until the campaign was over. On the eve of the battle of Bennington the Rev. Mr. Allen, who had come up from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, with the militia of his neighborhood, said to Stark: "Colonel, our Berkshire people have often been called out to no purpose, and if you don't let them fight now they will never turn out again." That was exactly the spirit of the New England militia. Fight they would when there was a fight on hand. But the general who was to benefit by their services must have the battle already arranged and the enemy on the spot so that they could fight and return without loss of time. To join an army, wait perhaps for months, march and counter-march through a campaign while their crops were ungathered, that they would not do. Nor should Congress have expected it of them.

The general military outlook was gloomy when the resolution to supersede Schuyler was passed. Howe's army was superior to Washington's, and in the north Burgoyne seemed to have an overwhelming force. Congress acted in accordance with its best lights in yielding to the claim of the New England delegates that their men would not come out at Schuyler's call. The retirement of Schuyler was an error excusable under the circumstances. But the choice of his successor was a great mistake. Gates had done nothing during his employment in the northern department in 1776. The two months of his command there in 1777, before the approach of Burgoyne, were

spent in Albany in writing letters to his political supporters, while Ticonderoga, his special charge, was left to itself and never even visited. We shall see how little the victory of Saratoga was due to him; and later history tells of his disgraceful connection with the Conway Cabal, his incompetence at Camden and the final pricking of the bubble of his military reputation.

Useless as a general as Gates turned out to be, the worst feature of his career was the constant base intrigue by which he sought to supplant a fellow soldier who had shown him nothing but generosity and kindness. His own correspondence with the New England delegates places his conduct in the worst light. Of the reprehensible character of such intrigue, evidence enough is given by the way another Englishman looked at a similar accusation made against himself. When Burgoyne returned to England a defeated man, there were many attacks made upon him. But the one that angered him most was that he had intrigued at court to obtain the command of an expedition which rightfully belonged to Sir Guy Carleton, the senior officer in Canada. Before the committee of the House of Commons, Burgoyne said: "The next tendency was to impress the public with an opinion that I was endeavoring to supplant Sir Guy Carleton in the command of the northern army, an action abhorrent to the honor of an officer and the liberality of a gentleman, and of which,

thank God, I can prove the falsehood by irrefragable evidence upon your table." That Gates pursued persistently during a whole year a course of action which Burgoyne considered "abhorrent to the honor of an officer and the liberality of a gentleman" is exposed in his correspondence with the New England delegates.

Schuyler's character was severely tried when he received the humiliating news that after his untiring and successful labors, when a bright military prospect seemed before him, when the wished-for army was assured and a decisive battle imminent, another man was to take his place. By the way he bore this trial he must be judged as a man and a patriot. To President Hancock he wrote: "I am far from being insensible of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army at a time when an engagement must soon take place. It, however, gives me great consolation that 'I shall have an opportunity of evincing that my conduct has been such as deserved the thanks of my country." A few days later he wrote to James Duane: "Last night I was advised that General Gates is on the point of arriving to relieve me. Your fears may be up, lest the ill-treatment I have experienced at his hands should so far get the better of my judgment as to embarrass him. Do not, my dear friend, be uneasy on that account. I am incapable of sacrificing my country to a resentment however just, and I trust I shall give an example

of what a good citizen ought to do when he is in my situation. I am nevertheless daily more sensible of the affront Congress has so unjustly given me." General Stark had just informed Schuyler that he had waived his military claims and would march his Hampshire troops to Stillwater. In thanking him Schuyler said: "In this critical conjuncture, if a gentleman, while he asserts his rights, sacrifices his feelings to the good of his country, he will merit the thanks of his country." In such a spirit Schuyler himself acted. From the time that he heard of his retirement until the arrival of Gates, he worked as hard as ever. It was in this interval that Arnold was sent up the Mohawk, and that great progress was made in organizing and provisioning the army. Schuyler's generous acceptance of this humiliation marks the climax of his revolutionary career and constitutes his best claim to the respect of his countrymen. Many men have put life and property in jeopardy for their country's sake; but few men, holding high commands, have borne calumny from the people and unjust treatment from the government as Schuyler did: without being soured, without vindictive feeling, without any diminution of public spirit. This test of character, so nobly met, touches the highest note of patriotism.

When Gates arrived in camp on August 19th with his commission as commander-in-chief, Schuyler received him with politeness, gave him all the informa-

tion he possessed regarding the enemy and his own army, and offered his assistance in any capacity. But Gates ignored him completely. Although he invited everybody to his first council of war, even calling up General Ten Broeck from Albany, he did not ask Schuyler to attend it. Upon which Gouverneur Morris remarked with his usual trenchant phrase: "The new commander-in-chief of the northern department may, if he please, neglect to ask or disdain to receive advice; but those who know him will, I am sure, be convinced that he needs it."

As Schuyler's active military service terminated on the 19th of August, when he left the camp for Albany, a detailed account of the battles of Saratoga need not be repeated here. But the circumstances which led to the surrender of Burgoyne show clearly that the result was not due to the change in commanders. That Schuyler would have contributed more to the victory than Gates is, to say the least, probable. That he would have contributed less is incredible.

Burgoyne's position became more embarrassing every day. It was not until the 13th of September that he had acquired enough provisions to enable him to cross the Hudson on the march to Albany. Hearing no word from Howe, knowing that St. Leger had been driven off, he was loath to advance further into a hostile country where he might be unable to subsist his army. But his orders were positive. On the 19th

occurred the first conflict at Bemis Heights and Freeman's Farm, where the British advance was checked by Generals Morgan and Arnold, without assistance from Gates. For nearly three weeks more Burgoyne remained inactive and uncertain, his situation becoming desperate for lack of provision, while the American army increased to sixteen thousand men. October 7th occurred the second battle of Freeman's Farm, resulting in a decisive victory for the Americans under the leadership chiefly of Morgan and Arnold, while Gates was quarrelling in his tent with a wounded English prisoner. During the next ten days the American army had increased to twenty thousand men; the British were surrounded and assailed from every side; retreat to Ticonderoga was cut off; provisions were exhausted, even water unobtainable. On the 17th followed the inevitable capitulation.

