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ness, that the experiment did not meet with permanent disaster before his death. At the American Revolution the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania purchased all the estate of the family in this country for \$580,000, which seems not a large sum, when we consider the immense territory, to which they were still entitled.

General Jean Victor Maria Moreau.

BY REV. D. K. TURNER, HARTSVILLE, PA.

(Bristol Meeting, July 15, 1890.)

Recollection of the lives and characters of distinguished men, who once lived among us, is commendable, as it tends to encourage others to emulate their example, and the remembrance of posterity is one of the elements in the reward bestowed for the proper use of eminent ability. It is well for this society to gather and rehearse all the facts accessible in the career of those who have attained greatness and who have resided in this county. They pass away in the order of nature, but their virtues and heroic deeds should not be allowed to slumber in oblivion.

One of the ablest military commanders France ever produced, General Jean Victor Maria Moreau, made this section of our State his home for a considerable number of years. He resided in Morrisville from 1806 to 1813. As his abode was not many miles from our present place of meeting it seems appropriate to spend a little time in taking a cursory review of his principles and achievements.

He was born in Morlaix, France, August 11, 1763, and his early years gave proof of the extraordinary capacity with which he was endowed. His father was an attorney, and that his son might pursue the same profession he sent him to a law school at Rennes, where he made such rapid progress as to warrant soon after his graduation his election to be provost of the school when he was but 24 years of age. The great struggle between the French Parliament and the King had already commenced. Popular rights and royal prerogative were arrayed against each other, and the country was agitated from centre to circumference with the discussion of subjects pertaining to human freedom.

Moreau espoused the cause of the people, and in public and private asserted that they had been wronged, oppressed and defrauded by tyrannical princes, and that liberty should be granted to them and established under the guarantee of a written constitution. For a time the Parliament pursued a course, which met his approval, as it appeared adapted to promote the good of the whole nation. But when that body embarked in selfish schemes, and took measures to perpetuate their own power, regardless of the general welfare, he denounced their ambition and covetousness and advocated the claims of the masses.

Several of the Kingdoms of Europe formed a confederacy to restore Louis XVI to the throne, which had been wrested from him by the Revolutionists; and at the same time the more violent among the latter determined to spread their political views in the surrounding countries, and if possible snatch the diadem from every crowned head. This soon culminated in war. Every Frenchman resolved to defend his native land against foreign invasion. Volunteer companies were formed all over the Republic to repel the interference of other powers with their affairs, and Moreau was chosen captain of a body of soldiers and marched with them to join the Army of the North.

He at once displayed in a high degree, qualities necessary for a successful commander. A strict disciplinarian, he would permit no insubordination in the ranks. He drilled his men with industry and perseverance, that they might become perfectly familiar with the manual and skillful in the use of arms, courageous on the field of battle; cool and self possessed; quick to discern a suitable point of attack or danger to which he was exposed; rapid in the formation of his plans and ardent in the execution of them, he had the confidence of all under his command and of his superiors.

After attaining distinction in many engagements he was promoted, when but 30 years of age, to be brigadier general, and the following year, 1794, he became general of division, not through the influence of friends but by his own merits. That part of the French troops to which he was assigned were operating against the enemy in the northeast on the borders of Holland. They were raw recruits, poorly supplied with arms and equipments, and destitute of proper clothing.

The Republic, obliged to contend with powerful foes on all sides, was unable to furnish them with artillery, ammunition and implements which were absolutely necessary. General Pichegru, the commander-in-chief, engaged in a series of surprises and skirmishes in which he was ably assisted by his associate officers, among whom Moreau was conspicuous almost above all others. As the army became more accustomed to warfare their fearlessness, energy and enterprise increased, and they defeated the English and Dutch in several important battles, passed the Rhine and took possession of Amsterdam in 1795, when the "Batavian Republic" was immediately organized.

