Life of General Philip Schuyler

CHAPTER FOUR
Schuyler in Command of the Northern Department.
The Invasion of Canada
The Johnsons and the Tories

ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 21, 1775, George Washington, Philip Schuyler, and Charles Lee rode out of the streets of Philadelphia, journeying northward.

Among the many acts of wisdom recorded of the first Congress of the United Colonies, none was destined to bear such precious fruit as the choice for commander-in-chief, of him, in whose keeping had been placed, the country's defense.

As dispassionately as those men had surveyed the issues of the conflict, as unerringly as they had defined their just rights, so had they chosen the man who, above all, was fitted to lead in action during the arduous and disheartening years to come.

There were interesting points of contrast between the three general officers now earnestly conferring as they urged their horses along the Trenton road.

Washington and Schuyler were both entering on middle life. Both were tall, well-made men, impressive in aspect.

The first, an Englishman of Virginia, coming from his ancestral home on the banks of the Potomac.

The second, a Dutchman of New York, whose stately dwelling looked down upon the Hudson.

Both were Americans at heart and in principle.

Both represented the best class in their respective communities, and they were each born in the two colonies of all the most aristocratic in social structure.

Both had seen service in the old French and Indian War, and knew the difficulties peculiar to fighting in a vast wooded and roadless country.

Washington had been with Braddock on the disastrous day in the Virginia forest, while Schuyler had been with Sir William Johnson in the memorable fight at Lake George.

The acquaintance of the two generals dated from the recent meeting at Philadelphia, where they had served together on a military committee.

This journey ripened a friendship which never suffered any interruption.

Washington acquired a regard for Schuyler's ability and character which he never failed to assert.

Schuyler recognized the nobility of soul and the perfect balance of mind on which rested the superiority of the commander-in-chief.

From this time on, Schuyler never ceased to look up to Washington as to one to whom it was an honor to pay a tribute of devotion and affection.

While Washington and Schuyler were Americans, staking their lands, their homes and their lives with patriotic self-sacrifice, Charles Lee, on the other hand, was a selfish military adventurer, entering the quarrel for what he could make of it, ever nourishing a jealous hatred of Washington, whom he considered to have robbed him of the position of commander-in-chief.

Mean in spirit, and slovenly in person, he presented the same contrast to his companions that his conduct in the war was to present to theirs.

To Washington he was a recent acquaintance.

But Schuyler could not have forgotten some scenes in which Lee had figured at The Flatts, seventeen years before, when, as a captain in Abercrombie's army, where he had exhibited the stupid arrogance which formed the chief trait in his character.

That the Congress at Philadelphia should have given high military rank to Lee, and that Washington and Schuyler should have deferred at first to his supposed experience, was an illustration of the respect yet supposed to be due in the colonies to everything belonging to the mother country.

The party had proceeded about twenty miles when a courier was met galloping toward Philadelphia with dispatches for Congress, which contained the news of the battle of Bunker Hill.

In the excitement that ensued, Washington's inquiries went immediately to the main point.

How did the militia behave?

Did they hold their ground under fire?

When he heard the answer, he exclaimed: "The liberties of the country are safe."

Then they hastened through the Jerseys, over the ground that was soon to be the battlefields of Trenton and of Princeton, past Nassau Hall to Newark, where General Montgomery was waiting to escort them to New York.

On the same day, the British man-of-war, upon which Governor Tryon was returning from England, was sighted in the lower bay.

The almost simultaneous arrival of the English governor, and the American commander-in-chief, was a source of much embarrassment to the authorities of New York, divided and uncertain as they were.

It was decided at last to pay equal honors to both in the order of their arrival.

Washington appeared first, riding down Broadway with Schuyler and Montgomery.

The militia saluted him, and Peter Livingston, as President of the Provincial Congress, made an address which showed how strong was the old English dread of military domination:

"Confiding in you, sir, and in the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of every American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and re-assume the character of our worthiest citizen."

To which Washington replied: "As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war: When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

In the evening, Governor Tryon landed, receiving the same honors from the militia and city officials, but, of course, no greeting from the Provincial Congress.

A cheering crowd of loyalists accompanied him to Government House, and two British men-of-war rode at anchor off the Battery, ready to obey his commands.

Tryon had been a popular official, and he now sought to avoid all unnecessary friction.

Schuyler, who had been on terms of personal friendship with him, was not obliged, in these changed conditions, to do more than ignore his presence in the Government House.

That evening, a conference took place between Washington and Schuyler, at which the latter received his instructions as commander of the Revolutionary forces in the province of New York.

The next morning, Washington set out on his journey to Cambridge, there to take command of the American army and to conduct the successful campaign which expelled the British from Boston.

Schuyler accompanied him as far as New Rochelle, and then returned to face the new and trying situation in which his appointment placed him.

New York was one of the smaller colonies, ranking only seventh in point of population.

But it was strategically the most important of all.

It separated New England from New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

British control meant the division of American forces and the prevention of co-operation between the northern and the southern provinces.