The credit for the destruction of Burgoyne's expedition belongs to no one man. Schuyler contributed largely to it by the courage and energy with which he held together the little army left after the loss of Ticonderoga, kept up a bold front toward a greatly superior enemy, delayed and harassed his advance. To Schuyler's prompt action, as to Herkimer and Arnold, was due the safety of the Mohawk Valley. Stark's victory at Bennington contributed much. Lincoln's aid in raising the New England militia was of great value. Looking at the military operations,

which together constitute the battle of Saratoga, it is impossible to credit Gates with any definite plan of campaign, or to trace to orders of his any important movement. On the contrary, he obstructed Arnold as much as he could, and at decisive moments was complaining and arguing to no purpose. The two battles were fought on the part of the Americans according to no plan but that of attacking the enemy whenever he moved. Arnold, Morgan and Lincoln were partisan leaders, acting on the spur of the moment, agreeing among themselves and assisting each other, but under direction of no single authority. Arnold, indeed, had been deprived of all command by Gates, and was no more than a private citizen when he led the impetuous and decisive charge on Fraser's line at the second battle of Freeman's Farm. It is certain that Schuyler's intimate knowledge of the country where the battles were fought, his energy of character, his readiness to work with and for his fellow officers, his confidential relations with Lincoln, Morgan and Arnold would have made him a more useful man than Gates at the head of the northern army. After Burgoyne had been defeated by Morgan and Arnold with their unorganized but hardy followers, Gates first appeared as a real commander-in-chief and carried out very well the part of a generous and magnanimous victor.

Schuyler, in his retirement at Albany, was kept informed of the course of events at Saratoga by his

friends in the army. "I am chagrined to the soul," wrote Henry Brockholst Livingston, in September, "when I think that another person is to reap the fruits of your labors. The candid and impartial will, however, bestow the honor where it is due. And although the ungrateful and envious are making use of every art to ruin you in the esteem of your countrymen, I flatter myself you will rise superior to them all and receive the thanks of your country for those services of which it is at present unmindful." During the military operations the British burned to the ground Schuyler's fine country house, with its barns, granaries and stables, which had been the result of many years of economy and industry. The news of this personal disaster reached him at Albany at the same time as that of the American victory. "The event that has taken place," he wrote to Colonel Varick, "makes the heavy loss I have sustained sit quite easy on me. Britain will probably see how fruitless her attempts to enslave us will be. I set out today." At Saratoga he was introduced to Burgoyne. The latter afterwards described the meeting in a speech before the House of Commons: "I expressed to General Schuyler my regret at the event which had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it, saying that the occasion justified it, according to the rules of war. . . . He did more: he sent his aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed it,

to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family; and in this General's house I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality."

The wife of the German General Riedesel, who with two children had accompanied her husband through the campaign, left an interesting account of these events. "In the passage through the American camp," she said, "I observed, with great satisfaction, that no one cast at us scornful glances. On the contrary, they all greeted me, even showing compassion on their countenances at seeing a mother with her little children in such a situation. I confess that I feared to come into the enemy's camp, as the thing was so entirely new to me. When I approached the tents, a noble looking man came toward me, took the children out of the wagon, embraced and kissed them, and then with tears in his eyes helped me also to alight. 'You tremble,' said he to me; 'fear nothing.' 'No,' replied I, 'for you are so kind and have been so tender toward my children, that it has inspired me with courage.' He then led me to the tent of General Gates, with whom I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were upon an extremely friendly footing with him. Burgoyne said to me,

'You may now dismiss all your apprehensions, for your sufferings are at an end.' . . . All the generals remained to dine with General Gates. The man who had received me so kindly came up and said to me, 'It may be embarrassing to you to dine with all these gentlemen; come now with your children into my tent, where I will give you, it is true, a frugal meal, but one that will be accompanied by the best of wishes.' 'You are certainly,' answered I, 'a husband and a father, since you show me so much kindness.' I then learned that he was the American General Schuyler. He entertained me with excellent smoked tongue, beef steaks, potatoes, good butter and bread. Never have I eaten a better meal. I was content. . . . As soon as we had finished dinner, he invited me to take up my residence at his house, which was situated in Albany, and told me that General Burgoyne would also be there. . . . The day after this we arrived at Albany, where we had so often longed to be. But we came not, as we supposed we should, as victors! We were, nevertheless, received in the most friendly manner by the good General Schuyler, and by his wife and daughters, who showed us the most marked courtesy, as also General Burgoyne, although he had—without any necessity, it was said—caused their magnificently built houses to be burned. But they treated us as people who knew how to forget their own losses in the misfortunes of others. Even General Burgoyne

was deeply moved at their magnanimity, and said to General Schuyler, 'Is it to me, who have done you so much injury, that you show so much kindness?' 'That is the fate of war,' replied the brave man; 'let us say no more about it.' "

De Chastellux tells the following anecdote of Burgoyne's visit to the Schuylers: "The British commander was well received by Mrs. Schuyler, and lodged in the best apartment in the house. An excellent supper was served him in the evening, the honors of which were done with so much grace that he was affected even to tears, and said with a deep sigh, 'Indeed, this is doing too much for a man who has ravaged their lands and burned their dwellings.' The next morning he was reminded of his misfortunes by an incident that would have amused anyone else. His bed was prepared in a large room; but as he had a numerous suite, or family, several mattresses were spread on the floor for some officers to sleep near him. Schuyler's second son,* a little fellow about nine years old, very arch and forward, but very amiable, was running all the morning about the house. Opening the door of the saloon, he burst out a laughing on seeing all the English collected, and shut it after him, exclaiming, 'You are all my prisoners!' This innocent cruelty rendered them more melancholy than before."

