

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. LV.

1931

No. 1

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CASIMIR PULASKI

An Address delivered in Independence Square, October 12, 1929

By JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS, LL.D.

President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

JOSEPH C. RYSZELESKI

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PHILADELPHIA

September 25, 1929.

John Frederick Lewis, Esq.

208 South 4th Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

*Re—Pulaski Day Committee*

Confirming our personal conversation of this morning, on behalf of the Pulaski Day Committee, I am pleased to extend to you an invitation to be the speaker of the day at the commemorative exercises to be held October 12, 1929, about 3.00 o'clock P. M., at Independence Square. Please note that General Pulaski was the outstanding general of foreign extraction who died for the American Cause. At this point, I also wish to thank you for your kind expressions of acceptance.

I shall keep you advised of the exact time when the exercises are to begin.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. RYSZELESKI,

Temporary Chairman.

Upon Columbus Day, October 12, 1929, there assembled in Independence Square, Philadelphia, to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Count Pulaski, one of the largest audiences that sacred locality ever held. The celebration had begun with services in the Polish Churches of Philadelphia, followed by a parade and pageant of military, patriotic societies and Polish organizations. Brigadier-General Robert M. Brookfield of the Pennsylvania National Guard, was the marshal of the parade, which included a detachment of United States marines, and sailors from the League Island Navy Yard, and also a detachment from the regular army.

*Friends and Fellow Citizens:*

It is pre-eminently fitting, upon the day set apart to commemorate the discovery of America, that we commemorate also, the services of Casimir Pulaski who laid down his life for the liberty and independence of America.

Born in Podolia, Poland, March 4, 1748, he served under his distinguished father in his country's struggle for freedom, but which, alas, resulted finally in the wicked partition of Poland, among Russia, Germany, and Austria—the most dastardly crime ever perpetrated against the rights of an innocent people.

The elder Pulaski was a distinguished jurist and a member of one of the oldest noble families of Europe. He had given Casimir a splendid education, and also a thorough training as a soldier. Casimir had served with the Duke of Courland, and was in the Castle of Mittau when it was besieged by fifteen thousand Russians, and had ample opportunity to witness the movements of attack and defense.

After the death in 1763, of Augustus III., King of Poland, a new sovereign, according to Poland's ancient Constitution, was to be elected by her Diet. The Deputies from their several Provinces assembled upon the great plain of Warsaw, in order to perform their important function, but Russia seized the occasion, when Poland was thus without an executive, to send troops into the territory of her friendly neighbor, with the ostensible purpose of preserving order, but with the real intention of overawing the deputies and securing their votes for a king of her own choice. Such an invasion was utterly without justification. It infringed the manifest rights of a peaceful sovereignty and outraged every principle of international law. Under Russian influence, Poniatowski was elected and crowned king of Poland, under the name of Stanilaus Augustus. He might have been the free choice of the

Deputies to the Diet, but elected under such influences, could not be otherwise than the mere tool of Russia and the subservient creature of her imperious Empress. Even after the election, and against all promises to the contrary, the Russian troops were not withdrawn. The Russian Ambassador, became, to all intents and purposes, dictator of Poland, and the king a mere instrument to execute Russian orders.

Acting under Russian direction, backed by a Russian army, the Polish Diet passed laws repealing old customs sacred to the Poles and dear to their affection, and enacted others which tended to crush their ancient liberties. This action exasperated every lover of his native country. Nobility and peasantry alike, resolved to resist such invasion by every means in their power. They formed plans to drive the invaders back to their own country and rescue Poland from the grasp of her oppressor.

The events which ensued made history rapidly. For four years a desperate and bloody, but hopeless, battle, raged throughout the land. Resistance began by the formation of Confederations for the protection of Polish rights and the expulsion of the invaders from Polish soil. Examples of military skill, personal courage, self sacrifice, patient endurance and suffering, were innumerable among the patriots, but Russia's intrigue soon spread discord among them. Factional quarrels were started, and probably too, Poland's old Constitution lacked vigor and was ill-suited to such a national crisis as existed. Dissension began among the nobles, jealous of each others' rank, and spread to the multitude of their vassals, and though Russia was universally hated and Poland loved, they could not agree among themselves upon a responsible head for national defense. Even the Confederations, which had been formed in different parts of Poland, were prevented by design and violence from acting in unison.