Vital as was its possession to the American cause, there were circumstances which rendered its security a matter of great doubt and difficulty.

British sea power marked for its own the port of New York.

The colonies had not a ship to protect it.

Accordingly, English fleets could enter and land troops at will.

In the. north was Canada, where hostile armies could muster undisturbed for invasion.

To the west lay the wilderness with its Six Nations of Indians under the control, as far as they submitted to any, of Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson.

The latter had come out unreservedly for the King, and already disturbances and rumors of savage warfare were alarming the settlements west of the Hudson.

Thus, threatened from without, New York was subject more than any other colony to the internal danger of British loyalty or luke-warmness toward the patriot cause among its own inhabitants.

Philip Schuyler, Philip Livingston, John Alsop, James Duane, John Jay, Francis Lewis, Alexander Macdougall, George Clinton, Lewis Morris, Philip Van Cortlandt, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, are names now distinguished because their bearers risked all and did all for their country.

But there were many men of high social advantages and ability who held aloof and waited, or were actively hostile.

The city of New York was commercial and aristocratic.

Both of these interests were averse to disturbance, and reliant upon friendly intercourse with the mother country.

However they might resent ministerial injustice, they dreaded extreme measures which upset business, disturbed social order, and would end none could tell where.

In the country districts, were many settlers to whom English loyalty was a habit, they appreciated the possible hardships of a conflict much more vividly than the importance of the points at issue.

A considerable portion of the population, therefore, could not be relied upon for assistance.

On the shoulders of Philip Schuyler, now rested the responsibility for the military control of the northern portion of the province.

He was not a soldier by profession.

The abilities which in peaceful occupations had raised him to leadership in his community must now be applied to new and exacting problems.

The Provincial Congress was ready to give him every support in its power, but it looked to him for information in military affairs.

There was no governmental machinery for raising an army, nor for providing the great and varied supplies without which an army could not exist.

For the present, Schuyler must be his own quartermaster, commissary and recruiting officer.

In a few days he had informed himself and had reported to the Provincial Congress concerning the armed forces then available and the supplies most needed.

In the neighborhood of the city were General Wooster's Connecticut regiment of about five hundred men and Colonel David Waterbury's of about nine hundred.

At Ticonderoga and at different points near Lake George, were about twelve hundred more, chiefly from New England.

The total was less than three thousand, and they were enlisted for such short terms that the army would speedily melt away unless constantly recruited.

Among the supplies asked for were naturally such obvious requirements as tents, arms, powder, food, clothing, and medicines.

But as can be seen from the long lists of subsidiary articles requested of the Congress by Schuyler, the tools for the gunsmith, blacksmith, carpenter, and boat builder, the rope and oakum and nails for the boats to be built, the shovels and pickaxes for intrenching, so many supplies were lacking.

The recognition of the need for these materials was but one example of General Schuyler's personal knowledge of what men would need while campaigning in forests and over waterways.

Before leaving New York for the north, Schuyler made an address to the troops through the medium of a letter to General Wooster.

"America," he said, "has recourse to arms merely for her safety and defense."

“And in resisting oppression she will not oppress.”

“She wages no war of ambition, content if she can only retain the fair inheritance of English law and English liberty.”

“Such being the purity of her intentions, no stain must be suffered to disgrace our arms.”

“We are soldiers ambitious only to aid in restoring the violated rights of citizens, and these secured, we are to return instantly to the business and employments of civilized life.”

“Let it be a truth deeply impressed on the minds of everyone of us who bear arms, and let us evince to the world that, in contending for liberty, we abhor licentiousness.”

“That, in resisting the misrule of tyrants, we shall support government honestly administered.”

“All unnecessary violence *to* the persons or property of his Majesty's subjects must, therefore, most strictly be forbidden and avoided.”

“Let us act as becomes the virtuous citizen, who seeks for the aid of righteous heaven and the just applause of an impartial world.”

“Liberty, Safety, and Peace are our objects.”

“The establishment of the Constitution and not the lust of dominion.”

“These are principles I wish deeply implanted in the heart of every soldier whom I have the honor to command.”

“They will lead us to glory.”

“They will merit for us the esteem of our countrymen."

While public sentiment in New York was yet inclined to a policy of waiting and trusting to an accommodation with the mother country, in New England the bloodshed at Lexington had aroused an aggressive feeling and a desire to strike some defiant blow at British power.

In the old wars in America between England and France, it was well remembered that Ticonderoga had been the great military prize.

The mountain fortress between Lakes George and Champlain, which controlled the passage to Canada, there had been fought the bloodiest and the most decisive of battles.

Hence had come the suggestion of the bold expedition of Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, which, on the night of the 10th of May, had surprised the garrison of Ticonderoga and had placed the fort and its military supplies in the power of the Continental forces.

This striking feat seemed to open the door to Canada.

Congress, hitherto reluctant, now resolved upon an invasion and confided its conduct to Schuyler.

He left New York on the fourth of July in a sloop, stopped at Albany for a few days to take measures for the protection of the western frontier against the Johnson family and their Indian allies, and arrived at Ticonderoga on the eighteenth.