*Philip J. Schuyler, father of George L. Schuyler.

John Trumbull, in his painting of the surrender of Burgoyne for the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, represents Schuyler as standing in citizen's dress among his countrymen in continental uniform. To continue his military services and finally to receive the sword of the enemy were privileges which unfortunate circumstances had taken from him. But Trumbull portrayed truly the judgment of his time and of posterity in placing Schuyler, the patriot, in the forefront of that great scene which his faithful and unselfish labors had done so much to make possible.

After the events at Saratoga, Schuyler applied for a court martial to investigate his conduct during the war, and especially his relation to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, of which his enemies had been able to make so fatal a use. In December, 1777, he wrote to Congress: "When a man of sentiment labouring under odious and injurious suspicions has in prospect a period which promises to afford him relief and restore quiet to his mind, it is natural that he should anxiously wish for its arrival. The conviction of a good and a clear conscience leaves not a doubt in my mind that the result of the inquiry into my conduct will have that effect and restore me to the full confidence of such of my honest countrymen as have been led away by popular clamor, and that I shall stand confessed the sincere and affectionate friend of my country. Congress will therefore pardon me if I am

importunate on this subject. I have suffered so much in public life that it cannot create surprise if I anxiously wish to retire and pay that attention to my private affairs, which the losses I have sustained by the enemy and the derangement occasioned by devoting all my time to the duties of my offices have occasioned, and yet the impropriety of resigning them before the inquiry has taken place or the committee reported my innocence, is too striking to need dwelling on." Congress procrastinated, and it was not until the following year that his repeated requests were granted. The court martial acquitted him on every count, and in December, 1778, Congress approved the verdict "with the highest honor."

Schuyler then sent in his resignation as Major-General, whereupon Jay wrote him in March, 1779, from Philadelphia: "Congress has refused to accept your resignation. Twelve States were represented. New England and Pennsylvania against you. The delegates of the latter are new men and not free from the influence of the former. From New York south you have fast friends. . . . Were I in your situation I should not hesitate a moment to continue in the service. I have the best authority to assure you that the Commander-in-Chief wishes you to retain your commission. The propriety of your resignation is now out of the question. Those laws of honor which might have required it are satisfied. Are you certain they do not demand a contrary conduct? You

have talents to render you conspicuous in the field; and address to conciliate the affections of those who may now wish you ill. Both these circumstances are of worth to your family, and, independent of public considerations, argue forcibly for the army. Gather laurels for the sake of your country and your children. You can leave them a sufficient share of property; leave them also the reputation of being descended from an incontestably great man—a man who, uninfluenced by the ingratitude of his country, was unremitted in his exertions to promote her happiness. You have hitherto been no stranger to these sentiments, and therefore I forbear to enlarge."

But Schuyler felt that there were other directions in which he could exert a useful patriotism; and he pressed his resignation, which was accepted the next April. While the court martial was still in session, he had been elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. He refused to take his seat while charges were pending against him, but after his acquittal he did so and rendered constant service at Philadelphia. During the remainder of the war public business made continual demands. Washington depended upon him for finding and forwarding provisions for the army, an occupation to which he devoted a great deal of time, and in which he was often obliged to pledge his private credit. Negotiations with the Indian tribes and the disordered condition of the New York frontier required his frequent presence in Al-

bany. In May, 1780, when at Washington's camp at Morristown, he was recalled by the following letter from Colonel Morgan Lewis: "Sir John Johnson, we are credibly informed, is in force at Jesup's Creek. An universal consternation has seized the frontier inhabitants, and upwards of one hundred and fifty persons, heretofore esteemed good Whigs, imagining themselves neglected, and fearing the resentment of the enemy, have, within these three days, gone off and joined them. All Tryon County is on the move to Schenectady, which, in a few days more, must be our western frontier. Threats are thrown out against Saratoga, and 'tis the prevailing opinion, an attempt will be made to destroy it. The strength of the country would be quite sufficient to render this banditti truly despicable could it be exerted. The spirit of the people is good, but we are destitute of the means of subsisting them, not having provision for even our artificers and labourers. Your knowledge of the resources of the country and influence with the ruling powers will be of great service in this critical juncture, and I confess my apprehensions for those unfortunate people who lie exposed and unprotected are greatly alleviated in the reflection that nothing in your power will be left unessayed."

Schuyler's activity against the Tories and their Indian allies who worried the western frontier was of such effect that in 1781 they made a determined effort to capture him. A band of Tories, Canadians

and Indians surrounded and broke into the house. The railing of the stairway still bears the mark of a tomahawk thrown by a savage at Miss Margaret Schuyler as she ran through the hall with her little sister in her arms. Schuyler collected his family in an upper room, and by keeping up a musketry fire from the window, and by calling out orders, as if to a rescuing party, he succeeded in frightening the raiders, who fled with the family silver. Washington wrote to congratulate him on his escape, which "was attended by the flattering circumstance of being effected entirely by your own presence of mind."

When, in May, 1781, Robert Morris had consented to undertake the charge of the continental finances, he applied to Schuyler for his assistance. It is a station, wrote Morris, "that makes me tremble when I think of it, and which nothing could tempt me to accept but a gleam of hope that my exertions may possibly retrieve this poor distressed country from the ruin with which it is now threatened merely for want of system and economy in expending and vigour in raising the public monies. Pressed by all my friends, acquaintances and fellow citizens, and still more pressed by the necessity, the *absolute* necessity of a change in our monied systems to work salvation, I have yielded and taken a load on my shoulders which it is not possible to get clear of without the faithful support and assistance of those good citizens, who not only wish but will promote the service of

their country. In this light I now make application to you, sir, whose abilities I know and whose zeal I have every reason to believe." To this appeal Schuyler responded with his usual patriotic energy, and later on Morris wrote him: "I am happy to find your exertions so cheerfully and usefully extended to the public service."

