Many were seen to shrink. But the officers with drawn swords threatened and exhorted. The enemy was in front, the lake behind.

The gallant French commander had hastened on in front, planning to enter the camp on the heels of the retreating column. Could he have done this, his success was assured. But the Canadians and Indians, at sight of the cannon, scattered widely among the trees, beyond the reach of orders. The French regulars received the full fire of cannon and musketry as they stood exposed and they too sought the shelter of the trees. Then for five hours raged the forest conflict, five thousand muskets discharged as fast as they could be loaded, the cannon booming and the balls crashing among the branches. Dieskau had had a poor opinion of the English provincials, and when he heard their numbers, said there were only so many more to kill. But after this battle his opinion changed. "They fought in the morning like good boys, at noon like men and in the afternoon like devils." Johnson retired early to his tent with a shot through his hip. Lyman conducted the defence with the greatest intrepidity, and its success was mainly owing to him. The French officer, St. Pierre, in command of the Indians, the same to whom Washington had carried Governor Dinwiddie's letter in the western forest, was killed. Dieskau, shot through the leg, sat on a log for hours giving his orders. The French fire slackened at last, and the English leaping over the breast-

work of logs, dashed upon their enemy hatchet in hand. Too exhausted to resist, the French fled through the woods and the day was won.

The unfortunate Dieskau, as he sat wounded on a fallen tree, attended only by his aide-de-camp, Bernier, was shot twice again in this final onslaught. Carried into the camp, he was received into Johnson's tent, where his generous captor spared no effort to relieve his sufferings. The two commanders lay side by side, receiving the same medical attention, such as it was, and discussing in a friendly manner the past events. Schuyler's knowledge of the French language was now useful. He was assiduous in his attention to Dieskau and Bernier and became intimate with both. Johnson's Indians, when they returned from the woods with the scalps of the dead, were incensed that the prisoners were not delivered over to their vengeance. Dieskau, especially, was the object of their bloodthirsty anger, and they demanded his life in return for that of their fallen chiefs. Johnson was firm in defence of his prisoner and took every precaution to protect him. "What do they want of me?" asked Dieskau, observing the threatening concourse of savages around the tent. "They want to kill and eat you, and put you in their pipes and smoke you," answered Johnson, "but they shall not while I live." It became imperative to send the prisoners away, and Captain Schuyler was ordered to convey them to

Albany. Johnson lent Dieskau fifty pounds on his departure.

The wounded man was borne on a litter over the rough "carry" to the Hudson, and there Schuyler had him placed in a batteau. With the other prisoners, Schuyler hastened in advance and when Dieskau arrived, comfortable quarters were ready for him and Bernier, who was also wounded. The battle and its result were known in Albany, and the rejoicing was naturally great. Had Johnson's camp been defended with less valor, had the chances of war been less favorable to him, Dieskau, with his white-coated Frenchmen, his rough Canadians and his painted savages, would have entered the town as a conqueror instead of a shattered prisoner. The imagination of the inhabitants did not need to be vivid to portray to them the inevitable consequences. Hence, the young Schuyler, fresh from the bloody field where he had performed his part, met with a cordial reception.

Nine days after the fight, on the 17th of September, he was married to the "sweet Kitty V. R.," mentioned in the letter to "Brom," the daughter of John Van Rensselaer of Claverack, and like himself a descendant of Philip Pieterse Schuyler. For a week after the wedding he remained in Albany, his attention divided between his bride and his French friends.

How much the wounded officers owed to him, and after his departure, to the kindness of his wife and mother, is shown by the following letter written to

him in French by Bernier, October the 5th:—"I have received, sir, and dear friend, the letter which you have done me the honor to write to me from your camp. It is full of politeness and sentiment. As to the portion intended particularly for me, I am truly sensible; and I should esteem myself infinitely happy to be able to give you some marks of my gratitude, and of the esteem and friendship which are due to you. I have read the letter to the Baron Dieskau. It has confirmed him in the good opinion of you, which, you know, he has reason to entertain. He is still as when you left him—still suffering, and uncertain how his wounds will end at last. He charges me to pray you, in his behalf, to present his compliments to M. de Johnson, and to assure him of the extent of his gratitude to him. His greatest desire is to be able to write to him himself. I pray you add to the Baron's wishes my very humble respects. One can add nothing to the politeness of Madame, your mother, and Madame, your wife. Every day there come from them to the Baron, fruits and other rare sweets which are of great service to him. He orders me, on this subject, to express to you all that he owes to the attentions of these ladies. If it was permitted me to go out, I should already have been often to present to them his respects and mine. The Baron has been much pleased to learn by your letter that General de Johnson esteems you and gives you marks of his consideration and kindness. If he shall have the happiness to be

restored to health, and to see your general again, he will himself be the proclaimer of all the good words which should be said of you, and which in justice he owes you, for the trouble and care you have had for him."

Johnson showed his incapacity as a general by not following up his advantage and taking Crown Point when he could. Lyman would gladly have led his New England men to a second and decisive victory, but that Johnson's jealousy would not permit, and Crown Point remained as hitherto a constant menace. But the victory won at the camp at Lake George was the solitary success in a year of disaster. The King of England marked his appreciation by a gift to Johnson of five thousand pounds and by creating him a baronet. Hereafter he is known as Sir William Johnson of Johnson Hall. Schuyler remained in camp until it broke up late in the autumn, and during the winter, although able to be much in Albany with his family, he was employed in making Fort Edward a depot of military stores.

There was stationed in Albany that winter an English officer named Colonel John Bradstreet, who had already rendered good services to his government and was destined to be much employed in the future course of the war. Although Bradstreet was much the senior of Schuyler, the two men formed an intimate friendship which had important results for both. In the spring of 1756, Bradstreet was sent at the head of an

expedition to Oswego on Lake Ontario, with the double purpose of keeping open the communications with that western post and of supplying it with military stores. Schuyler received orders to accompany him.