Then ensued six weeks of military preparations under great difficulties.

Schuyler's letter books are filled with correspondence with the Congress at Philadelphia, with the Provincial Congress at New York, with Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, relating to the accumulation of men, money, arms, clothing, lead, powder, and materials for boat-building at Ticonderoga.

His own ingenuity and credit were strained to the utmost.

When he first arrived the situation seemed almost hopeless.

"I have neither boats sufficient," he wrote to Congress, "nor any materials for building them."

“The stores I ordered from New York are not yet arrived.”

“I have, therefore, not a nail, no pitch, no oakum, and want a variety of articles indispensably necessary, which I estimated and delivered into the New York Congress on the 3d instant.”

“An almost equal scarcity of ammunition exists, no powder having yet come to hand; not a gun carriage for the few proper guns we have, and as yet very little provision.”

“There are now two hundred less troops than by my last return.”

“These are badly, very badly armed, indeed, and only one poor armorer *to* repair their guns."

The Provincial Congress wrote back: "Our troops can be of no service to you.”

“They have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition.”

“The officers no commissions, our treasury no money, ourselves in debt.”

“It is in vain to complain.”

“We will remove difficulties as fast as we can, and send you soldiers whenever the men we have raised are entitled to that name."

With these obstacles, great as they were, Schuyler was fitted to contend.

He struggled hard, and by the end of August, had fifteen hundred men fairly armed and equipped, and boats ready to convey them up the lake.

But there were other difficulties more serious to Schuyler, and which his character and education were less adapted to meet successfully.

In the preparation for this expedition it was understood that Connecticut should provide men and that New York should provide money and supplies.

It turned out to be an unfortunate arrangement.

The jealousy and enmity between the inhabitants of New York and of Connecticut were strong.

The New England troops were extremely averse to placing themselves under the command of a general from New York, especially when that officer was " a Dutchman " who had maintained the right of his colony to the Hampshire Grants.

Schuyler naturally placed all provisions from whatever source at the disposal of the troops as a whole.

But Connecticut officers objected to Connecticut flour being supplied to New York men, and claimed that they should have sole control over all provisions sent by their colony.

Such an idea as continental union for the general good of all was too new yet for acceptance.

Schuyler had requested the appointment of his nephew, Walter Livingston, as deputy commissary general, and Congress had appointed him.

When his commission arrived, Livingston happened to be in company with Elisha Phelps and Zebediah Strong, who had been sent as commissaries in charge of Connecticut supplies.

Livingston's commission as commissary general, issued by the Continental Congress, took precedence of those of Phelps and Strong.

The result was a quarrel and an appeal to Schuyler.

He explained the matter to Phelps, who yielded gracefully, but Strong could not control his feeling at becoming subordinate to a New York officer.

"God forbid," he wrote to Schuyler, "that any overgrown colony or overbearing man should at this critical juncture use such pernicious partiality as to attempt to monopolize every emolument."

He apologized later for this language, but the incident was one of many which kept up a disturbing friction and made organization difficult.

Connected with the intercolonial jealousies and still harder to deal with was the aversion to discipline and subordination on the part of the New England troops.

These were composed of men accustomed to complete equality and individual liberty.

Living isolated on their farms, with little distinction of wealth and none of social position, they had never known control or the habit of obedience.

Their officers were chosen among themselves, and, while respected as leaders, were not regarded in any sense as superiors.

They had little more thought of exercising authority than their soldiers had of acknowledging it.

The dislike of discipline and subordination created difficulties enough in their own ranks, but when it met the military system of Schuyler, it developed into hatred of a supposed tyranny.

Schuyler found the men crowded into barracks with entire disregard of sanitary precautions, and their health becoming so bad that one third were incapacitated for duty.

His attempts to introduce reforms in this particular were sullenly resisted.

At home, the men were accustomed to severe physical labor.

Since arriving at Ticonderoga they had done nothing but clean their guns and turn out for parade.

They were spoiling for their accustomed exercise.

Schuyler set them to work, partly as a health measure, and partly to forward the boat-building and other preparations for the expedition.

This was regarded as a hardship, and made the subject of complaint.

The commissary department was without regulation, the men helping themselves to what they wanted, and wasting ruinously.

They considered that the provisions belonged to them and resented their control, especially by an officer from another colony.

They were patriotic and brave, ready to fight, but wishing to do it in their own way, as partisans, not as a regular army.

To introduce business order, to inculcate obedience on the part of officers and men, were tasks trying to a man of Schuyler's methodical habits and somewhat imperious temper.

The difficulty was deeply seated, as Montgomery found when he was making his campaign in Canada.

"They are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers," he wrote home.

"They are homesick, their regiments are melted away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper among them."

"There is such an equality among them that the officers have no authority."

"The privates are all generals, but not soldiers."

When experience in war had taught the New England men the necessity of unquestioning obedience, they made the very backbone of the American army.

But meanwhile they were difficult to command.

Schuyler lacked the patience and conciliatory disposition which such work required.