The elder Pulaski was Chief Magistrate of Warech and stood high in public esteem. A man of marked ability and splendid character, he had alliances of friendship with the oldest families of the nobility. He had meddled but little with public affairs, prior to the election of Stanilaus Augustus, but confined himself to the study of law and to the discharge of his magisterial duties. As soon however, as the liberties of his beloved country were at stake and about to be crushed under the iron heel of a ruthless neighbor, all the sleeping fire and energy of his character awoke, and were devoted to his country's cause. He aimed at armed opposition to all the enemies of Poland, and endeavored to arouse the national spirit of his countrymen, and unite them in defending their civil and political liberty. He communicated his plan to a few intimate friends. They seemed to approve it, but their timidity made them doubt its practicability. If it failed, their ancient estates would be confiscated, and if it succeeded, their means would be exhausted in its execution. Many refused to join him openly, but keeping his secret, loaned him money to raise and equip an army.

A new Diet was to be convened, and the Russian troops which were scattered over the country, were concentrated in Warsaw, to control the voting, as had been done before. Joseph Pulaski concluded this to be a fitting time to begin resistance. He obtained the help of Krasinski, a military chief of renown, and they resolved to meet in the southern part of the Kingdom and perfect the plan. Joseph Pulaski repaired to his estates and confided his plan to his three sons and to his nephew. They were scarcely of age, but realizing the hazard of the movement, adopted it as the only means of achieving the freedom of their country. Francis and Casimir, the two oldest sons, were dispatched to visit friends and explain their father's plan. Casimir was especially charged with the duty of rais-



CASIMIR PULASKI  
From the portrait in Independence Hall



ing one hundred and fifty Cossacks from the Pulaski estates, and of proceeding to an appointed rendezvous.

The elder Pulaski, bidding his wife a fond farewell, took his youngest son and nephew, and set out with Krasinski for the City of Leopold, which was in the heart of a rich country and surrounded by nobles favorable to Polish freedom. Enthusiasm soon ran high. Women pledged their jewels to raise funds for the plan, but the Commander of Leopold was in the interest of the Russian party, and Pulaski was forced to seek another refuge. Barr was selected, a small town in Podolia, some twenty miles from the Turkish frontier, because hope was entertained that the Ottoman Court would look with jealousy upon any encroachment by Russia. Upon February 29, 1768, there assembled at Barr, eight persons, who formed the famous Confederation of Barr. A secret compact was drawn up and signed by Joseph, his three sons, his nephew, by Krasinski, and by two others, and this first Confederation became the model for many, which at once sprung up throughout the land. A manifesto was issued to the Polish people, explaining the reason for united resistance to foreign rule. It asserted that Russia had taken from Poland the right of legislation by guaranteeing perpetuity to the new laws which Russian influence had passed, and they called the world to witness the obligation they were under, to repel by force of arms, the imposition of a foreign yoke upon the neck of a free nation. The language of this manifesto was not unlike the language of America's own Declaration of Independence, which was not proclaimed for nearly a decade later.

Krasinski became Marshal of the Confederation, and Joseph Pulaski Marshal of the Troops. Recruits were rapidly gained and a respectable force assembled. The rising, however, was soon known at Warsaw and orders were issued for its suppression, but many of

those sent to quell it, joined it, and finally some eight thousand men were enrolled. The Confederates then issued a proclamation calling upon the country to rise in arms, demand a free Diet, and resist any encroachment upon their ancient rights. The Russian Ambassador ordered troops to watch the Confederates, cut off their communication with the surrounding country, and draw a cordon about the army stationed at Barr. Skirmishes between the opposing forces soon occurred, and Marshal Pulaski issued an address to his followers. At length the perfidious friends of Poland had become her declared enemies. A concealed war of sixty years, had enfeebled and desolated the land, and if ever men had a duty to perform, it was that of taking arms to resist the yoke of slavery. Poland is invaded; religion outraged; promised justice converted into a snare; the rights of nations trodden under foot; and virtuous citizens are in chains dragging out a wretched existence in Russian dungeons. It is not blind despair which impells us onward, but a firm resolution, a well founded hope, a noble sentiment, a love of country and of freedom, of humanity and of justice.