The expedition, which consisted of about two thousand boatmen and provincial soldiers, followed in safety the western route of river and lake and forest "carry" already familiar to Schuyler. The stores were deposited at the Oswego fort, where Peter Schuyler was in command with his "Jersey Blues," and where he was soon to be attacked and captured by Montcalm. In the beginning of July, Bradstreet's force started on its homeward journey. The long line of canoes was paddled slowly against the current of the Oswego River, between the shores of virgin forest. The van, consisting of about three hundred men, with Bradstreet and Schuyler at their head, had proceeded about nine miles, the silence of nature hardly broken by the sound of voice or paddle, when suddenly from the forest on the east bank came the rattle of musketry and a shower of bullets. The volley had been fired by a force of about seven hundred men under Coulon de Villiers, whom Governor Vaudreuil had sent to close the communications between Oswego and Albany.

In the canoes, many men had been struck. The rest, knowing themselves to be a shining mark for an enemy they could not see, paddled hastily for the west

bank and sought shelter among the trees. Elated by their success, the French started to cross the river by means of an island a little further up stream, with the intention of attacking the English before they could recover themselves. Bradstreet saw the movement and acted instantly. He, with Schuyler and six boatmen, paddled quickly to the island, reached it before the French, jumped from their canoes, posted themselves behind trees and fired at the Frenchmen in the water as fast as they could load. For a few moments, but all important moments, they held the French in check. Then they were joined by twenty more boatmen. Three times the French attempted to cross, but they were no sooner in the river and exposed to fire than a well aimed volley drove them back to cover. Repelled at this point, Coulon de Villiers led his men up the east bank, with the intention of crossing by an upper ford. Meanwhile the English had recovered themselves and reinforcements had arrived. Bradstreet took two hundred and fifty men and marched up the west bank. But the French had crossed before he arrived and for some time an indecisive exchange of shots took place from behind trees. At last Bradstreet passed along an order for a charge. His men made a rush, drove the French across the river and shot many as they passed. Another party of French who had crossed further up and now sought to join their comrades were in turn attacked and

driven off. Thus the day, which had opened so inauspiciously for Bradstreet's command, was, by coolness and vigor, victoriously ended. The expedition continued its journey to Albany with some prisoners and a goodly collection of French muskets and knapsacks. Bradstreet's action in this engagement afterwards received the praise of Wolfe.

Schuyler's humanity and generosity are illustrated by an occurrence which took place on the day of this fight. When Bradstreet and his little company on the island had repelled the French and saw them moving up the river, they entered their canoes to join the force on the west bank. A Canadian had fallen just as he reached the shore of the island and as his enemies were departing begged them not to leave him there to a lingering death. The canoes were already full and his request was refused. But Schuyler jumped ashore, took the man on his back, waded across the stream and placed the wounded Canadian in the care of Dr. Kirkland, the army surgeon. In 1775, when Schuyler, in command of the northern department, was in camp at Isle aux Noix in Canada, this man enlisted in the continental army and appeared at the general's tent to thank him.

In the Spring of 1758, Albany was the scene of unprecedented military preparations. The inhabitants of the quiet frontier town were almost lost in the crowd of soldiers and boatmen who were camped in its neighborhood and who thronged its streets with

little regard to discipline. The great and ill-fated expedition against Ticonderoga was on foot, bringing together such a military assemblage as had never been seen in the province. For months there was a camp about Mrs. Schuyler's house at The Flatts, and there sat at her hospitable board many officers whose names were to be familiar in American history. There was Abercrombie, the incompetent general in command, who stupidly sacrificed his brave men before the breastworks of Ticonderoga. There was the gallant Lord Howe, elder brother of the Richard and William Howe afterwards sent to subdue the colonies, now the second in command, but the soul of the army; whose death, as he led the van through the forest, involved the defeat and ruin of all. There was General Gage, later to command the British troops against rebellious Boston; and Charles Lee, later to play so contemptible a part in the continental army. Among the provincials were Stark of New Hampshire, then a captain, and Putnam of Connecticut, then a major.

At this interesting and exciting time, Philip Schuyler was living at The Flatts with his aunt. He was now deputy commissary with the rank of major. Constant association with the British officers was teaching him much of the principles of regular warfare, of the discipline necessary to control large bodies of men, and of the measures to be taken to keep an army in supplies. It was for the latter service that he

was especially employed, his knowledge of the country and its resources and his business ability being found valuable. The contempt felt or affected by the British officers for the provincials alienated many who might have been useful. It was only the more determined among the Americans who would endure the slights put upon them for the sake of remaining in the service.

Lord Howe's mind was of too high an order to entertain such prejudices. A truly great soldier, he recognized that European methods of warfare were not to be rigidly followed in American forests. He made a friend of young Schuyler, who could tell him much of the geographical and natural conditions of the coming campaign; he was in frequent consultation with Stark, Rogers and Putnam, who knew the woods and the waterways and had experience of Indian and Canadian fighting. But the noble nature which made him beloved at The Flatts and its most welcome visitor, the military genius which attracted the universal confidence of the army, were not destined to fulfil their mission. "A few days after Lord Howe's departure, in the afternoon," says Mrs. Grant, "a man was seen coming on horseback from the north, galloping violently without his hat. Pedrom, as he was familiarly called, the Colonel's only surviving brother, was with Aunt Schuyler, and ran instantly to inquire, well knowing he rode express. The man galloped on, crying out that Lord Howe was killed. The mind of our good

aunt had been so engrossed by her anxiety for the event impending, and so impressed by the merit of her favorite hero, that her wonted firmness sunk under the stroke, and she broke out into bitter lamentations. This had such an effect on her friends and domestics that shrieks and sobs of anguish echoed through every part of the house." Philip Schuyler brought back the body of the lamented soldier and placed it in the family vault, where it remained until permanently interred under the Chancel of St. Peter's Church in Albany. Massachusetts erected a monument in Westminster Abbey which commemorates the universal grief of the colonies.