Habituated to order and system, he was irritated by the indifference to these qualities which he saw about him.

Accustomed to the exercise of authority, and to the respect which a man in his position received in the province of New York, he could not understand the familiarity and independence of the New England men.

He described the situation to Washington, who thus replied from Cambridge: "I can easily judge of your difficulties in introducing order and discipline into troops who have from their infancy imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind."

“It would be far beyond the compass of a letter for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival.”

“Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you that mine must be a portraiture at full length of what you have had in miniature.”

“Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in the separation of the army or fatal contests with one another.”

“However, we mend every day, and I flatter myself that in a little time we shall work up these raw materials into a good manufacture.”

“I must recommend to you, what I endeavor to practice myself, patience and perseverance."

" I can easily conceive," answered Schuyler, "that my difficulties are only a faint semblance of yours.”

“Yes, my general, I will strive to copy your bright example, and patiently and steadily persevere in that line, which alone, can promise the wished for reformation."

The New England opposition to Schuyler was destined to bear bitter fruit for him.

A strong prejudice existed against him before he assumed command.

His efforts to introduce military order into the army at Ticonderoga, his regulation of supplies, his sanitary measures, his requirement of labor on the part of the soldiers, induced a feeling of animosity which took form in suspicions of his loyalty to the patriot cause.

The situation is described in a curious contemporary letter written from the camp in July, 1775.

Accompanying Colonel Hinman's regiment, as chaplain, was the Reverend Cotton Mather Smith, of Sharon, well known through western Connecticut as "Parson Smith."

He wrote to his wife: "You wish to know if the rumors about General Schuyler are true, if he is secretly a tory?"

"Saying that you are requested to ask me."

"My dear wife, they are not true."

"Say this to any who ask you, on my authority, for I speak whereof I do know, General Schuyler is as earnest a patriot as any in our land, and he has few superiors in any respect."

"I do grieve that so many of our New England men should so fail to do him justice."

"Yet are they not quite without excuse, not for their suspicions, but for their dislike."

"The General is somewhat haughty and overbearing."

"He has never been accustomed to seeing men that are reasonably well taught, and able to give a clear opinion, and to state their grounds for it, who were not also persons of some wealth and rank."

"When our blacksmith came up to the General without any preliminaries to offer him some information and advice, but not disrespectfully, the General, albeit the information was of importance and should have speedy attention, spoke very sharply to the poor man and bade him begone."

“He could easily have seen that the man meant no harm and was far more intelligent than the most of his 'stupid Dutchmen', as I grieve to say that our New England men are too apt to call them, even when they are officers, but it was not until I had explained to the General that the man was well descended and only a blacksmith by reason that his grandfather's English estates had been forfeited to the crown, that the General could be prevailed upon to listen to him.”

“This is our commander's one weakness, and I would not have you repeat it to anyone.”

“On the other hand, our men are much too free with their strictures.”

“Full one-third of my time is taken up in trying to make them see that we have no warrant for suspicions of the General, and every reason for the greatest confidence.”

“I am in a position to form a good judgment, and I consider General Schuyler to be an honorable gentleman, a man of unusual probity, an excellent commanding officer, and most devoted to our cause.”

“Tell all who talk to you about him just what I here do say, and bid them to pay no heed to aught the perverse faultfinders may choose to say."

Another contemporary letter, which throws much light on this subject so near to Schuyler, was written by James Lockwood to Silas Deane, from Fort George, in October, 1775, when the troops were on their way to Canada under Montgomery.

"I am not unacquainted how apt soldiers are to report groundless ill-natured stories about officers, neither do I believe one-fiftieth part of the complaints against General Schuyler have any real foundation in truth.”

“He has certainly had a most arduous, very disagreeable piece of business of it, and has done perhaps as much, if not more, than any other man could do, yet thus it is, neither the officers nor the soldiers of the army love him, and Montgomery, who has been the darling of the army, they now complain much of.”

“In short, sir, it certainly ever was and ever will be of the greatest importance that every general officer is well acquainted with the genius, temper, and dispositions of the people that compose his army.”

“Our New England people will not at once submit to the usages frequently practiced among regular troops.”

“It is my opinion that the greater part of the uneasiness has arisen from this quarter."

With Schuyler at Ticonderoga was Richard Montgomery, the brigadier-general appointed from New York, one of the heroic figures of the Revolution.

He was born December 2, 1738, at Conway House, near Raphoe, in the North of Ireland, the third son of an Irish Baronet.

His eldest brother was an officer in the English army, the second was a merchant at Lisbon, and a sister was married to Lord Ranelagh.

He studied at Dublin College, and at eighteen entered the English army as an ensign.

During the Seven Years' War his regiment was ordered to Halifax, and in 1758, he was with Wolfe at the capture of Louisburg, the French fortress which guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River.

Here he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

During the remainder of the war he served under Amherst and at its conclusion went to the West Indies, where, in 1762, he became captain.

In 1772, he resigned his commission and sailed from England for New York with the design of settling there.