The authorities at Warsaw tried negotiation, but Marshal Pulaski replied to this attempt, that perfidy contaminated everything which proceeded from Russian counsels. "It is not enough," said he, "to have observed that the language of Russia has no word to express honor, but many which give a favorable meaning to falsehood and fraud."

Seven regiments and some five thousand Cossacks, were then sent by the Russian Ambassador to the rebellious provinces, and they marked their course with outrage and blood, burning peaceable villages, and murdering entire families, who were endeavoring to flee from the indiscriminate carnage.

The Confederates fought many battles for freedom,



in one of which Marshal Pulaski was told that his three sons had been killed. "I am sure they have done their duty" he replied, and continued his orders for the conduct of the fight. The report proved false. Casimir, just of age, was then exhibiting proof of his bravery which was soon to render him justly celebrated. Upon one occasion, he defended with twelve hundred Confederates, an attack lasting seven days, first by an equal number of Russians, then by two thousand, and at last by six thousand.

Dissension continued to arise among the patriots. Count Potocki, an ambitious nobleman, requested the command of all the Confederates, and Marshal Pulaski disinterestedly secured him the desired command, but jealousy of the growing reputation of the Pulaskis gave rise to suspicions as to their fidelity. Potocki fought bravely, but was driven across the Niester and sought refuge in Moldavia. The Confederates were everywhere pursued, and Marshal Pulaski was also compelled to cross the Niester, where he found refuge in Turkey.

The Russians laid siege to Barr and the town was taken. Casimir sought refuge in the Monastery of Berderchef with three hundred men, where he was besieged for several weeks, but was at last allowed his liberty, as the result of an honorable capitulation. He escaped from subsequent detention and joined his father in Moldavia. He then put himself at the head of a few troops who had crossed the Niester, and re-crossing it, made a long circuit, attacked in the rear a detachment of Russians, overwhelmed them, and returned to his camp with much needed stores and supplies. A second incursion was even more successful, but without following the details of the long and bloody war, it saw the treacherous betrayal of Marshal Pulaski, who was captured and imprisoned in a Russian dungeon. The three brothers maintained their

positions throughout the Winter on the banks of the Neister, with the hope that war would follow between Russia and Turkey, but their hopes were not realized, and in the Spring of 1769, a powerful Russian force approached the Niester, and the youngest brother was captured and sent a prisoner to Kasan in the interior of Russia.

The war still continued throughout Southern and Eastern Poland. Russian troops overran the country, and though many a brave patriot rushed to the defense of his native land, and many deeds of valor were performed, Russia was still supreme. Ruhlière, the historian of Poland, says the name which soon eclipsed all others, and which became one of the surest hopes of the nation, was that of young Casimir Pulaski, always full of resource in misfortune and of activity in success. His name was a terror to the Russians, and they seldom ventured to attack him except with overwhelming numbers, and in order to secure a battle, he often assumed the name of another chief.

Marshal Pulaski died in prison, but Casimir and Francis nothing daunted, formed new Confederations and continued the war. Francis was killed in action, his cousin also, and finally, Casimir alone remained of all the Pulaski family who had been the first to sign the Compact at Barr and the first to take up arms for Poland's freedom. Prussian and Austrian troops, as well as Russian, now began to cross the frontier, under the pretense of protecting the king, and the last hopes of Confederate success finally vanished. The sovereigns of the three invading nations agreed to divide Poland among them, as she lay helpless at their mercy. She lost one-fifth of her population and one-fourth of her territory.