When that army of fifteen thousand men, which had floated in grand procession over the waters of Lake George with flags flying and bands playing, had been repulsed with terrible slaughter by Montcalm at Ticonderoga; when the incompetent Abercrombie remained in supine inactivity, unable to take measures to retrieve the disaster, there was great indignation among the lesser officers and the troops. None felt more strongly than Schuyler's friend, the enterprising Bradstreet. After urgent entreaties, he obtained permission to lead an expedition against Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. Fort Frontenac was situated on the north shore of the lake, and since the destruction of the rival English fort, Oswego, on the south shore, it commanded the passage of the western lakes. When Montcalm had forced Peter Schuyler of New Jersey

to surrender at Oswego and had burned the fort, he considered that a great triumph had been achieved for Canada. No English military post then interfered with the French possession of that vast western domain. Bradstreet, with a true military instinct, saw the importance of taking Fort Frontenac and thus shutting off the western trade of Canada. And he gave Abercrombie no time to withdraw his permission. A contemporary says that "he flew rather than marched" over the route to the lake. He had been allowed three thousand men, nearly all provincials.

Philip Schuyler, who understood boat building, pushed on in advance with a large party of carpenters and boatmen. He found Oswego a charred and desolate ruin, with no sign of human occupation but the huge wooden cross which the French had planted as a sign of their possession. He lost no time in setting about his work, and in three weeks had built a sloop which he called the Mohawk and which was capable of carrying the cannon of the expedition to Frontenac.

With the Mohawk and a fleet of boats, Bradstreet appeared before Fort Frontenac on the evening of August 25th, to the astonishment of Noyau, its commander. He despatched couriers to M. de Vaudreuil at Montreal, begging for reinforcements. The French Governor, realizing the importance of the emergency, gathered fifteen hundred men from the harvest fields

and sent them off in haste. But it was too late. Bradstreet's cannon, unloaded from the Mohawk, and advantageously posted, swept the interior of the fort. The Indians fled and the garrison soon surrendered. Noyau, the commander, was allowed to go to Montreal on condition that he would effect an exchange between himself and Colonel Peter Schuyler, made prisoner at Oswego. The capture of Frontenac was felt as a very serious blow by Montcalm. It did much to retrieve the disgraceful defeat of Abercrombie and enhanced the reputation of Bradstreet. Again, the real work of the war was done by provincials.

The active service of Philip Schuyler terminated with the expedition against Frontenac. During the campaign of Wolfe and Amherst, in 1759, he was employed at Albany in collecting and forwarding supplies for the army. Considering the duties which were to be laid upon him in the future, his military experience had been of great value. In Johnson's camp at Lake George, by Bradstreet's side on the Oswego river, he had fought the close and desperate fight characteristic of American forests, where man was pitted against man, where dauntless courage was essential, where the scalping knife of the savage awaited the wavering or the disabled soldier. He had learned the methods of moving large bodies of men in a country of rivers and forests, the precautions against ambuscade, the building and management of boats. The collection and distribution of military stores had

been entrusted largely to him, and at the conclusion of the war there was no young man in the province who understood the duty better. His natural mental gifts and the constant association during five years with military officers had taught him what a soldier's life involved: the importance of discipline, the provision for the future, the necessity of meeting varying conditions with new expedients. The trained and enterprising Bradstreet was a good teacher, the noble Howe, an example, the narrow and poor spirited Abercrombie a warning.

Chapter III.

A Visit to England.—Home and Business Life.—Member of Provincial Assembly.—The Revolution.—Appointed Major-General.

ON retiring from military service, Schuyler settled down at The Flatts with his young wife and children and devoted himself to his private business. But from this pleasant life, he was soon called away by a new and interesting adventure.

Colonel Bradstreet had another campaign on hand in 1760, against the Indian allies of the French in the west. His health was poor and he had accounts with the government covering several years which gave him much anxiety. In this difficulty he turned to his young friend Schuyler. "Your zeal, punctuality and strict honesty in his Majesty's service," he wrote, "under my direction, for several years past, are sufficient proofs that I can't leave my public accounts and papers in a more faithful hand than yours to be settled, should any accident happen to me this campaign; wherefore that I may provide against it and that a faithful account may be rendered to the public of all the public money that I have received since the war, I now deliver to you all my public accounts and vouchers and

do hereby empower you to settle them with whomsoever may be appointed for that purpose, either in America or England."

The difficulty of concluding such business satisfactorily in the province determined Schuyler to go to London. A visit to Europe was a rare experience for a young provincial of those days and this one was destined to be adventurous and improving. It was in February, 1761, that he sailed in a packet called the "General Wall." His mathematical tastes were applied at once to a study of navigation; and soon after, the captain dying, the proficiency he had acquired resulted in his being requested by passengers and crew to assume the command. Schuyler was then but twenty-eight years of age, but experience had given him the habit of authority and of self-reliance. He navigated the vessel successfully until the coast of Europe was near. Although the war was over in America, it was still raging between England and France, and the "General Wall" was captured by a French privateer which put a lieutenant and prize crew aboard. Schuyler's knowledge of French now stood him in good stead, and he had become on friendly terms with his captor, when, as the privateer and prize were approaching a French port, they were both taken by an English frigate. Thus Schuyler reached London in safety with his papers.