Though General Pichegru has received the credit of this great success, it was largely due to Gen. Moreau, and the Directory at Paris evidently appreciated this fact, for the latter was ere long advanced to the command of the whole army of the Rhine. He was now, 1796, at the head of 71,000 men, and at once set about reorganizing them, improving their discipline and providing supplies of arms, accoutrements and provisions for an active campaign. Seizing a favorable opportunity when the Imperialist forces were somewhat scattered, he crossed the Rhine at Strasbourg, then a French city, and entered Germany. The passage of the river was a bold enterprise. A part of the army was sent by night and in profound silence to an island occupied by the enemy, who taken by surprise fled after little resistance to the right bank, leaving a bridge of boats behind them. Over this the French pressed on in pursuit, though only 2,500 in number, and were in a few minutes in the midst of a much larger body of Austrians. The boats were instantly used to bring over reinforcements, and by morning light 5,000 were gathered on the eastern shore. Thus strengthened they attacked the intrenchments at Kehl not far off, carried them at the point of the bayonet and forced the Swabians, who defended them, to flee precipitately with the loss of thirteen pieces of cannon and seven hundred men wounded and taken prisoners. The day following the whole French army was brought over in safety. This exploit was justly celebrated for the courage, skill and celerity displayed in it. A signal advantage was gained with but trifling loss, and Moreau was in a position to push forward his standards into the heart of the Germanic Confederation.

With little delay he marched toward the Black Forests, a ridge of mountains covered with evergreen trees, which separates the valleys of the Neckar and the Rhine. Here he encountered 10,000 of the monarchists and drove them from their position, capturing ten cannon and inflicting upon them a loss of 800 men. The Arch Duke, Charles, hearing of Moreau's successes, collected all available forces to resist his progress, but after several bloody battles the Austrians were obliged to retreat to the sources of the Danube. In this region, at Neresheim, a long and severe engagement took place, at the close of which both parties remained upon the field with an equal loss of 3,000 men on each side. The next day, however, the Germans retired still toward the east. Moreau pursued them into the heart of Bavaria, 200 miles from the Rhine, and if Gen. Jourdan with a part of the French troops farther north had effectually co-operated with him, he would have swept all opposition from before him and become master of Germany. But Jourdan was defeated and unable to render him anticipated assistance, and he deemed it prudent to withdraw, before the hosts gathering for his destruction had time to concentrate and overpower him.

This retreat he accomplished in a manner that displayed admirable military ability. In the course of it, discovering that a portion of his adversaries were isolated, he turned upon them impetuously and after a fierce contest put them to flight and took from them four thousand prisoners and eighteen cannon. In other battles on his way toward France, though not always victorious, he showed great skill in the management of large masses of soldiers, and at length had the satisfaction of transferring his army to the west side of the Rhine with the honor of having often triumphed over the enemies of the Republic in their own country, and inflicted upon them severe losses, while his requisitions from them made them pay the expenses of a war which they had provoked. Another important object was also secured by this campaign. Gen. Moreau occupied the attention of the Arch Duke Charles in Germany, and prevented him from joining the Austrians, against whom Napoleon was struggling in the north of Italy. Bonaparte was thus enabled to expel the woes of his country from Piedmont, Lombardy and Venice, which would

have been impossible if Moreau had not compelled them to employ immense forces to arrest him in his career of conquest.

The next year, 1797, he crossed the Rhine, again captured the strongly fortified town of Kehl and would have made another expedition into the centre of Germany, had he not been prevented by the intelligence that a treaty of peace was about being concluded. The cessation of hostilities between the continental powers and France, however, did not long continue, and after a period of inaction he was called into the service by the Directory and sent to Italy under General Scherer, who was incapable of meeting the claims of his position, and who in a few weeks relinquished to him the charge of an army demoralized and discouraged. In these unfortunate circumstances he was defeated at Cassano, but by the exercise of prudence and vigilance he accomplished anew that most difficult thing, a retreat after disaster, and led his men safely to Genoa. Being assigned to duty by the government under Joubert, when that General was killed at Novi, he saved the troops again from utter discomfiture by his energy and discretion.