Casimir escaped from Poland, and after spending some five years wandering among strange lands, was in France in 1777, at the end of his resources and ut-

Offre General

Je suis totalement d'accord dans ce que je vous fais, le Peuple  
non seulement est pauvre, mais on trouve par tout la  
oppression qui a le droit de premier venu, on forme des  
et a grande le effrayant la grande quantité des vices, les  
a font une grande consommation des habitants ne sont pas  
deux mêmes a nous fournir la nourriture que qu'ils ne  
ont pas pu fournir la lettre de l'effrayant, les  
trois autres autres Régiments restent encore ici mais tout  
plus simple pour le moment de qu'ils subsistent  
Le V. D. parait, je fais a parler la famille  
effrayant la pour pourrons prendre les affaires un  
en attendant on forcerai un effrayant et pour le faire  
s'approcher la dernière affaire pour approcher nos  
d'effrayant nous nous approcherai et continuerons l'exercice qui  
nous apprend a faire bien, notre d'effrayant les vices  
le 25 Janvier 1824 de Votre Excellence  
Lecteur et très obéissant  
Christophe Blanchet

PULASKI TO WASHINGTON

From the original in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania



terly destitute. He heard of the American Declaration of Independence, and realized that America was a new field in which to vindicate with his sword the rights of man, the laws of justice, and the same civil and political liberty for which he had fought in vain. He determined to fight her cause. Franklin gave him a letter to Washington.

Count Pulaski of Poland, an officer, famous throughout Europe for his bravery and conduct in defense of the liberty of his country against the three great invading powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia, will have the honor of delivering this note into your hands. The Court here has encouraged and promoted his voyage, from an opinion that he may be highly useful in our service.

Franklin also said of Pulaski, "he is esteemed one of the greatest officers in Europe," and Pulaski was not yet thirty.

He arrived in America in 1777, when the condition of the Continental army was wretched, and the prospect of an early end to the war remote. The war seemed to present an endless perspective of contest with comparatively little hope of ultimate success. The battle of Lexington had been fought and the sentiment of the country aroused against British invasion. Ticonderoga had been captured by Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain Boys," and the country thrilled by the surprise of the British commander, who when ordered to surrender, asked, "By what authority." Colonel Allen replied, raising his sword as if to strike, "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Two days afterwards Crown Point had also been taken.

The second Continental Congress had met in Philadelphia the same day that Ticonderoga was captured, and among its members had been many of the leading men of the country, distinguished for industry and ability. Congress had authorized the issuance of bills of credit, had appointed George Washington Com-

mander-in-Chief of the American forces, and the feeling had gradually gained ground, that independence from Great Britain was the only hope of salvation.

The battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, and the British had learned that the Continentals knew how to fight.

Washington had accepted the office of Commander-in-Chief, the day before the battle of Bunker Hill, and had set out at once for Cambridge, where he found an army of nearly fifteen thousand men, but with little or no military training. The invasion of Canada had been planned with the hope of capturing the stores at Quebec, and with the further hope that the people of Canada would join in the revolutionary movement if offered the opportunity, but the invasion had proved unsuccessful, and Montgomery had lost his life at the siege of Quebec.

Boston had been besieged and the British compelled to evacuate. Sir William Howe, who had superseded General Gage, had sent British men of war to ravage different parts of the American coast. Admiral Parker had appeared off Charleston, and the British had commenced a heavy cannonade on Fort Sullivan, afterwards named Moultrie, in honor of its successful defender. The British had kept up the attack for more than nine hours, without making any impression on the Fort.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, Washington with most of his army had proceeded to New York, which was now threatened by the enemy. The Continental army had been increased to some twenty thousand men, but probably half of them were unfit for duty, from disease or lack of arms. A detachment had been stationed at Brooklyn, on the western extremity of Long Island, and defensive works had been constructed.

The Virginia Legislature had recommended Con-

gress to declare the Colonies free from allegiance to the Crown, and Richard Henry Lee of the Old Dominion, had moved in Congress, June 7, 1776, that "the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." A committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingstone of New York, had been appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence, and the immortal document had been adopted and proclaimed, and the news hailed with joy throughout the land, but the delegates had returned to their homes and no sufficient means remained for its enforcement.

When General Howe had evacuated Boston, he went to Halifax, but soon after set sail for New York, and by the eighth of July, 1776, had landed some nine thousand men on Staten Island. A few days afterwards his brother, Admiral Howe, had arrived with reinforcements from England. Conciliatory measures had been adopted by General Howe in accordance with his instructions. He had issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, and Congress had wisely regarded this offer as a strong argument in favor of the American cause, and had published it in the papers of the day, to convince the people that the British Government was satisfied with nothing but absolute submission.

