American service were incompetent, and that they only wanted promotion and pay, and therefore this prejudice had not grown up without reason. Mr. Silas Deane, who was then in France as Commissioner for the United States, seems to have sent over nearly all the officers that applied to him, without reference to their qualifications. The French Government virtually made itself responsible for the Baron's traveling and other ex-

penses. Under these circumstances he was induced to come, and when he had once entered upon his duties he was untiring in their performance to the close of the war. His position was that of Inspector-General, with the rank of major-general, according to the assignment of Washington himself, who accepted his services with marked cordiality. The value of his services was admirably set forth in Secretary Blaine's letter of invitation to Steuben's family representatives to attend the Yorktown celebration :

"A detailed history of his military career in America would form an epitome of the Revolutionary struggle. He had served in the Seven Years' War on the staff of the great Frederick, and had acquired in the campaigns of that master of military science the skill and the experience so much needed by the untrained soldiers of the Continental Army. The drill and discipline and effective organization, which under the commanding patronage of Washington were at once imparted to the American Army by the zeal and diligence of Steuben, transformed the volunteers and raw levies into veterans who successfully met the British regulars in all the campaigns of the prolonged struggle. The final surrender of the British army under Lord Cornwallis occurred at Yorktown, Va., on the 19th day of October, 1781. Baron Steuben bore a most conspicuous part in the arduous campaign which ended so auspiciously for the Continental Army, and it fell to his lot to receive the first official notification of the proposed capitulation, and to bear it to the illustrious commander-in-chief."

At the conclusion of peace and the disbandment of the army, Baron von Steuben cast in his lot with the American people, making his home in the State of New York. He planned the fortifications for New York City, in consideration of which service the State presented him, in 1786, with 16,000 acres of forest land in Oneida County, known to-day as Steuben township; this district lies a score or more miles north of the city of Utica. He took an ardent interest in the welfare of his adopted country,

and is said to have been the first to suggest the establishment of a military academy. He was equally an advocate of general education, and as such was one of the originators of Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

Baron von Steuben retired from the city in 1789, and built a log cabin upon his land. He was unmarried, and left no descendants. With a few male servants he lived at his home in a comparative wilderness till his death, which occurred November 28th, 1794. A short time before that event he himself marked out a favorite spot in the midst of the primitive forest, where he directed in his will that his remains should be buried, and in the same instrument he forbade the forest immediately around his grave ever being removed. His wishes were complied with, and there he lay in that lonely place, almost forgotten, for more than three fourths of a century. Meanwhile thousands upon thousands of his countrymen had made this land their home, and, as if by association with them, the Baron's memory was revived in the place of his death, and Americans and Germans joined heartily in doing him honor; so that now a fine granite monument marks the spot where he lies, amid the clump of trees which thus far have been sacredly preserved. The corner-stone of the monument was laid (1870) with appropriate ceremonies, while addresses were made doing ample justice to the virtues of the hero. The Baron has been remembered in many instances, his name having been given to counties and towns. The most important of the latter is Steubenville, on the Ohio, a village that has been for nearly half a century the foremost in that part of the country in promoting the education of young women.

It will be an appropriate close of this brief memorial of men and events so important in their relations to American history, to quote a portion of the last official letter written by General Washington as Commander-in-chief of the army. It was written under date of Annapolis, Dec. 23, 1783, and ad-

dressed to the Baron von Steuben. It was honorable alike to its worthy recipient and to the great-souled chief, who, himself the main source of success in the struggle for freedom, was forward to acknowledge the debt he owed to his efficient lieutenants and companions-in-arms :

"MY DEAR BARON: Although I have taken frequent opportunities, both in public and in private, of acknowledging your great zeal, attention, and abilities, in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this

last moment of my public life to signify, in the strongest terms my entire approbation of your conduct, and to express my sense of the obligations the public is under to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. . . . This is the last letter I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at twelve to-day, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you and testify the great esteem and consideration with which I am, my dear Baron, etc.,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Below are given some critical opinions concerning Prof. Patton's United States History. On the 4th page of cover the peculiar features of the book are set forth.

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