In the spring of 1800 he was placed at the head of the Army of the Rhine, consisting of 150,000 thoroughly disciplined troops. Napoleon, now First Consul, presented to him a plan of campaign in harmony with his own daring genius. But Moreau, more cautious, hesitated about adopting it, and brought forward another, less bold and brilliant, but less liable to severe reverses. Napoleon perceived that this was more suited to the character and temperament of him on whom the responsibility would rest and allowed him to adopt it, thinking that success would be more likely to attend it in his hands than his own would be. Moreau entered Germany, forced the Austrians to retire before him across the Danube, gained a decisive victory at Hochstatt and advanced to Munich, the capital of Bavaria, and in July signed articles for an armistice, with a view to a permanent peace. But Austria was urged by England to continue the war and the French deemed it best to disregard the usual custom of fighting only in the summer and to conduct a campaign in the winter. Moreau was directed with 100,000 men to leave Munich, march still further eastward, to cross the Inn, a tributary of the Danube, and push on to Vienna. This could not be done without en-

countering hosts of the enemy. They beset his path in vast numbers and at Hohenlinden, December 3, 1800, a remarkable battle was fought, in which victory crowned the banners of the Republic and encircled the name of Moreau with immortal splendor.

He posted the main part of his troops in the edge of a wood, through which the Austrians must pass, and sent a large body of men to attack them on the flank, while entangled in the forest. During the engagement a heavy fall of snow prevailed, which often prevented the combatants from seeing each other, and they could direct their firing a portion of the time only by aiming at the point where they saw the flash of the guns of their opponents. Some of the Germans endeavored to deploy into the open field in front, but were mowed down by Moreau's musketry and artillery, while another division, on a different road, struggling through the thickets and the storm, were pushed back and cut off by those who had been despatched on the flank. The result was the utter discomfiture of the Imperialists, who lost 14,000 men, over 100 cannon and 300 caissons. All their heavy guns were captured and their army was so broken up that no other alternative was before them than retreat across the Inn. This was a most important victory in its effect upon the position and prospects of the belligerents. The Republicans lost on that and preceding days 9,000 men, but they were soon ready to take up offensive operations, while the flower and strength of the Monarchists had been annihilated and two-thirds of their artillery had fallen into the hands of their foes. Alison, in the "History of Europe," speaks of it as

"The great and memorable battle of Hohenlinden, the most decisive with the exception of that of Rivoli, which had yet been gained by either party during the war, and superior even to that renowned conflict in trophies by which it was graced and the immense consequences by which it was followed. The victory at Marengo itself was less momentous in its military results. The disaster of Hohenlinden threw the army of Germany without resource on the hereditary States and at once prostrated the strength of the monarchy."

Alison says in a foot note:

"Napoleon's observations on this battle are distinguished by his usual ability, but strongly tinged by that envenomed feeling towards his great rival (Moreau) which formed so powerful a feature in his character.

Jealousy towards every one who had either essentially injured or rivalled his reputation, and a total disregard of truth when recounting their operations, are two of the defects in so great a man, Bonaparte, upon which it is at once the most necessary and the most painful duty of the historian to dwell."

We may add to these remarks of the English author that there were few among the most able commanders of his day of whom Bonaparte was jealous, and one of them was Moreau. Upon almost all others he looked down as immeasurably his inferiors. Many of the boys of this region no doubt have repeated at school, upon the platform, the poem of Campbell upon the battle of which we have been speaking, which begins:

"On Linden, when the sun was low,
All bloodless lay the untrodden snow,
And dark as winter was the flow
Of Iser rolling rapidly.
But Linden saw another sight
When the drums beat at dead of night,
Commanding fires of death to light
The darkness of her scenery."

Yet perhaps they were not aware that the hero of that tremendous conflict had resided for years in their own county.