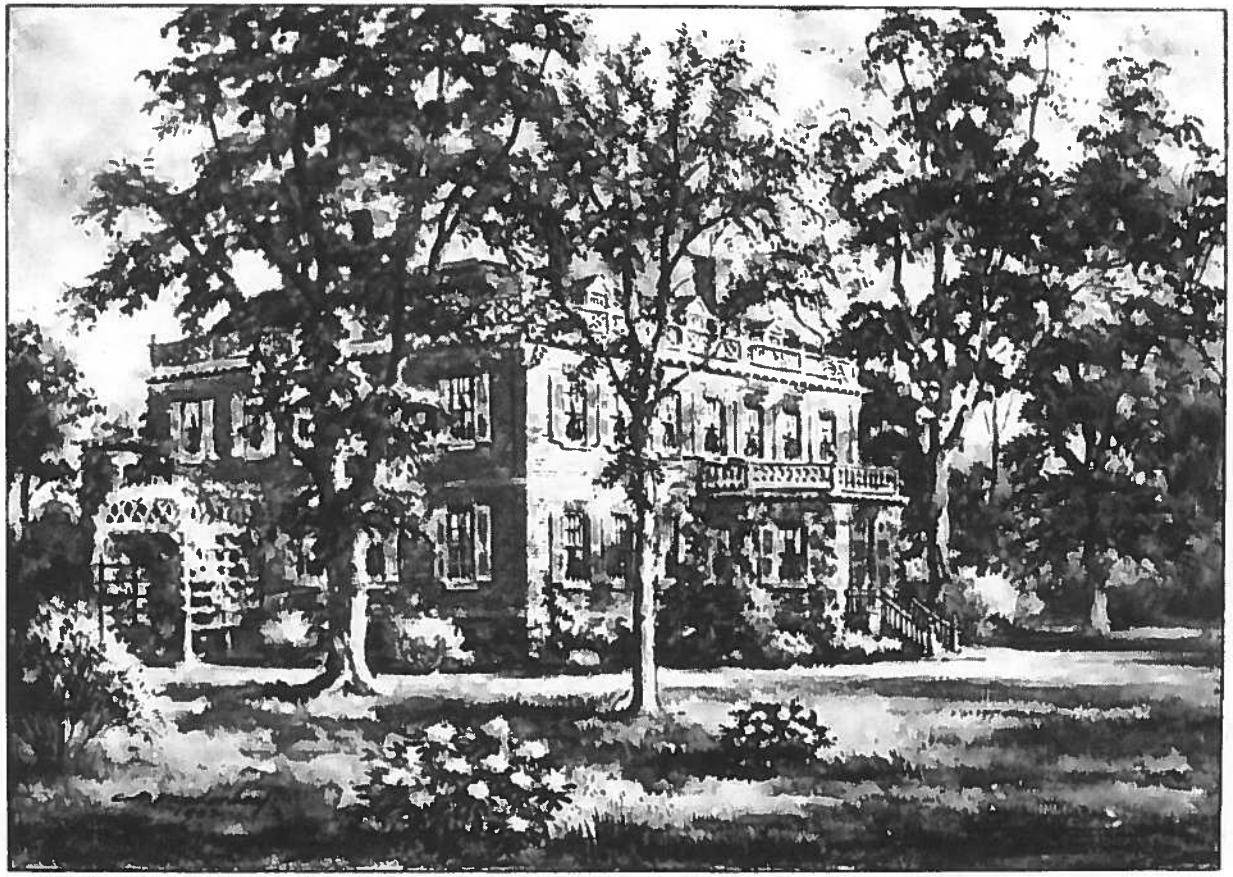
This visit to England could not fail to be inspiring to a young man of so progressive a nature. The

affairs of Colonel Bradstreet were settled permanently with the War Office, and his agent was complimented on their businesslike presentation. This done, Schuyler turned his attention to a study of various products which the colonies habitually imported from England and which he hoped could be produced as well at home. Among these were hemp and flax, the cultivation of which was soon going on at Saratoga. The subject of canals interested him deeply and then began his lifelong belief in their importance to America. In the pursuit of these practical investigations he established friendly relations with several scientific Englishmen with whom he afterwards corresponded and who caused his election as a member of the Society of Arts in London.

The voyage home was uneventful, but as the little sloop which took him up the Hudson arrived opposite Albany, his eye met an unfamiliar and very pleasing sight. A new house had been in contemplation, and during Schuyler's absence in Europe, a number of carpenters attracted to Albany by the war were left idle. Bradstreet advised Mrs. Schuyler to take advantage of the rare opportunity afforded by this abundance of skilled labor. The result was the large house in the English colonial style which Schuyler observed on the side of the hill about half a mile south of Albany, a landmark for many years until the town grew up around it, a hospitable home for which travellers looked as they ascended the river, which still

stands in perfect preservation as a testimony to the architectural taste and the thorough workmanship of the time. The principal guest chamber was on the second story on the left hand side; there slept Lafayette and Lauzun, and Burgoyne after his surrender.

The pleasure often given by the hospitality of this house, in those days of hard and difficult travelling, is well shown by an extract from the journal of the Marquis de Chastellux, written at the close of the Revolution: "It was a difficult question to know where I should cross the Hudson River the next day, for I was told it was neither sufficiently frozen to pass over on the ice, nor free enough from flakes to venture it in a boat. . . . I was only twenty miles from Albany; so that after a continued journey through a forest of fir trees, I arrived at one o'clock on the banks of the Hudson. . . . A handsome house half way up the bank opposite the ferry seemed to attract attention and to invite strangers to stop at General Schuyler's, who is the proprietor as well as architect. I had recommendations to him from all quarters, but particularly from General Washington and Mrs. Carter. Besides, I had given the rendezvous there to Colonel Hamilton, who had just married another of his daughters, and was preceded by the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Damas, who I knew were arrived the night before. The sole difficulty therefore consisted in passing the river. While the boat was making its way with difficulty through the flakes of



FROM A SKETCH IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY.

General Schuyler's House at Albany.
Erected 1765

ice, which we were obliged to break as we advanced, Mr. Lynch, who is not indifferent about a good dinner, contemplated General Schuyler's house and mournfully said to me: 'I am sure the Vicomte and Damas are now at table, where they have good cheer and good company, while we are here kicking our heels, in hopes of getting this evening to some wretched ale-house.' I partook a little of his anxiety, but diverted myself by assuring him that they saw us from the windows, that I even distinguished the Vicomte de Noailles who was looking at us through a telescope, and that he was going to send somebody to conduct us on our landing to that excellent house, where we should find dinner ready to come on table; I even pretended that a sledge I had seen descending towards the river was designed for us. As chance would have it, never was conjecture more just. The first person we saw on shore was the Chevalier de Manduit, who was waiting for us with the General's sledge, into which we quickly stepped and were conveyed in an instant into a handsome drawing-room, near a good fire, with Mr. Schuyler, his wife and daughters. While we were warming ourselves, dinner was served, to which every one did honor, as well as to the madeira, which was excellent, and made us completely forget the rigour of the season and the fatigue of the journey."

The beneficial effects of the conquest of Canada upon the prospects of the province of New York were

immediately realized. The ever threatening war clouds in the north were replaced by a clear sky. In the west the Indian Confederacy now stood alone, no longer holding a dangerous balance of power, no longer the object of an incessant diplomacy. Face to face with a superior race of men, their fate was already sealed. Then began the westward movement of emigration which, taking on a tremendous impetus after the Revolution, never ceased to send its armies to the conquest of nature and savagery.