He married Janet, eldest child of Judge Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, and began farming at Rhinebeck.

In 1775 he was chosen a delegate from Dutchess County to the first Provincial Congress.

There he felt himself to be of little use, as he had no facility in public speaking.

But the scanty written records of him show that he could express himself in private in language both noble and much to the point.

On receipt of his commission he wrote: " The Congress, having done me the honor of electing me a brigadier-general in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, perhaps forever, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed."

It is related by L. L. Hunt, in notes on Montgomery, that, "he came into his wife's room and asked her to make up for him the ribbon cockade which was to be placed on his hat.

He saw her emotion and marked the starting tear.

With persuasive gentleness, he said to her: “Our country is in danger.”

“Unsolicited in two instances, I have been distinguished by two honorable appointments.”

“As a politician I could not serve them.”

“As a soldier, I think I can.”

“Shall I then accept the one and shrink from the other in dread of danger?”

“My honor is engaged."

On his departure for the army, Judge Livingston said to him: "Take care of your life."

To which he replied, "Of my honor, you would say, sir."

To his wife, his last words were: "You shall never blush for your Montgomery."

By the middle of August, Schuyler had made great progress with the preparations for the expedition.

Enough boats had been built to convey the troops down the lake and sufficient ammunition and food were at hand for immediate needs.

Meanwhile great alarm was felt at Albany concerning the hostile attitude of the Indians in the Mohawk Valley, and Schuyler went south to attend a council with the savages.

Before he could finish this business, he received news from Montgomery that the activity of the enemy at St. John's necessitated the immediate movement of the troops and that he was about to start for the north.

Schuyler was ill, but he made his way back to Ticonderoga as fast as he could, and notwithstanding increasing illness, embarked in a small boat on which a bed was improvised and had himself taken to the Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, where, in a condition of great weakness, he joined Montgomery on the 5th of September.

"Poor Schuyler," Montgomery wrote to his wife, " is in so miserable a state of health as to make him an object of compassion."

Schuyler wrote and forwarded into Canada an address to the population intended to win their adhesion to the American cause, and considered with Montgomery the plans of the coming campaign, but his illness increased in the swampy country where the army was encamped, and he felt himself to be useless and unable to endure the hardships of the campaign and returned to Ticonderoga on the 18th.

On the 20th he wrote to Washington: " I find myself much better as the fever has left me, and hope soon to return where I ought and wish to be, unless a barbarous relapse should dash the cup of hope from my lips."

But the combination of gout and bilious fever from which he suffered was not to leave him.

The 25th of September he wrote to the Continental Congress.

"The vexation of spirit under which I labor that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have so unweariedly wrought, since I was honored with this command, the anxiety of mind I have suffered since my arrival here lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders, in some of the officers that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of disagreeable and vexatious incidents that almost every hour arise in some department or other; not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past."

"If Jobe had been a general in my situation, his memory may have not been so famous for patience."

"But the glorious end which we have in view, and which I have a confident hope will be attained, will atone for all."

To the Provincial Congress, he wrote in October:

"My disorders have taken such deep root, that I now begin to have little hope of recovery so as to take an active part in the future operations of the campaign. I hope, however, that I shall not be obliged to leave this place, unhealthy and unfavorable to my recovery as it is, lest it should involve General Montgomery in irremediable inconveniences."

Notwithstanding his illness, Schuyler carried on all the business of collecting and forwarding supplies to the army in Canada.

Montgomery wrote to his wife:

"General Schuyler's return to Ticonderoga has been a most fortunate affair."

"We should most certainly have been obliged to return half starved, and to leave the unfortunate Canadians to take care of themselves."

"Your residence at Ticonderoga," he wrote to Schuyler from St. John's, " has probably enabled us to keep our ground."

"How much do the public owe you for your attention and activity."

The invasion of Canada at this early period of the struggle was an illustration of the aggressive determination of the patriot party.

Not content with resisting the armed attacks of the ministry, not content with the great fight which Washington was waging against the British army at Boston, the patriots undertook to carry the war into Africa and to wrest from England possessions which were not involved in the quarrel.

It was an act of defiance, which emphasized the warlike feeling of the colonies and showed the mother country that a defensive war was not all she had to face.

Moreover, an invasion of Canada seemed to be the best preventive of an invasion from Canada.

For such reasons the expedition was well judged.

But with the small force at the disposal of the colonies, with the extreme difficulty of obtaining and forwarding military supplies, success was hardly possible.

Montgomery started at the end of August, and reached St. John's, the fort which protected Montreal on the south, in the middle of September.

A siege of fifty days ensued, the garrison surrendering November 3rd.

The long delay incurred at St. John's was very injurious to the prospects of the expedition, for winter, with its hardships, was brought so much the nearer.

On the 12th, Montreal was taken, and Montgomery proclaimed the jurisdiction of the Continental Congress, to which he urged the inhabitants to send delegates.

Although successful so far, the most difficult task, the capture of Quebec, yet lay before him.

At about the same time that he had left Ticonderoga, Washington had sent Benedict Arnold with a detachment from his own army at Cambridge with orders to reach Quebec by way of the Merrimac River.