Immediately after that fearful scene in which so many brave warriors slept their last long sleep, "midst flame and smoke, and shout and groan and saber stroke," Moreau made preparations to follow up his success. The eastern bank of the river Inn, over which the enemy had retired, was guarded by the remnants of their forces and by large reinforcements, and to meet them directly in crossing would be attended with imminent peril. He gathered all the boats he could find and had them taken publicly *down* the stream, as if he intended to use them there, but with the bulk of his army went *up*, and, after driving off resistance by fierce cannonading, brought it over and broke through the strong opposing line of defense without the loss of a single man. By most skillful manœuvres he prevented the Austrians from combining their forces, hastened large detachments to different points to cut them off in detail, and compelled their main body continually to fall back until he was within two days' march of Vienna.

Alison says in regard to the events which I have briefly and inadequately described,

"Thus the Republican army, in a short campaign of little more than three weeks, in the middle of winter and in the most severe weather, marched ninety leagues, crossed three considerable rivers in the presence of the enemy, made 20,000 prisoners, killed, wounded and dispersed as many, captured 150 pieces of cannon, 400 caissons and 4,000 carriages and never halted till its advance guard, arrested by an armistice, was within twenty leagues of Vienna. Such results require no eulogium; the annals of war have few such triumphs to recount, and they deservedly placed Moreau in the very highest rank of the captains of the eighteenth century."

This is a very warm praise of him who was once our fellow citizen, and as it flows from the pen of a British author who was prejudiced naturally against all the Gallic race we may be confident it is not excessive, but is merited by the subject of it.

The inhabitants of the capital of the Austrian Empire when the troops of the conqueror, flushed by victory, had come so near, were thrown into the utmost consternation and persuaded the Emperor to send an envoy to propose a cessation of the strife. Moreau was urged by some of his officers to disregard the request and move forward to the city. "We had better halt," he replied, "and be content with peace. It is for that alone we are fighting," which was true. The sole object of France in carrying her victorious standards so far from her own borders was to oblige England and Austria to permit her to enjoy her free institutions without molestation. The latter of these powers was now humbled; an armistice was arranged, soon followed by a treaty by which all Europe, with the exception of Great Britain alone, became friendly towards France.

General Moreau returned to Paris with exalted honor. None but Napoleon stood on a more lofty pinnacle of fame as a military commander, or possessed a stronger hold upon the affections of the army. Bonaparte, however, was at the head of the national government and the vast majority of the people looked up to him with profound loyalty and attachment. Moreau soon married a lady who proved to be vain and ambitious. Jealous of the regard and homage which were paid to Josephine, the beloved wife of Napoleon, she deemed her husband worthy of as much deference as the First Consul. One day she called upon Josephine and being kept in the anteroom a little while she was deeply offended. Her bitter feelings were poured into the ears

of Moreau. He manifested coldness towards Bonaparte, repelled his favors and even refused to attend a review of troops when he was to be present. Napoleon then gave a banquet, to which Moreau was not invited. This and other things ripened his irritation into hostility. He withdrew from Paris to his estate at Grosboris, where he lived in opulence, but with little gratification in the spectacle of Bonaparte's increasing greatness. His feelings of enmity to the First Consul were generally known; indeed, he did not attempt to conceal them, for he claimed to be a warm advocate of the rights of the people, which he declared Napoleon was endeavoring to subvert.

Several conspiracies were arranged at this period by the friends of the Bourbons to assassinate the First Consul. Moreau's attitude towards him being understood it was thought he could be induced to engage in a plot with this object in view. He was secretly approached and for a time seemed to enter into it heartily. Before the details were completed, however, it came to light that he was not friendly to the old King's family, but would like to be the Supreme Magistrate himself. The list of actors, therefore, in the scheme was made out without him. On the point of its execution the plan was betrayed to the Government. Among others Moreau was arrested, tried and convicted of being implicated in an attempt to take the life of the Chief Ruler. Some thought it would be best to let his share in the matter pass unnoticed, he stood so high in the esteem of the army and the country at large. But Bonaparte said: "If I permit him to escape unpunished it will be supposed I am afraid to disturb him. All must be treated accordingly to their guilt." The sentence was two years imprisonment. Napoleon immediately pardoned him, at the same time hinting to him that he had better emigrate to America. In order to follow this advice, which was equivalent to a command, he must sell his beautiful estate. Napoleon gave orders for its purchase at the highest price, and paid the expenses of his journey to Barcelona, where he was to take ship for the New World.