Chapter VIII.

Schuyler's Political Career After the Revolution. His Part in the Development of New York State.—His Family Life.

WHILE the war was still in progress, and while he was absorbed in military duties, Schuyler was called upon to take part in the political affairs of his native State which, at this formative period, demanded the best efforts of intelligent patriots. The struggle for independence necessarily involved the building up of a new political system. The old Provincial Assembly, in which Schuyler and Clinton had opposed the oppressive acts of the British ministry, had been succeeded in the beginning of the war by the Provincial Congress, which assumed the government of the revolted colony. On the 9th of July, 1776, immediately after the Declaration of Independence, this Congress marked the change from colony into independent State by resolving itself into a convention of representatives of New York. The first business of the convention was to appoint a committee to prepare a form of government for the new State, and of this committee John Jay was made chairman. In March, 1777, Jay

presented the constitution, which he had drawn up with his colleagues, and it was adopted in April. It provided for a government by the people, but the aristocratic ideas still prevalent and embodied in Jay's declaration that the men who owned the country ought to govern it, appeared in a property qualification for the ballot which restricted the right of suffrage. The convention appointed John Jay, Chief Justice; Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor; Robert Yates and John Sloss Hobart, Judges of the Supreme Court, and Egbert Benson, Attorney-General. The Governorship, however, was thrown open to popular election.

As there were no political parties, the candidates were suggested only by their own prominence before the public. Four men were considered chiefly by the electors: John Morin Scott, John Jay, Philip Schuyler and George Clinton. Scott, one of the leaders of the Liberty Boys and a patriot of great usefulness during the popular resistance to the acts of the British ministry, would have made a strong candidate; but the county of New York, which contained his principal constituency, was in the power of the British army and no election was held there. Jay, satisfied with the office of Chief Justice, did not want the governorship and supported Schuyler. The Council of Safety, which then had charge of administrative affairs, also favored Schuyler. The election took place during the anxious days of the Bur-

Commissioners and surveyor-general of the State. One of the most important measures which he carried through the Legislature was the repeal of the restrictive laws against the loyalists, which he had always opposed as cruel and impolitic.

Through those disorderly and dangerous years preceding the adoption of the national constitution, when the slight bond which joined the States was often strained to near the breaking point, Schuyler was constant in urging a closer union and a stronger central government. He procured the passage through the New York Legislature of resolutions to that end which Hamilton had drawn up, and he kept the subject foremost in all political talk. In 1787, when the Constitution of the United States, lately formulated by the convention at Philadelphia, was before the people for ratification, the two great parties, Federalist and Anti-Federalist, began to take form. On the one side were the advocates of a strong centralized government which could make an American nation; on the other those who preferred a loose confederation of independent States. It was the vital question in our history, not settled finally until the Civil War. In New York, party feeling ran high. Hamilton, Jay and Schuyler were foremost in working for the adoption of the Constitution. Clinton and his friends were against it and had a strong majority with them. In January, 1788, when the great question was paramount in every mind. the

Governor made no mention of it in his message to the Legislature. In June a convention to consider ratification met at Poughkeepsie, Governor Clinton presiding. His friends, led by Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., Samuel Jones, and Melancthon Smith largely outnumbered their opponents. But the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Richard Morris, John Sloss Hobart, Robert R. Livingston and James Duane, had not only on their side the strength of great and enlightened ideas, but also the advantage of superior abilities. A long struggle ensued, in which the brilliant arguments of Hamilton disconcerted the opposing majority. But it was not until it became known that enough States had ratified to show that New York would be left alone in her independence, that Clinton's party gave up the fight, and the constitution became law in New York. As Schuyler remarked, "Perseverance, patience, and abilities prevailed against numbers and prejudice."

In the Legislature of 1788 Clinton's party had a majority in the Assembly, but Hamilton, Schuyler, and the Federalists controlled the senate. The Clintonians claimed that the choice of United States Senators and Presidential electors should be by joint ballot of both Houses; the Federalists that the choice should be by the concurrent vote of the separate houses. On this question no agreement was reached until the following year, so that New York had no part in electing Washington for his first term nor in

confirming his early appointments. In April, 1789, the first great test of parties in New York occurred in the election for governor. Clinton was a candidate to succeed himself. On the Federalist side Jay declined to run, as he was too much taken up with national affairs. Schuyler also refused, as he wished to enter the United States Senate. The only other man who seemed to have any chance of defeating Clinton was Judge Yates. He had been an anti-Federalist, but in a speech to the grand jury had declared that the Constitution having been ratified, it was every man's duty to support it. This seemed to be good enough Federalism for the emergency, and Yates was nominated. Clinton's popularity, however, prevailed, and he was again elected Governor, although the Legislature became Federalist in both branches.

Since the formation of the national Government Hamilton had been rising in political importance until now he was second only to Washington. As the head of the Treasury Department there devolved upon him the solution of the most vital problems which the administration had to solve. His activity in all political affairs was untiring and his influence paramount. When the newly elected New York Legislature was called in extra session for the election of United States Senators, Hamilton's power was exerted in a direction which caused much jealousy. One of the Senatorships was universally conceded to Schuyler. But there were several pretenders to the

other, whose claims on account of previous patriotic service were well founded. Among these was Robert R. Livingston. He and Philip Livingston had been candidates for Governor at the first election in 1777; but they had polled a very small vote. Now the Livingstons and their friends thought that the Chancellor should have the other seat in the United States Senate. Hamilton, however, had fixed upon Rufus King, a man of the highest character and abilities, but a New Englander who had only recently established himself in New York. The influence of Hamilton prevailed and King was elected. But the Livingstons felt a not unnatural resentment, and soon afterwards went over to the anti-Federalists or Democratic party.