It was at the beginning of this new sense of possible prosperity and expansion, of enterprise and speculation, that Schuyler returned from England, and he threw himself with enthusiasm into the work. From a utilitarian point of view, no man knew better the physical geography of the province. Already the Mohawk Valley was familiar to him, and the lands to the westward as far as Oswego had been often traversed. To the north, his experience in the French War had made known to him the character of the country about Lakes George and Champlain. Through his mother, he inherited about nine thousand acres in the manor of Cortlandt. His wife has a share of Claverack. He had interests in the Van Rensselaer property in Columbia County, and made purchases in addition to some inheritance in Dutchess County. Schuyler was at home in the forest and familiar with its signs. The soil where flourished the sugar maple and the chestnut, was chosen in preference to that

where the birch reared its white shafts among the hemlocks and the pines. The clear spring and running stream had their element of value, and he recognized the dormant wealth in the waterfall's store of power. His judgment in matters of land and colonization soon became considered the best in the province and was sought by the governors, Sir Henry Moore and Tryon, and by such men as William Smith, Jr., Philip Livingston, James Duane. In sales and leases in the Hudson River manors his advice was constantly asked. His knowledge of the Indian character, of previous cessions of territory, of the tribal rights in the land, was continually called into requisition in new purchases and conflicting claims.

In the summer of 1766, Sir Henry Moore left his wife and daughters with Mrs. Schuyler in Albany, while he and Schuyler journeyed together up the Mohawk Valley and purchased large tracts from the Indians for Sir Henry himself and for his friend, Lord Holland, the father of Charles James Fox. A long standing controversy over their boundaries between John Van Rensselaer of Claverack and the second proprietor of the Livingston manor had caused a painful estrangement between their families. The genial William Smith, Jr., had met the two hostile old men one day in New York as they chanced to pass each other opposite his office. He had invited them in together, had induced them to talk over their dispute and, as he hoped, had brought about an understanding

between them. But a return to their homes on the Hudson River seemed to bring about a return to the old animosity. It was Philip Schuyler, in whose judgment on such subjects both the old men had entire confidence, who finally settled the boundary and brought about a reconciliation.

Schuyler's most valuable property, which he developed with the utmost industry and intelligence, was the Saratoga patent. No longer in danger of midnight attack and conflagration, this estate grew in beauty and productiveness from year to year. A sawmill, erected under his supervision, and managed by men of his own training, converted the forest trees into boards and shingles. The woods were succeeded by fields of grain. A schooner and two sloops built by Schuyler carried the lumber and agricultural produce to market at New York, whence they returned laden with manufactured articles for use and for sale. In those days when the subdivision of labor was yet impossible, Schuyler was at once boat builder, farmer, lumber and grain merchant, military agent of the government and real estate expert. At Saratoga were tried novel experiments in agriculture, notably the cultivation of flax and hemp. In 1767, a large house was built there, on the bank of Fish Creek, and this became the summer home of the family. The point of prosperity and productiveness to which Schuyler brought the estate is indicated in a letter written in 1775, by Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, chaplain of a

Connecticut regiment, to his wife: "I have been absent from ye camp for eleven days, Gen'l Schuyler having wished me (as possessing some little skill in surgery) to accompany his wife's relative, young V. R., who was grievously wounded a short while ago. We had a very hard journey through ye wilderness carrying ye poor boy on a litter, but after four days we arrived safely at Schuyler's Town, where is ye Gen'l's country seat, and where Madam Schuyler, who is hospitable and handsome (but not so courtly in her ways as *some one* I know), entertained us finely. Leaving our charge with her and remaining only over twenty-four hours, to give our horses rest, we returned to ye fort. I was greatly interested to see ye settlement at which ye Gen'l S. has laboured for several years. Herein he has sought to manufacture and to teach ye manufacture of those things which ye colonies most need. Here he has erected saw-mills and smithies and buildings wherein wool and flax may be spun and wove in large quantities, and near by are great fields where men and women were cultivating flax."

During the years which preceded the Revolution, Schuyler was employed in various public affairs, of which the principal was the great quarrel between New York and New England regarding their boundaries. This conflict did much to embitter the existing intercolonial prejudices; it was a serious obstacle to

union in the beginning of the Revolution; and Schuyler's official connection with it necessarily involved an unpopularity with New England men which had unpleasant consequences.

The old claim of New Netherland to all the land west of the Connecticut River was reluctantly abandoned by Stuyvesant, and in his time a commission fixed the boundary line at twenty miles to the east of the Hudson. This arrangement settled the matter as far as Connecticut and Massachusetts were concerned. But New Hampshire did not yet exist as a separate colony. Consequently New York claimed that the twenty mile line stopped at Massachusetts and that all the country north of that colony and west of the line of the Connecticut River belonged to her. New Hampshire denied this, asserted that the twenty mile line ran northward indefinitely and gave her possession of what is now Vermont. Governor Wentworth issued patents to settlers in the disputed territory which thus became known as the Hampshire Grants. After the French War, when the danger of invasion was removed, settlers arrived in the Grants in considerable numbers, receiving their patents from Governor Wentworth, and the town of Bennington was founded. Governor Colden of New York protested; the matter was laid before the King, who, in 1764, gave judgment for New York. Wentworth accepted the result and the settlers would have done the same; but unfortunately the governor of New York claimed that

not only he had jurisdiction, but that all the patents issued by Wentworth were void. The settlers were told that they must abandon or repurchase their lands; and in default, these were in many cases assigned to New Yorkers. This unjust and unwise proceeding provoked an armed rebellion among the people of the Grants, in which they were supported by New England. New Yorkers who tried to take possession of lands were resisted with bloodshed. A state of civil war existed up to the Revolution, and the dispute was never settled until Vermont was admitted to the Union as a State.

Although Schuyler had little to do with the rights and wrongs of the case, the responsibility for which belonged to Government House in New York, his position as a member of the commission on the boundaries, his authority as colonel of militia to whom was confided the preservation of order in the northern part of the province, marked him as a champion of the cause of New York. His name became identified in the Hampshire Grants and to some degree in New England with proceedings rightly regarded as unjust and tyrannical. The deeply rooted prejudice of the New England men against a Dutchman was thus supplemented by animosity and suspicion. As we shall see, the result was unfortunate for Schuyler when called to command New England troops.