General Davis in his "History of Bucks County" says:

"He landed at Philadelphia September 24, 1805, accompanied by his wife and two children, and after looking around the country for some

time for a place of residence, he found none that pleased him so well as Morrisville, where he located."

After his arrival on our shores he probably resided in New York city for a time, as the records of Bucks county speak of him from that place. They tell us that Paul Seimen sold to "Gen. Moreau, of the city of New York, for \$10,000, a parcel of land called Morrisville containing twenty-five acres, with the use of the landing place on the Delaware, March 11, 1809." The deed was acknowledged before John Barker, Mayor of Philadelphia, April 25, 1809. Of his life while a resident there we know but little, except that he engaged in agriculture, probably as a gentleman farmer. He must have been there more or less two years and a half or three years before he concluded the purchase, as we are informed in the "Autobiography of Captain Charles Biddle," that Aaron Burr spent the latter part of the summer of 1806 in Morrisville with his daughter, Mrs. Alston and her son; that Gen. Moreau was there, and that the two distinguished military officers were much together. Undoubtedly those two brilliant men must have enjoyed in a high degree mutual converse in reference to the grand events that transpired in the American and the French Revolutions, in which they had recently borne so conspicuous a part.

In 1813 Emperor Alexander, of Russia, united with many other sovereigns of Europe in the efforts to dethrone Napoleon. It occurred to him that Gen. Moreau, of whose military talents he had the highest opinion, and who was in retirement in America, might be induced to lend his powerful aid to the enterprise. He opened a powerful correspondence with him on the subject. The General consented to engage in it, provided after Bonaparte's downfall France should be allowed to have a free constitution and choose her own form of government. His republican principles had suffered no diminution, but were rather strengthened, by his sojourn in our country. Being satisfied on this point he set sail in the ship Hannibal for Gottenburg, where he arrived July 27th, and went thence immediately to Stralsund to have an interview with Gen. Berndotte, who had been induced by Russia to espouse her cause. He was welcomed in Europe by the enemies of Napoleon with most magnificent demonstrations of

applause. At Stralsund he was greeted with the firing of cannon and an immense concourse of people. Marshal Essen, the Swedish commander, said his accession was equal to a "reinforcement of a hundred thousand men." On his way to Bohemia, where the principal chiefs of the coalition were assembled, the enthusiasm awakened by his coming was like that which marks the progress of a sovereign. The innkeepers would receive nothing for his entertainment; the best horses were furnished gratuitously to convey him from place to place, and crowds gathered at every important point to see a general whose fame had preceded him as that of one of the mightiest warriors of the age. In Berlin he was visited by the most distinguished persons in the city, though he remained there but a few hours, and the morning after he reached Prague the Emperor Alexander visited him and gave him assurances that when Bonaparte was crushed France should be left free. The Czar constantly sought his advice, and became very intimate with him, yielding the utmost deference to his opinions, and the allied monarchs with one accord placed him high in their confidence.

On the 27th of August, just one month after he reached the shores of Germany, in the midst of the important battle of Dresden, he rode with Alexander and several other officers to the brow of the hill and was conversing earnestly with the Czar about some movement of the troops. Napoleon at the distance of more than a mile saw the group of horsemen, and said to the captain of a battery near him, "Throw a dozen bullets at once into that group, there may be some little generals in it." His order was obeyed, and it was noticed immediately that there was a great sensation in the party, as if some person of note had fallen. That cannon shot almost cut off both the legs of General Moreau, passing through his horse. All near him were overwhelmed with sorrow at the catastrophe. He was borne to a cottage, where he called for a cigar which he smoked with composure without uttering a groan, though he was suffering intensely. When the surgeons had amputated his right limb they examined the other, and told him they had hoped to save that, but could not. "Well," said he, "cut that off too. But if I had thought both would have to go I would rather have died on the spot."