Schuyler and King had to draw lots to determine which should have the short term of two years or the long one of six years. Schuyler drew the short term. From 1790 to 1792 he had the satisfaction of supporting in the United States Senate Hamilton's great financial measures which so immeasurably increased the stability and credit of the Government. In 1792 he was again a candidate for Senator. But the wily Aaron Burr, uniting in his own support the Clintonian party and the Livingstons, anxious to strike a blow at Hamilton, secured the seat for himself. Schuyler returned to the State Senate, where he led the defence of the Jay Treaty. In 1797, at the expiration of Burr's term, he had his revenge, for the

New York Legislature returned him to the United States Senate almost unanimously. His health, nearly always poor, began to give way after this election, and soon after taking his seat he retired finally from public life.

Schuyler was a Federalist from the first moment that circumstances suggested the dominant idea of that party. During the " critical period " he saw in the principle of Federalism the only salvation of the jarring and disunited States. While Clinton and his political friends refused to look beyond the boundary of New York with anything but narrow jealousy and prejudice, while they sent two obstructionists to tie Hamilton's hands in the Constitutional Convention, Schuyler's voice was always heard urging national unity. His feelings were warmly aroused, and his efforts unremitting to procure the adoption of the constitution in his own hostile State. During the fifteen years of national life which he was permitted to see he was never without thought for the great cause: the welding of the States into one people and one nation, respecting itself and respected by others. The noble aim, the vision of future greatness, were to be achieved, if at all, by the Federalist party. And Schuyler was a partisan. His political associates had his time and his means always at command. And he can be forgiven if he saw in the enemies of his party his personal enemies and the enemies of his country. The reverence which he felt for the great leader of

the revolution, for the chief of the Federalists, for him who stood "first," was a part of Schuyler's life. That base libellers, aided and abetted by leaders of the opposing party, should cast mud at him and seek to degrade in the public eye what was best in American manhood, made Schuyler's blood boil, made it easy for him to believe any evil of such "miscreants," and made him on such issues a very warm partisan.

In addition to his political interests Schuyler took an active part in the development of his native State. From his youth up he had made a study of the physical geography of New York. None was a better judge of the quality of land; none more surely could foresee its value by observation of the forest growth and the water courses. His own purchases were for improvement, seldom for speculation. His possession of land meant the erection of saw-mills, the clearing of the forest, and the beginning of cultivation. The most favorable terms were offered to tenants. The old parchment leases mention so many bushels of grain, so many fowls, or day's labor as rent. The individual payments were trifling, but in the aggregate they brought a considerable income to the large landowner. After the Revolution, with the changed social and political conditions, Schuyler foresaw the difficulties in the path of a great landlord, caused by the uncertainties of title and tenure. He made definite arrangements with his tenants regarding their future purchase of their holdings, and thus spared his de-

scendants the troubles and losses of the "anti-rent" agitation. His judgment regarding land was sought by intending purchasers, and his knowledge was put to public use in marking the boundaries between Massachusetts on the east and Pennsylvania on the south. As surveyor-general he had more or less to do with all the public works of the progressive times that followed the war; the dividing up of Tryon County, the settlement of the towns of Ontario, Genessee, and Oneida, the construction of new roads from the Mohawk River to the lakes, and from Genessee to what are now Buffalo and Lewiston. With the opening of the interior of the State to settlers he saw Albany lose its old frontier position as headquarters of the fur trade to assume that of centre of a grain-producing country. He saw a line of stages established down the Hudson River, and the institution of a regular mail carrier every two weeks between Albany and the Genessee Valley.

In this transformation of savage hunting grounds into a cultivated country, the question of transportation soon became of great importance. The old waterways and carrys had been supplemented by rough roads cut through the forest between the larger settlements. But a better means of transporting emigrants and freight became imperatively necessary. Schuyler saw in canals the solution of this problem. The waterways of his native land suggested the idea; and when a young man visiting England in 1761, he

had already studied the subject. In 1776, when Charles Carroll and Benjamin Franklin were visiting the northern department, Schuyler showed them his plans for connecting the Hudson River and Lake Champlain by a canal, thus making an uninterrupted water carriage between New York and Quebec. In 1792, with Elkanah Watson, he took up the project of a canal between the Hudson River and Lake Ontario by way of the Mohawk, Oneida Lake, and the Onondaga River. Watson examined this route in company with Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Philip Van Cortlandt and Stephen N. Bayard. Schuyler was then a State Senator, and he procured an act of the Legislature chartering two companies to carry out this design, of both of which he was made president. With Goldsbrow Banyer and Elkanah Watson, in the summer of 1792, he made a thorough examination of the route from Schenectady to Lakes Seneca and Ontario, a country which a short time before had been in exclusive possession of the Indians. In 1793 work was begun, and in 1796 boats of sixteen tons burden passed from Schenectady to Lake Ontario. In 1794 Schuyler was interested in the northern or Champlain Canal, constructed by the French engineer, Brunel. During the remainder of his life he continued his efforts in this direction, and in the summer of 1802, when sixty-nine years old, he examined personally the entire western canal route, devising improvements for locks and solving the engineering

and mathematical problems himself. Such work was done by him in his age in a land where in his youth he had gone by an Indian trail and only by savage permission.