Through great labor and suffering, which reduced his command by one half, Arnold had surmounted every obstacle.

Through an intercepted letter, Montgomery learned that Arnold was before Quebec, and that "the King's friends" there expected to be besieged, "which," said the gallant general, "with the blessing of God, they shall be, if the severe season holds off and I can prevail on the troops to accompany me."

This last proviso indicated an impediment to Montgomery's success which so far had seemed to him more serious than any enemy.

Among a considerable portion of his little army there existed a spirit of insubordination which frustrated his plans and depressed his spirit.

The example was set by officers. Captain Baker, a leader of the Green Mountain Boys, who contrary to express orders, went up into Canada with five companions to see what he could do on his own account.

Meeting with a party of Indians in a canoe, he wantonly fired upon them, killing two.

He got a bullet through his own head, which was well deserved, but the surviving savages paddled off with their tale of injury, and did much to frustrate the efforts of Schuyler and Montgomery to keep the Indians neutral.

Ethan Allen, "the hero of Ticonderoga," was proceeding at the head of his company to join Montgomery at the siege of St. John's.

On the way it occurred to him that he might steal a march on his commanding officer and win much glory for himself by making an independent attack on Montreal with his own force.

This he did, sacrificing his whole company, which Montgomery much needed.

He was himself taken prisoner, put into irons as a sort of pirate, and complained loudly of a punishment which was due entirely to his own folly and disobedience.

In Montgomery's own camp there was a set of officers, some from New England, some from New York, who were constantly telling the general what they would do, what they would not do, and what he ought to do.

All this was galling to the brave but not over-patient Montgomery.

He was the leader of a guerrilla band, not the general of regular troops.

As to the men, they were not soldiers by education or habit and a great many soon concluded that they did not want to be.

They were homesick.

They had enlisted for a few months from patriotic feeling, but their time was up.

A considerable number refused to proceed after the taking of St. John's, and Montgomery had got them as far as Montreal only by promising to discharge them there.

Now they declined to face the hardships of a winter campaign in Canada.

Some alleged the expiration of their terms of enlistment, others their health, others again were mutinous, making their presence undesirable.

Montgomery had to discharge a great many.

Schuyler wrote to Congress of the arrival of some of these men at Ticonderoga:

"About three hundred of the troops raised in Connecticut passed here within a few days."

"An unhappy homesickness prevails."

These all came down as invalids, not one willing to re-engage for the winter's service, and unable to get any work done by them, I discharged them en groupe."

“Of all the specifics ever invented for any there is none so efficacious as a discharge for this prevailing disorder.”

“No sooner was it administered but it perfected the cure of nine out of ten; who, refusing to wait for boats to go by way of Lake George, slung their heavy packs, crossed the lake at this place, and undertook a march of two hundred miles with the greatest good will and alacrity."

When Montgomery had joined Arnold before Quebec their combined forces numbered but twelve hundred men.

As General Carleton, the British commander, would not come out to fight, it was resolved to storm the works.

On the last day of December, 1775, at two o'clock in the morning, amidst a driving snow storm, Arnold and Montgomery attacked, on opposite sides of the town.

Arnold fell badly wounded.

Montgomery dead, struck by three bullets, when near his goal.

His body was found at daybreak by a detachment sent out by Carleton, who had been his fellow officer in Wolfe's army.

It lay between the bodies of his two faithful aides, MacPherson and Cheeseman, nearly hidden by the drifting snow, and was given a soldier's grave within the wall.

Forty-three years later, in July, 1818, his wife stood alone on the piazza of her house at Rhinebeck, while below, on the waters of the Hudson, paused for a while, the barge which bore the remains of Montgomery from the heights of Quebec to their final resting place at St. Paul's Church in New York.

The monument visible from the street by the thousands who daily pass before it, was designed by the French sculptor, Caffieres, at the order of Congress, and bears an inscription composed by Benjamin Franklin.

The early successes of Montgomery and all that was known of him had created a strong feeling in his favor throughout the country.

Proportionately great was the mourning when the news of his death was received.

Thomas Lynch, attending Congress in Philadelphia, wrote to Schuyler:

"Never was a city so universally struck with grief as this was on hearing of the loss of Montgomery."

“Every lady's eye was filled with tears.”

“I happened to have company at dinner, but none had inclination for any other food but sorrow or resentment.”

“Poor, gallant fellow!”

“If a martyr's sufferings merit a martyr's reward, his claim is indisputable.”

“I am sure that from the moment he left Ticonderoga to the moment of his release by death, his sufferings had no interval.”

“He now rests from his labor, and his works can't but follow him."

The blow to Schuyler was a severe and personal one.

Between the two generals there had never been a misunderstanding nor any feeling but perfect confidence and regard.

In his last letter to Montgomery, Schuyler had said: "Adieu, my dear sir; may I have the pleasure soon to announce another of your victories, and afterwards that of embracing you."