The allied armies were compelled to retreat, and he was carried on a litter to Laun, where everything possible was done for his relief, the Emperor Alexander showing deep sympathy with the illustrious sufferer. While there he wrote this characteristic letter to his wife:

"My dearest: At the battle of Dresden three days ago, I had both my legs carried off by a cannon ball. That rascal Bonaparte is always fortunate. They have performed the operation as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrograde movement, it is by no means a retreat, but of design to draw nearer to General Blucher. Excuse my scrawl. I love and embrace you with my whole heart."

There were for a time symptoms favoring his recovery. Fever however set in and five days after he was wounded he expired with rare stolicism, but with no expression of a belief in immortality. His remains were embalmed and conveyed to Prague, and thence to St. Petersburg and buried in a Catholic church with the highest military honors. Alexander wrote a letter to his widow, testifying his warm friendship for the deceased and his deep sense of the irreparable loss, which she and he himself had sustained. It begins with the following language:

"When the frightful catastrophe, which befell at my side Gen. Moreau, deprived me of the guidance and experience of that great man, I indulged the hope, that by means of care, he might yet be preserved for his family and my friendship. Providence has disposed it otherwise; he has died as he lived, in full possession of a great and constant mind."

The Czar did not limit his condolence to kind words. He presented Mrs. Moreau with a gift of \$100,000, and an annual pension of \$7,500. A monument was erected on the hill where he was wounded, and a similar one was dedicated to his memory in Paris in 1819.

Gen. Moreau's property in Morrisville was sold in 1816. John S. Roulet, executor of his will, was authorized by Act of Legislature, passed March 5, 1816, to sell his real estate, called the Delaware Water Works, with Woods Island or Morrisville Island, after notice should have been given in the papers of Philadelphia, New York and Bucks county. The required notice was published in the *Democratic Press*, of Philadelphia, the *New York Gazette*, and the *Pennsylvania Correspondent*, of Doylestown, now the *Bucks County Intelligencer*. John S. Roulet, acting for Mrs. Eugenie Moreau and Isabella, her daughter, on

June 27, 1816, sold the land and buildings at Mahlon Carver's tavern for \$52,000 to John Baptist Sartori, of Trenton, agent for himself and for James Vanuxem, of Philadelphia. The deed was acknowledged September 13, 1816, before Jacob Radcliff, Mayor of New York; Peter T. Marselis and Theophilus Marselis, witnesses.

Bucks county has had the honor of numbering among her citizens, both in former and in more recent times, men of distinction in arms, brave defenders of their country's rights among whom a high place should be assigned to Gen. Jean Victor Maria Moreau.

The Claim of Connecticut to Wyoming.*

BY REV. D. K. TURNER, HARTSVILLE, PA.

(Pipersville Meeting, July 19, 1892.)

Important events in the settlement of any portion of our country are interesting to every patriot. The original occupation of most of Europe by the ancestors of the present inhabitants took place many centuries ago, and the dim haze of antiquity enshrouds it. Many transactions of great significance in those remote ages have been lost in oblivion, or are so indistinctly traced on the historic page that they awaken little curiosity.

But when we contemplate the infancy of the States of our own land, especially of our own Commonwealth, scarcely anything unusual or remarkable fails to excite lively attention. In the early history of Pennsylvania much dispute and some bloody strife existed between that Colony and Connecticut in regard to the proper ownership of the region in which is the valley of the Wyoming. It was all at one time included in the bounds of Bucks county, and on that account the struggle for its possession has a peculiar claim to our study. In 1683 among the acts of the First Provincial Assembly was the division of the domain granted to Penn into three counties, Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks. The boundary line of the last began at the

* The Pennsylvania German, Vol. 7. pages 223 and 308 contains a paper on "Connecticut's Claim in Wyoming Valley," by Prof. D. Montfort Melchoir. The "Historical Register," edited by Dr. William H. Egle, Vol. 2, page 1, also contains an interesting paper on the same subject by Stuben Jenkins.