With the Indians, the great Iroquois Confederacy, Schuyler continued the close relations which had been hereditary in his family. In his youth he had often travelled the western trail by the Long House; he had fought against the savages and with them in the French and Indian war. He had known them in their power, hemming in the whites, keeping them close to the Hudson, an endless menace on the west in conjunction with the French or English in Canada. He held the office of Indian commissioner for many years, attending all the important council fires, and was regarded by the savages as the hereditary representative of the whites. The chiefs who came to Albany always appeared at the Schuyler house, where, although "troublesome visitors," they were hospitably received. During the Revolutionary War Schuyler was the principal instrument in limiting their hostility. During the ravages of Sir John Johnson, of Brant, and the Cornplanter on the western frontier he was the chief organizer of resistance. Whenever business arose between the United States and the Six Nations, Schuyler's experience was used. General Knox, the Secretary of War, relied upon him. Governor Clinton wrote him in 1784: "You were so obliging as to promise to draft a letter proper to be

addressed to the Indians for inviting them to the proposed treaty. I am utterly unacquainted with the etiquette to be used on such occasions; may I therefore venture to request that with the draft of the letter you will please to inform me whether it will be necessary to send copies to the different tribes and, if so, give me the proper addresses, and whatever other information you may conceive necessary."

And Schuyler lived to see the decline of the Six Nations as a power to be dreaded. The treaty at Fort Stanwix pushed the boundary of New York far westward. The canals, which opened a road for men and goods to the Great Lakes, meant the end of savage possession. The great chiefs, with whom Schuyler had struggled and negotiated, saw the inevitable conclusion. The Cornplanter, who had ravaged Wyoming and Cherry Valley at the head of his Senecas, paid the penalty when he reluctantly signed away the old hunting grounds of his nation at Fort Stanwix; and he felt the full force of the irresistible change when he received a tax bill from the State of Pennsylvania. Red Jacket, the great orator of the Senecas, shed tears when he found his hunting expeditions interrupted again and again by fences. Brant, the brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, whose long and bloody career had made his name a terror along the border, realized the ruin of his race when, on his death-bed, he charged his nephew: "Have pity on the poor Indians; if you can get any influence

with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can." Such was the end of the dominating confederacy, yielding before the irresistible advance of civilization. Schuyler had always a feeling of sympathetic interest in the Indians, and he often intervened to protect their interests. Among the mass of addresses and petitions regarding them which remain among his papers are not a few letters thanking him for services rendered and signed by the mark of once well-known chiefs.

With the substitution of the State for the old Province of New York, with the succession of George Clinton to the Crown governorships of Sir Henry Moore, Lord Dunmore and William Tryon, Schuyler saw some marked social changes. The manors of the Hudson and the political influence of prominent families disappeared. Landed estates were divided up among many heirs. Ambitious young men went to the cities to practice law or to engage in commerce, where town lots soon became a more profitable form of investment than the wild lands which their fathers had sought to acquire. Very quickly and naturally the English idea of a landed aristocracy was forgotten; old prejudices fell away; and among all ranks arose the free and eager competition for wealth and success which is characteristic of our time and country.

Schuyler's domestic life was happy, and the family letters which have been preserved display strong af-

fections. He lost several children in infancy, but lived to see eight grow to manhood and womanhood and become well established in life.* The estate at Saratoga, where he had built a small house to replace the large one burned by the soldiers of General Burgoyne, was given by him to his son John Bradstreet on his marriage to the daughter of the patroon; and on the occasion of this gift, in 1784, he wrote to his son:—

"My Dear Child: I resign to your care and to your sole emolument a place on which I have for a long series of years bestowed much care and attention, and I confess I should part from it with many a severe pang did I not resign it to my child. I feel none now because of that paternal consideration. It is natural, however, for a parent to be solicitous for the weal of a child who is now to be guided by, and in a great measure to rely on his own judgment and prudence. Happiness ought to be the end and aim of the exertions of every rational creature, and spiritual happiness should take the lead, in fact temporal happiness without the former does not really exist except in name. The first can only be obtained by an improvement of those faculties of the mind which the beneficent Author of Creation has made all

*John Bradstreet Schuyler, Philip J. Schuyler, Van Rensselaer Schuyler, Mrs. John B. Church, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, Mrs. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Washington Morton, Mrs. Malcolm, afterwards Mrs. Cochran.

men susceptible of, by a conscious discharge of those sacred duties enjoined on us by God, or those whom he has authorized to promulgate His Holy will. Let the rule of your conduct then be the precept contained in Holy Writ (to which I hope and entreat you will have frequent recourse). If you do, virtue, honor, good faith, and a punctual discharge of the social duties will be the certain result, and an internal satisfaction that no temporal calamities can ever deprive you of. Be indulgent, my child, to your inferiors, affable and courteous to your equals, respectful, not cringing, to your superiors, whether they are so by superior mental abilities or those necessary distinctions which society has established. With regard to your temporal concerns, it is indispensably necessary that you should afford them a close and continual attention. That you should not commit that to others which you can execute yourself. That you should not refer the necessary business of the hour or the day to the next. Delays are not only dangerous; they are fatal. Do not consider anything too insignificant to preserve; if you do so the habit will steal on you and you will consider many things of little importance and the account will close against you. Whereas a proper economy will not only make you easy, but enable you to bestow benefits on objects who may want your assistance, and of them you will find not a few. Example is infinitely more lasting than precept; let, therefore, your servants never discover a

disposition to negligence or waste; if they do they will surely follow you in it, and your affairs will not slide, but gallop into Ruin. . . . I must once more recommend to you as a matter of indispensable importance to love, to honor, and faithfully and without guile to serve the eternal, incomprehensible beneficent and gracious Being by whose will you exist, and so insure happiness, in this life and in that to come. And now, my dear child, I commit you and my daughter and all your concerns to His gracious and good guidance; and sincerely entreat Him to enable you to be a comfort to your parents and a protector to your brothers and sisters, an honor to your family and a good citizen. Accept my blessing, and be assured that I am your affectionate father."