In 1768, when thirty-five years of age, Colonel

Schuyler was elected a member of the provincial assembly. This body was small in numbers, was chosen by freeholders only and sat for seven years; consequently its seats were the object of a lively competition. Schuyler had been rather reluctant to take this step. His extensive and growing interests in the northern part of the province absorbed his attention; the hospitalities of his houses at Albany and Saratoga, where judges and lawyers on circuit, distinguished travellers and many relatives were constantly stopping, furnished him with sufficient society. But the times were troubled and a number of influential men urged him to take an active part in politics, not a few of whom, like Sir William Johnson, were afterwards to regret the presence of so powerful an opponent.

When Schuyler took his seat in the last Assembly of the province of New York, the preliminary skirmish between the British Ministry and the colonies had been fought and won. At the time of the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, the Colonial Assembly had a good majority of the popular party and were able to make a strong stand against the enforcement of the Act. In this opposition, the support given by all ranks of the people was nearly unanimous. The educated classes saw plainly that the principle involved in the Act was contrary to their hereditary rights as Englishmen and they opposed it with the reasonable determination of free and intelligent men. John Cruger, Robt. R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, William Bayard and

THE STAMP ACT

Leonard Lispenard represented the province in the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York and on behalf of nine colonies sent to England their Declaration of Rights and Petition to the King. The merchants struck a telling blow at British trade by ceasing their importations. The lower classes of the people were well instructed on the issues by the addresses and leadership of Alexander Macdougall, William Livingston and John Morin Scott. The resolution not to receive the stamps was so strong, the riotous demonstrations of the patriot organization called the Sons of Liberty were so threatening, that neither Governor Moore nor General Gage dared to take any decisive steps. Not knowing what to do with the packages of stamps, the presence of which in any building invited the torch, the governor ordered them placed on board the British ship "Coventry," then lying in the harbor. But Archibald Kennedy, its commander, who had married Miss Watts and through her owned a beautiful house on Broadway opposite the Bowling Green and much other property in the city, had too much regard for his own interests to take the risk of receiving them. Reasonable resistance and popular force defeated the Stamp Act. The ministry despised the former and resolved to crush the latter.

During this struggle the province of New York hardly abated its loyalty to the King or its desire for continued union with the mother country. The quarrel had been with the ministry, and that over, the

people were glad to forgive and forget. However, there were some men who saw deeply into the significance of what had passed, who anticipated a renewal of the struggle and began to speak of independence. Among these was the bold and eloquent lawyer, John Morin Scott, whose addresses had instructed and aroused the meetings of the Sons of Liberty. His shrewd political insight deduced from the circumstances of the present the facts of ten years later. "If the interest of the mother country and her colonies," he said in 1765, "cannot be made to coincide, if the same constitution cannot take place in both, if the welfare of the mother country necessarily requires a sacrifice of the most valuable natural rights of the colonies, —their right of making their own laws and disposing of their own property by representatives of their own choosing, then the connection between them ought to cease, and sooner or later it must inevitably cease. The English government cannot long act toward a part of its dominions upon principles diametrically opposed to its own without losing itself in the slavery it would impose upon the colonies, or teaching them to throw it off and assert its freedom."

The next step of the British Ministry was to place a military force in New York sufficiently strong to insure the success of their new projects of taxation. The appearance of the soldiery aroused the old animosities and renewed the conflicts between them and the Sons

of Liberty. The Assembly which had successfully opposed the Stamp Act was now instructed by Governor Moore to vote the money for the maintenance of the military force which had been sent to crush the liberties of its constituents. Its persistent refusal was followed by prorogation. This new evidence of intended tyranny drew prophetic words from the pen of William Livingston, which voiced the sense of power and self-reliance in the colonies which had been growing steadily since the French War. "Courage, Americans!" he wrote in 1767, "Liberty, religion and science are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons. The savages of the wilderness were never expelled to make room for idolaters and slaves. The land we possess is the gift of heaven to our fathers, and divine providence seems to have decreed it to our latest posterity. The day dawns in which the foundation of this mighty empire is to be laid, by the establishment of a regular American Constitution. All that has been done hitherto seems to be little beside the collection of materials for this glorious fabric. 'Tis time to put them together. The transfer of the European family is so vast, and our growth so swift, that before seven years roll over our heads the first stone must be laid."

While such clear-sighted patriots as Scott and William Livingston could look clearly into the future, the people in general mistook a truce for a peace. Sir

Henry Moore's conciliatory attitude induced a reaction toward loyalty, and when Schuyler took his seat in the Assembly in 1768, he found the Royalist party, led by the de Lanceys, in control. In this assembly, New York was represented by James de Lancey, Philip Livingston, Jacob Walton, James Jauncey, Isaac Low, John Cruger, and John Alsop. From Westchester, came Frederick Philipse; from the borough of Westchester, John de Lancey; from Ulster county, George Clinton. Schuyler's old friend "Brom," Abraham Ten Broeck, represented the manor of Rensselaerwyck; Peter R. Livingston, that of Livingston, and Pierre Van Cortlandt, that of Cortlandt. Schuyler and Clinton were new members, both destined to long and distinguished careers. Now, and throughout the Revolution, we see them working in unison, for the independence of their country; but that attained, and in the face of new problems, they will be found in hostile camps.

From the beginning of the dissensions between the mother country and the colonies, Schuyler had ranged himself distinctly on the American side. He was present at the great dinner in New York given to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act, and he accompanied the Sons of Liberty to Trinity Church to hear the congratulatory address delivered by Dr. Auchmuty. From 1768 to 1774, the records of the Assembly show him to have been active in all matters pertaining to the industrial and commercial welfare of the

colony, taking frequent part in debate, and asserting the rights of the province in the fitful but never-ending quarrel with the ministry in England. Of the patriotic resolutions introduced into the Assembly, some of the boldest were drafted by him, and it was at his suggestion that Edmund Burke was appointed the agent of New York in England.