It was but a few days later when he was obliged to write to Washington: "I wish I had no occasion to send my dear general the enclosed melancholy accounts.”

“My amiable friend, the gallant Montgomery, is no more!”

“The brave Arnold is wounded, and we have met with a very severe check in an unsuccessful attempt on Quebec.”

“May Heaven be graciously pleased to terminate the misfortune here.”

“I tremble for our people in Canada."

When the news of the death of Montgomery reached London, the opposition seized the occasion to sound his praises and to reprove the ministry.

Chatham and Burke spoke feelingly, and Colonel Barre, a companion of Montgomery's in the French War, was deeply moved as he dwelt on the fine qualities of the dead.

But Lord North declared: "I cannot join in lamenting the death of Montgomery as a public loss.”

“He was undoubtedly brave, humane, and generous.”

“But still he was only a brave, humane, and generous rebel.”

“Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country."

To which Fox pointedly replied: "The term rebel is no certain mark of disgrace.”

“All the great assertors of liberty, the saviors of their country, the benefactors of mankind in all ages, have been called rebels.”

“We owe the constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion."

During the progress of the expedition into Canada, Montgomery had written to Schuyler several times regarding the insubordination of his troops and his desire to resign.”

On the 13th of October, at St. John's, he said: " When I mentioned my intentions regarding the campaign, I did not consider that I was at the head of troops who carry the spirit of freedom into the field and think for themselves.”

“Upon considering the fatal consequences which might flow from the want of subordination and discipline, should this ill humor continue, my unstable authority over troops of different colonies, the insufficiency of the military law, and my own want of powers to enforce it, weak as it is, I thought it expedient to call the field officers together.”

“Enclosed I send you the result of our deliberations, which has deprived me of all hope of success."

Again on the 31st of October: "I am exceedingly well pleased to see General Wooster here, both for the advantage of the service and upon my own account.”

For I must earnestly request to be suffered to retire, should matters stand on such a footing this winter as to permit me to go off with honor.”

“I have not talents nor temper for such a command.”

“I am under the disagreeable necessity of acting eternally out of character, to wheedle, flatter, and lie.”

“I stand in a constrained attitude.”

“I will bear with it for a short time, but I cannot support it long."

And on November 24th: "An affair happened here yesterday which had very near sent me home.”

“A number of officers presumed to remonstrate against the indulgence I had given some of the officers of the King's troops.”

“Such an insult I could not bear, and immediately resigned.”

“However, they have today qualified it by such an apology as puts it in my power to resume the command with some propriety, and I have promised to bury it in oblivion.”

“Captain Lamb, who is a restless genius and of a bad temper, was at the head of it.”

“He has been used to haranguing his fellow citizens in York, and cannot restrain his talents here.”

“He is brave, active, and intelligent, but very turbulent and troublesome, and not to be satisfied."

Schuyler informed Congress of Montgomery's intentions, adding: "My sentiments exactly coincide with his. I shall, with him, do everything in my power to put a finishing stroke to the campaign.”

“This done I must beg leave to retire."

Washington had the same difficulties to contend with which beset Montgomery and Schuyler.

His correspondence during this year affords ample evidence that a spirit of disorder and unmilitary independence pervaded the camp about Boston as well the army in New York.

He wrote to that effect to Schuyler urging him to bear with everything for the sake of the cause.

Schuyler agreed that such was the patriotic course, which he would wish to follow, but he added, "I think that I should prejudice my country by continuing any longer in this command.”

“The favorable opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, obliges me to an explanation which I shall give you in confidence.”

“I have already informed you of the disagreeable situation I have been in during the campaign, but I would waive that, were it not that it has arisen chiefly from prejudice and jealousy.”

For I could point out particular persons of rank in the army who have frequently declared that the general commanding in this quarter ought to be of the colony whence the majority of the troops come.”

“But it is not from the opinion or principles of individuals that I have drawn the following conclusion, that troops will not bear with a general from another colony.”

“It is from the daily and common conversation of all ranks of people from that colony, both in and out of the army, and I assure you, that I sincerely lament that a people of so much public virtue should be actuated by such an unbecoming jealousy, founded on such a narrow principle, a principle extremely unfriendly to our righteous cause, as it tends to alienate the affections of numbers in this colony, in spite of the most favorable constructions that prudent men and real Americans among us attempt to put upon it.”

“And although I frankly avow that I feel a resentment, yet I shall continue to sacrifice it to a nobler object-the welfare of that country in which I have drawn the breath of life."

During the winter of 1775-1776, much of Schuyler's attention was occupied by the attitude of the Johnson family, their Scotch dependents, and the Indian tribes in the Mohawk Valley.

Disaffections and hostility there were extremely dangerous.

When the city of New York and the lower Hudson fell into the possession of the British, the State of New York, for all purposes of the war, consisted only of the upper Hudson and the Mohawk valleys.

The remarkable life of Sir William Johnson was suddenly terminated at Johnson Hall in July, 1774, by an attack of apoplexy, probably brought on by anxiety over the political situation.

His title, his wealth, his office of Indian agent were derived from the Crown.