Schuyler's wife, the "Sweet Kitty V. R." of his youth, was spared to him for forty-eight years. She was a woman of strong character and intelligence, able and glad to second her husband's public labors. When Burgoyne's army was advancing southward, she went to Saratoga and with her own hands applied the torch to the fields of growing grain in order that they should not afford sustenance to the enemy. She died in 1803, and Schuyler wrote of his bereavement to Hamilton: "Every letter of yours affords a means of consolation; and I am aware that nothing tends so much to the alleviation of distress as the personal intercourse of a sincere friend, and the endearing attentions of children. I shall, therefore, delay no

longer than is indispensably necessary, my visit to you. My trial has been severe. I shall attempt to sustain it with fortitude. I have, I hope, succeeded in a degree, but after giving and receiving, for nearly half a century, a series of mutual evidences of an affection and of a friendship which increased as we advanced in life, the shock was great and sensibly felt, to be thus suddenly deprived of a beloved wife, the mother of my children, and the soothing companion of my declining days. But as I kiss the rod with humility, the Being that inflicts the stroke will enable me to sustain the smart, and progressively restore peace to a wounded heart; and will make you, my Eliza and my other children, the instruments of consolation."

Schuyler's affection for Hamilton could not have been greater had the latter been his own son. The news of the fatal result of the duel July 12, 1804, reached him in Albany when he himself was very ill. In this calamity he wrote to his daughter:

"My Dear, Dearly Beloved and Affectionate Child: This morning Mr. Church's letter has announced to me the severe affliction which it has pleased the Supreme Being to inflict on you, on me and on all dear to us. If aught, under Heaven, could aggravate the affliction I experience, it is that, incapable of moving or being moved, I can not fly to you to pour the balm of comfort into your afflicted bosom, to water it with my tears, and to receive yours on

mine. In this distressing situation—under the pressure of this most severe calamity, let us seek consolation from that source where it can only be truly found, in humble resignation to the will of Heaven. Oh, my beloved child, let us unanimously entreat the Supreme Being to give you fortitude to support the affliction, to preserve you to me, to your dear children and relations. Should it please God so far to restore my strength as to enable me to go to you, I shall embrace the first moment to do it; but, should it be otherwise, I entreat you, my beloved child, to come to me as soon as you possibly can, with my dear grandchildren. Your sisters will accompany you. May Almighty God bless and protect you, and pour the balm of consolation into your distressed soul is, and will always be, the prayer of your affectionate and distressed parent."

And four days later he wrote his eldest daughter, Mrs. Church, who was with Mrs. Hamilton: "The dreadful calamity, my dearly beloved child, which we have all sustained, affected me so deeply as to threaten serious results; but when I received the account of his Christian resignation, my afflicted soul was much tranquilized. Oh, may Heaven indulgently extend fortitude to my afflicted, my distressed, my beloved Eliza. I trust that the Supreme Being will prolong my life, that I may discharge the duties of a father to my dear child and her dear children. My wounds bear a

favorable aspect, and the paroxysms of the gout have not been severe for the last two days. Yesterday I was able to sit up all the day. God grant that my recovery may be accelerated to enable me to go to New York and embrace my distressed children. Should, however, my restoration be retarded, I wish to see you all here. The change of scene may, perhaps tend to soothe my beloved Eliza and children. She knows how tenderly I loved my dear Hamilton; how tenderly I love her and my dear children; that I feel all the duties that are devolved on me. The evening of my days will be passed in the pleasing occupation of administering comfort and relief to a child and grandchildren so highly entitled to my best exertions."

The strong affections which appear in these family letters were extended by Schuyler to his friends. His correspondence with Washington, John Jay, James Duane, William Smith, Jr., and others with whom he was closely associated give evidence on both sides of feelings deeper than ordinary friendship and regard. Dangers and difficulties courageously faced bring men close together. In 1784 Washington wrote him from Mount Vernon: "In recollecting the vicissitudes of fortune we have experienced and the difficulties we have surmounted, I shall always call to mind the great assistance I have frequently received from you, both in your public and private character. May the blessings of Peace amply reward your exertions. May you and your family long continue to enjoy every

species of happiness this world can afford. With sentiments of sincere esteem, attachment and affection."

Schuyler survived the death of his wife and of Hamilton but a short time. He died on the 18th of November, 1804, in his seventy-first year. His career, honorable to himself, useful to the community in which his lot was cast, and to the nation which he helped to found, owed its success to sterling qualities of head and heart. Without genius, without extraordinary talent in any particular, he had that combination of ability and character which makes a trusted leader. A genuine love of country lay at the base of all his public actions. The fair land which his ancestors had travelled so far and worked so hard to possess, he rejoiced in possessing and in improving. The noble river, which attracted the affection of his earliest youth and was nearly concerned in all the interests of his later life; the forests and lakes and waterways of the interior, beautiful to him as they stood in their wildness and inviting to a development of infinite value; his neighbors the Indians for whom he felt an hereditary interest and responsibility—all these were real and deep sources of attachment to the country of his birth. But beyond the advantages of beautiful and fertile lands, he valued the higher blessings of an enlightened liberty, of political rights, of a just and stable government. For the security of these blessings, he unhesitatingly placed his life and prop-

erty in jeopardy, and bore with magnanimity a cruel injustice. He labored long and unselfishly not only to preserve them from foreign attack, but to establish them on the enduring foundation of the Constitution of the United States.