The frequent conflicts between the soldiery and the people, the imprisonment of Alexander Macdougall, kept alive the fires of discord which were to burst into flame with the tax on tea in 1774. The impatience of the colonists under the tyrannical assumptions of the English Ministry, and at the same time their sentiment of conscious strength, are curiously exemplified in the following anecdote. Robert Livingston, the second son of the founder of the manor, was then a hale old man of eighty-five years of age, still wearing the wig, knee breeches, and large-skirted coat of a previous generation. He was conversing one day in the year 1773, in the library at Clermont, with his son, Judge Robert R., his grandson, Robert R., the future Chancellor, and Richard Montgomery, when he exclaimed: "It is intolerable that a continent like America should be governed by a little island, three thousand miles away. America must and will be independent. My son, you will not live to see it; Montgomery, you may; Robert," addressing his grandson, "you will." Judge Livingston died soon after, and it was on the eve of the Declaration of

Independence that Montgomery fell gloriously at Quebec. The prophecy was fulfilled when the young Robert served with Jefferson, Franklin, Sherman, and Adams on the committee appointed by the continental congress to draft the Declaration.

On the great questions of the time, public opinion in New York divided the people into three parties. There were the Sons of Liberty, representing the loudest, if not the sincerest patriotism, advocating extreme measures, under the leadership of Scott, Macdougall, Sears, and Lamb. They prevented by force the landing of the tea; and it was at their great meeting in "The Fields," where Alexander Hamilton made his maiden speech. At the other extreme were the Tories, disposed to submit to any measures which seemed good to the ministry of Great Britain. Between these two stood a party considerable in wealth and influence, led by substantial merchants and able lawyers, having more at stake and being more conservative than the Sons of Liberty, while excelling the Tories in attachment to their adopted country and in independence of character. This party, soon to become the bone and sinew of the Revolution, remained, up to the Declaration of Independence, sincerely desirous of a reconciliation with Great Britain, but determined not to accept it at the expense of legitimate rights.

The New York assembly, containing a majority

of Tories, became less and less representative as matters advanced. The vote of thanks to the merchants for their non-importation agreement, the motion to appoint delegates to the continental congress, every patriotic movement, was defeated by the same majority, while in the minority were always recorded the names of Schuyler, Van Cortlandt, Clinton, Ten Broeck, and Livingston.

In the spring of 1774, Governor Tryon departed for England to give personal information to the ministry of the situation in the colonies. During his absence, the executive office was held by Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, "Old Caddy," as William Smith called him, a strong Tory. Colden kept Tryon informed of events in New York. "Colonel Schuyler and Clinton hold forth in the opposition," he wrote in February, 1775. A little later he mentions de Lancey and Wilkins as the strong men on the Royalist side, but Wilkins, he thought, was the only one who could hold his own in debate with Schuyler and Clinton. In April, he writes: "Our Assembly have pursued a plan of conduct which I hope will be satisfactory to his Majesty and his ministers. They have sent a petition to the King, a memorial to the Lords, and a remonstrance to the Commons, all expressed, especially the petition to the King, in a very moderate, decent style. I am persuaded that it will give you some concern, sir, to hear that Colonel Schuyler, Ten Broeck, and Livingston made a violent oppo-

sition in the House to these measures, and have made it evident throughout the sessions that they wished to bring this colony into all the dangerous and extravagant schemes which disgrace too many of the sister colonies. They openly espoused the cause of the last congress, and strove hard to have delegates appointed by the House for that which is to be held in May. They are now gone home to get that done by the election of the people which they could not effect in the House."

In 1774, New York was represented in the continental congress by Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay, who had been chosen by the Committee of Fifty-one. In 1775 a provincial convention was held to choose delegates who added to the previous list, George Clinton, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Robert R. Livingston, and Philip Schuyler.

On the morning of Monday, April 24th, Schuyler left New York in one of his sloops for Albany. The same afternoon, the news of the battle of Lexington reached New York. A sloop was despatched at once to convey the intelligence to Albany, but it was four days on its journey, and it was not until Saturday that Schuyler received it at his country seat at Saratoga. That evening, he wrote to John Cruger, who was preparing for a voyage to England on account of ill-health, a letter which well expressed the sentiments

with which he viewed this great crisis in his country's history:

"Of course, long ere this you have received the news from Boston. My heart bleeds as I view the horrors of civil war, but we have only left us the choice between such evils and slavery. For myself, I can say with Sempronius:

> 'Heavens! can a Roman Senate long debate
> Which of the two to choose, slavery or death!
> No; let us arise at once,' etc.

for we should be unworthy of our ancestors if we should tamely submit to an insolent and wicked ministry, and supinely wait for a gracious answer to a petition to the King, of which, as a member of the Assembly who sent it, I am ashamed. I know there are difficulties in the way. The loyal and the timid in this province are many, yet I believe that when the question is fairly put, as it is really so put by this massacre in Massachusetts Bay, whether we shall be ruled by a military despotism, or fight for right and freedom, the great majority of the people will choose the latter. For my own part, much as I love peace—much as I love my own domestic happiness and repose, and desire to see my countrymen enjoying the blessings flowing from undisturbed industry, I would rather see all these scattered to the winds for a time, and the sword of desolation go over the land, than to recede one line from the just and righteous position we have taken as free-born subjects of Great Britain.

I beg you, my dear sir, if your health shall permit when you arrive in England, to use all your influence there to convince the people and the rulers that we were never more determined to contend for our rights than at this moment—that we consider ourselves not *aggressors,* but *defenders*—and that he who believes that our late Assembly truly represented the feelings and wishes of our people is greatly deceived. I have watched the course of the political currents for many months with great anxiety, and have been, for more than a year, fully convinced that unless Great Britain should be more just and wise than in times past, war was inevitable. It is now actually begun; and in the spirit of Joshua I say, I care not what others may do, 'as for me and my house,' we will serve our country."

The next day Schuyler attended church in Albany, where the news from New England absorbed all attention. "I well remember," records an eye-witness, "the impressive manner with which, in my hearing, my father told my uncle that blood had been shed in Lexington! The startling intelligence spread like wildfire among the congregation. The preacher's voice was listened to with very little attention. After the morning discourse was finished and the people were dismissed, we gathered about Philip Schuyler for further information. He was the oracle of our neighborhood. We looked up to him with a feeling

of respect and affection. His popularity was unbounded; his views upon all subjects were considered sound, and his anticipations almost prophetic. On this occasion he confirmed the intelligence already received and expressed his belief that an important crisis had arrived which must forever separate us from the parent state."