The principles at issue between the colonies and the ministry interested him little in the isolation of his forest domain.

His death occurred before he was obliged to declare for either side, but the inclination of his sympathy was shown by the attitude of his successors.

His son John inherited the baronecy and Johnson Hall.

His nephew and son-in-law Guy, became Indian agent, and lived at his place, called Guy Park, on the Mohawk River, a mile from the present village of Amsterdam.

Both the Johnsons assumed a menacing attitude.

Sir John fortified Johnson Hall, organized the Tryon County militia, and assumed its command.

Guy held secret conferences with the Indians at Guy Park.

After the news of Lexington and Concord had arrived, he became alarmed at the aspect of affairs, went up the Mohawk Valley with his family to Fort Stanwix, and then proceeded westward into the wilderness, stopping at all the Indian encampments and urging the chiefs to take sides with the British.

The Continental Congress, realizing the importance of keeping the Indians neutral, appointed a commission to meet them, consisting of Philip Schuyler, Joseph Hawley, Turbutt Francis, Oliver Wolcott, and Volckert P. Douw.

They held a council in the summer, taking the ground: "This is a family quarrel between us and Old England."

“You Indians are not concerned in it.”

“We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops.”

“We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep."

In September, 1775, another council was held at Albany, which terminated peacefully and calmed the fears of immediate danger from the Indians.

It was the last Indian council ever held in Albany, and Schuyler presided over it until called away by the departure of Montgomery's army.

During the early winter the Tories in Tryon County continued their hostile attitude and numerous acts of violence against the whigs were committed by them.

When the first Liberty pole was set up in the Mohawk Valley, the sheriff, named White, led a band of loyalists who cut it down, and White carried his aggressions so far that the whigs organized against him and drove him away.

He sought safety in Canada, was captured on the upper Hudson and sent by Schuyler as a prisoner to Albany.

The Tryon County patriot committee, of which the famous Nicholas Herkimer was chairman, kept a watch over Sir John Johnson, but took no active measures against him as he committed no overt act.

Early in January, 1776, Schuyler decided that a blow must be struck at the Tories in Tryon County which would discourage the disaffection there.

News was brought to him at Ticonderoga that Sir John had seven hundred armed Tories in the neighborhood of Johnson Hall.

Schuyler collected several hundred men in Albany, and on the 16th of January 1776, marched through the valley, collecting whigs as he went, until he had about three thousand men.

He met Sir John at Guy Park, where the baronet had repaired in company with some chiefs of his Scotch Highlanders and Indians to show the support which he had at his back.

Schuyler demanded Sir John's parole not to act inamically to the patriot cause, the surrender of all arms and ammunitions in the possession of the Tories and Indians at Johnson Hall, and the cessation of hostile acts against the Whigs.

Johnson asked for a delay of a day in sending his reply.

Schuyler assented, but meanwhile moved on to Johnstown.

There Sir John referred to his influence over the Indians and suggested terms of his own.

"I have given Sir John," replied Schuyler, "until twelve o'clock today to consider my terms, after which, if he shall not comply, I shall take such measures as will make him, and whoever assists him, feel the power in my hands."

Johnson yielded at the appointed time, gave his parole to commit no hostile act and not to go westward of the German Flatts.

The arms and ammunition were given up, three hundred Scotch Highlanders laying down their arms in the street of Johnstown.

Schuyler returned to Albany with two cannon, several swivels, a quantity of guns and ammunition, six chiefs of the Highlanders, and a hundred Tory prisoners whom he held as hostages.

Washington was much pleased by this action and Congress voted that Schuyler had performed "a meritorious service."

In the early spring, however, rumors arrived that Johnson was again inciting the Indians to war, and Schuyler summoned him to Albany.

There he protested that he would observe his parole, and, there being no definite proofs against him, he was allowed to return.

At the same time Schuyler sent Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, and James Deane, the interpreter, among the Indians to conciliate them and to spread the news of Washington's victory over the British at Boston.

Their mission seemed to be successful, but in May it became evident to Schuyler that Johnson was not true to his word.

He sent Colonel Dayton with three hundred picked men under a pretext to Johnstown.

At the first opportunity they were to arrest Sir John and carry him with all his papers to Albany.

But Tory friends warned the Baronet.

When Dayton arrived, he had fled with some companions into the forest, and Lady Johnson observed defiantly that his enemies would soon know where he was.

He made his way with great difficulty and suffering through the Adirondacks to the St. Lawrence River and Montreal.

There he was commissioned a Colonel in the British army, and raised among his royalist followers a regiment of about a thousand men, which, under the name of the Royal Greens, was afterwards to carry fire and sword along the frontiers of New York.

Schuyler, since boyhood, had social relations with the Johnsons, both father and son.

He considered Sir John as a gentleman who would observe his parole, and before the occasion arose for sending the Dayton expedition there were no acts sufficiently definite to justify arrest.

But the Baronet's escape was made the most of by Schuyler's enemies, and it was freely stated in New England that his Tory sympathies had induced him to connive at it.