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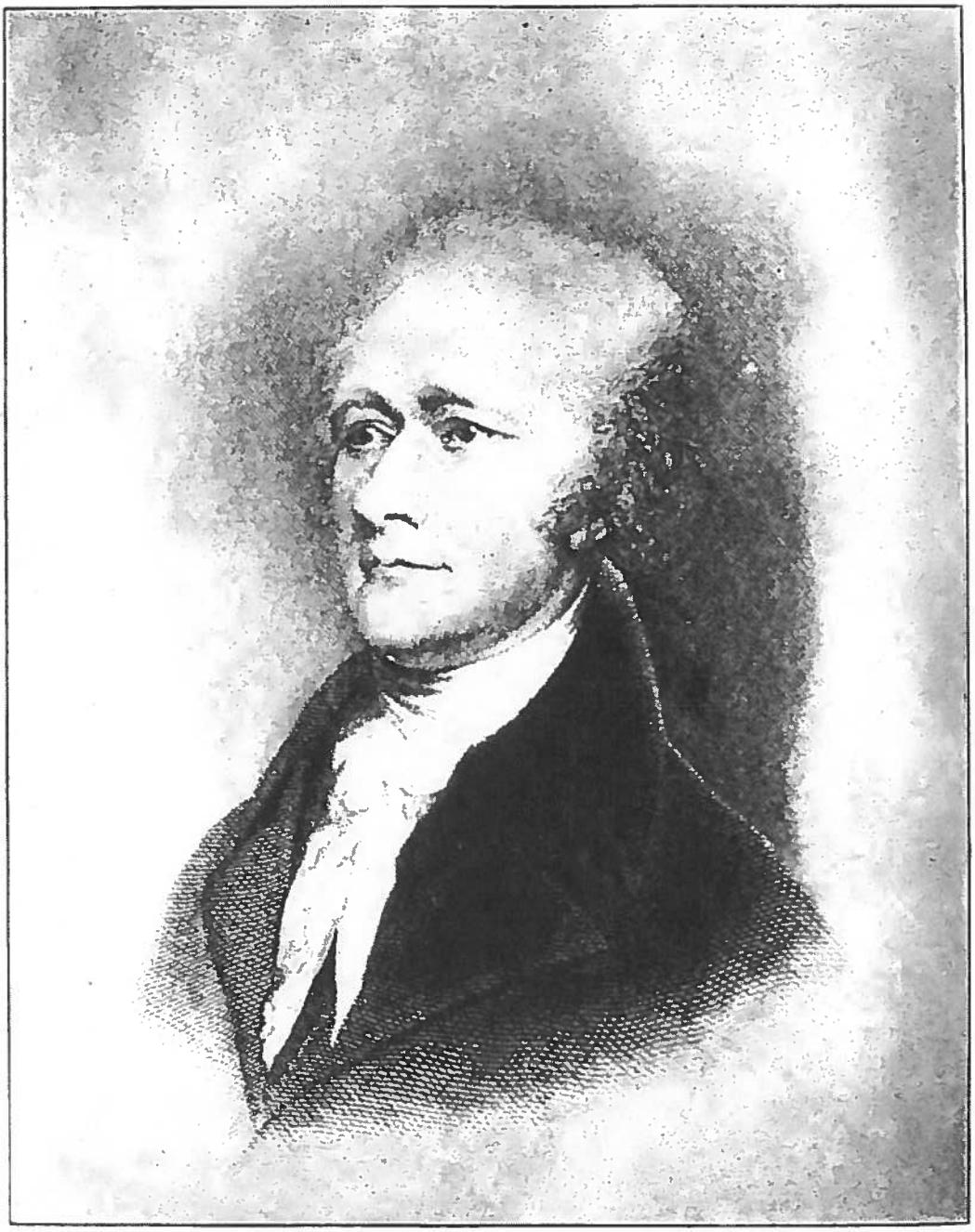

Alexander Hamilton

THE CAREER OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The important share of Alexander Hamilton in the founding and early conduct of the *Evening Post* is described elsewhere in this issue, in the sketch of the history of the paper. He was born in the island of Nevis, British West Indies, on January 11, 1757. While there has been a curious uncertainty regarding his parentage, it is generally accepted that he was the son of James Hamilton, a Scotch merchant in Nevis, and his wife, a Frenchwoman. His father becoming bankrupt, the son was cared for in boyhood by his mother's relatives, and, though showing great aptitude for books and study, took a place in the counting house of a rich merchant in St. Croix when only twelve years old. Here he evinced remarkable precocity in business, being left in charge of all affairs when his employer was absent, and wrote cleverly for the local press. His talents attracted so much attention that funds were provided for the lad by his employer and other friends, and he was sent to the American colonies to complete his education.

Arriving in Boston, Mass., in October, 1772, he came to this city, and then went to a school at Elizabethtown, N. J. In 1774 he entered King's College, now Columbia University, where he was in the first rank of all his classes. The troubles between the colonies and the English Government quickly brought him to the front as a public speaker in favor of the former's cause, and he published two pamphlets on the same side, which caused him to be recognized as a leader in the controversy. As captain of a New York company of artillery, he entered the patriot army in March, 1776, serving with much credit in various battles, and a year later was appointed lieutenant-colonel and aide-de-camp on the staff of Washington. He gained the special favor and confidence of his chief, who employed him as his secretary.

While discharging a mission for Washington he met at Albany a daughter of Gen. Philip Schuyler, whom he married in 1780. At the close of the war he studied law, and then was elected from New York to the Continental Congress, where he was chairman of important committees. In 1783 he began the practice of law in this city, and soon attained the highest rank in his profession. He was a delegate to the convention held in Philadelphia, in 1787, to form a Federal Constitution, and presented his views in an address which Gouverneur Morris declared to be "the most able and eloquent he had ever heard." Though many of his opinions did not prevail, Hamilton signed the Constitution adopted, and wrote more than fifty of the remarkable series of essays included in *The Federalist*, urging the ratification of that instrument. He also exerted great influence in carrying the New York ratifying convention in its favor.

As secretary of the treasury, in Washington's Administration, Hamilton, in the words of Webster, "smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet." There is not space to speak of his other important work in the Cabinet, from which he resigned in 1795, to resume his law practice in this city. The circumstances of his unfortunate duel with Aaron Burr, which caused his death in this city, on July 12, 1804, are too well known to recount. Most profound sorrow was occasioned by the result, and his funeral was marked by all the military and civic honors it was possible to bestow. On the day of the funeral the office of the *Evening Post* was closed.