In April, after the battle of Lexington, was organized the Provincial Congress, which superseded the old Royal Assembly and formed the new government of New York. It is interesting to observe the conservative nature of this Assembly, and, in the midst of a revolution, its wise dread of the consequences of revolution. These men were no lovers of change; if they rebelled, it was against their will. As late as the end of June, 1775, they wrote to the New York representatives in the continental congress at Philadelphia:

" Deeply impressed with the importance, the utility and necessity of an accommodation with our parent state, and conscious that the best service that we can render to the present and all future generations must consist in promoting it; we have laboured without intermission to point out such moderate terms as may tend to reconcile the unhappy differences which threaten the whole empire with destruction. . . . We must now repeat to you the common and just observation that contests for liberty, fostered in their infancy by the virtuous and wise, become sources of

power to wicked and designing men. Whence it follows that such controversies as we are now engaged in frequently end in the demolition of those rights and privileges which they are instituted to defend. We pray you, therefore, to use every effort for the compromising of this unnatural quarrel between the parent and child; and if such terms as you think best shall not be complied with, earnestly to labour that at least some terms may be held up, whereby a treaty shall be set on foot to restore peace and harmony to our country and spare the further effusion of human blood. So that, if even at the last our well-meant endeavors shall fail of effect, we may stand fair and unreproachable by our own consciences, in the last solemn appeal to the God of Battles."

The last solemn appeal was soon forced upon them; and the provincial assembly of New York was requested by the continental congress to name one of the major-generals and one of the brigadier-generals who should lead the forces of the new nation in its coming struggle. It was in the following letter that the assembly unanimously recommended Philip Schuyler to be major-general, and Richard Montgomery to be brigadier-general.

" We take the liberty for the present to furnish you with our sentiments on the appointment of a major- and a brigadier-general and submit them to your superior wisdom either for use or concealment. . . .

APPOINTED MAJOR-GENERAL

Courage, prudence, readiness in expedients, nice perception, sound judgment, and great attention—these are a few of the natural qualities which appear to us to be proper. To these ought to be added an extensive acquaintance with the sciences, particularly the various branches of mathematic knowledge; long practice in the military art, and above all a knowledge of mankind. On a general in America, fortune also should bestow her gifts, that he may rather communicate lustre to his dignities than receive it; and that his country, in his property, his kindred and connections may have sure pledges that he will faithfully perform the duties of his high office and readily lay down his power when the general weal requires it. Since we cannot do all that we wish, we will go as far towards it as we can, and therefore you will not be surprised to hear that we are unanimous in the choice of Colonel Philip Schuyler and Captain Richard Montgomery to the offices of major- and brigadier-generals. If we knew how to recommend them to your notice more strongly than by telling you, that after considering the qualifications above stated, these gentlemen were approved of without a single dissent, our regard to the public service would certainly lead us to do it in the most forcible terms. Nor will we enter into a minute detail of the characters and situations of two gentlemen with whom our delegates cannot but be acquainted. In a word, we warmly recommend them,

because we have no doubts that their appointment will give general satisfaction."

It was inevitable that the colony should seek the military services of Richard Montgomery and should give him a high rank in its new army. Formerly a captain in the British service and a man of the highest character, he did not need his connection with the Livingston family to recommend him for a position for which no one was better fitted.

But in the choice of a major-general, the provincial assembly had a different and more difficult problem. This officer should have military capacity and experience, but he must be more than a soldier; he must be an organizer of men, a provider of food and arms, an executive head of a new and now all important branch of the government. War existed, and generals were appointed; but the army was to be raised, clothed, armed and fed. Here was a vast and trying business necessarily placed on the shoulders of military leaders in a country where no ready machinery existed for providing the ways and means. As we look over the names of men who then, and for a decade afterwards, took the lead in New York, we can hardly find one whom the Assembly might have considered in competition with Schuyler. George Clinton had as yet neither military experience nor the influence of family and business connections. The Van Rensselaer, Livingston and Van Cortlandt families furnished good officers, but none who had seen service and none who

attained positions of the first responsibility. Men in the province of New York who afterwards rose to high and some to the highest distinction in statesmanship and diplomacy, men like Robert R. and Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Jay, and Gouverneur Morris, were not adapted for such an office as major-general in the Continental army.

Schuyler was chosen at once and unanimously because many circumstances pointed to him as pre-eminently fitted. He had an honorable military record, like Washington and Putnam, in the French and Indian War. He had not only seen fighting, but as commissary in the English army, he had learned the business of supplying and transporting the munitions of war in a country almost without roads. Von Moltke has said that geography was a principal element in military art. This saying was never more true than in its application to our revolutionary campaigns. And in the geography of his native province Schuyler's knowledge was unrivalled. In his fondness for solving mathematical problems, in his navigation of the "General Wall" across the ocean, in the building of his mills and the development of his lands, he had shown that adaptability to circumstances and that fertility in expedients which the Assembly had considered essential in their general. The wealth which he had inherited, and still more, that which he had acquired, his extensive influence and family connections were recognized as additional recommenda-

tions in a man whose public career hitherto had given every proof of enlightened patriotism. Such were the qualifications which caused the choice of Schuyler as the major-general appointed by New York. But there were circumstances, not then apparent, which were destined to interfere with his success and happiness in the work which he undertook for his country. The rheumatic gout of his youth was an ever present menace and would attack him again when he needed all his strength. He was of Dutch descent, and a man identified with the New York side of the quarrel over the Hampshire Grants. These latter circumstances were sure to excite the prejudice and mistrust of New England troops.

Chapter IV.

Schuyler in Command of the Northern Department. —The Invasion of Canada.—The Johnsons and 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 defence. 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 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 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; and Schuyler 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, and from this time he never ceased to look up to him 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 was a selfish military adventurer, entering the quarrel for what he could make of it, even now 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, 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 despatches 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? And 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 of 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 V. B. 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 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; there 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 lukewarmness 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, who 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 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 we read 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, we see the general's woodcraft, his 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 defence, 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