Attempts at conciliation having failed, Howe had assumed the offensive. General Clinton had crossed from Staten Island to Long Island with some ten thousand men and forty cannon, where some nine thousand Americans had been stationed under Generals Sullivan and Sterling. General Putnam had been hastily sent over from New York to take command, but the British had landed without opposition, and advancing by three different roads, had fallen on Sullivan's rear and the

Battle of Long Island had been lost, notwithstanding the fact that Washington had crossed from New York while the battle was still raging, but could do nothing to retrieve the day. The British had lost but three hundred and sixty-seven in killed and wounded, while the American loss amounted to one thousand six hundred and fifty, of whom eleven hundred were prisoners.

The overthrow on Long Island was particularly disastrous. It had shaken the army to the core, broken their self-confidence, and led to the desertion of hundreds, and prevented many from espousing the cause of the colonists.

Howe had again tried conciliatory measures and sent Sullivan on parol with a proposition to Congress. A committee was even appointed by Congress to confer with the British general, but neither party would concede anything, and when Howe spoke of England's readiness to protect her colonies, Franklin had remarked, that "the Colonies were fully able to protect themselves."

The British army had prepared to take New York, and with the means at Washington's command, he could not successfully oppose it. He had moved his stores above the City and retreated towards the Harlem River. The Americans had been discouraged by their recent disaster. The British hold upon New York seemed impossible to break.

Washington had fixed his headquarters at White Plains, and in October, Howe drove the Americans from their position and Washington withdrew to North Castle, among the south hills of the Croton River, while Howe returned to New York.

Washington's army seemed on the eve of dissolution. Its defeats, and its lamentable condition, and the manifest advantages gained by the British, led to constant desertion and deterred recruiting. Philadelphia was in danger, Congress had moved to Baltimore.



Sir

The Duty of the Service keeps me from present  
My Self to your Excellency my homage, —  
I send for this Purpose M<sup>r</sup>. Desjardins he Will  
have the honour to tell you what I Want —  
their Effect Will Depend from your Goodness to  
I call upon them  
I am With Respect

Sir, your humble to ob<sup>d</sup>ient  
Sergeant Pulaski's J<sup>r</sup>  
June 6 1778

PULASKI TO WASHINGTON

From the original in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania



Washington had retreated across New Jersey, in a masterly manner, while the British pressed him on the rear, and though many of the American troops were without shoes, they finally reached the Delaware at Trenton and crossed to Pennsylvania. Cornwallis arrived shortly thereafter, but instead of bridging the Delaware or building boats, had concluded to wait until the ice should enable him to cross, in the meantime stationing detachments in Princeton, New Brunswick, and various points on the Jersey shore of the Delaware.

Washington had resolved on a bold enterprise to revive the spirits of his soldiers. Trenton was occupied by some fifteen hundred Hessians under Colonel Rahl, and a troop of British horse, and on the night of December 25th, which was starless and stormy, and the river full of ice, a division of the army under Washington and Sullivan, crossed the river at four in the morning and commenced the march for Trenton. Colonel Rahl was completely surprised, and nearly one thousand Hessians threw down their arms, and the rest of the Hessians, with the British horse, made good their escape. Washington recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners and spoils, with the total loss of but four men, two of whom were frozen to death.

Howe had left New York by sea and ascended the Chesapeake to the Head of Elk, with the intention of moving on Philadelphia, instead of attempting to fight his way by land, and Washington's small force was inadequate to stop him. As Woodrow Wilson puts it:

Utter demoralization had fallen upon the Congress, sitting in a sort of exile at York, and the army was brought to such straits of privation and suffering in its exposed camp as it had never been obliged to endure before.

Such, in brief, was the condition of affairs when Pulaski arrived. He repaired to Philadelphia, and joined the army at once as a volunteer, as Lafayette

had done before him. His experience had been chiefly with cavalry, but the Continental Army had no cavalry during the first eighteen months of the war, upon the mistaken belief that the country was unsuitable for their use. Light Horse Harry Lee; Sumter; Marion; and Colonel William Washington, had not yet demonstrated the value of cavalry. General Howe had brought horses with him from England sufficient for a considerable body of cavalry, and upon the organization of the new Continental Army, four regiments of cavalry were included, but until the arrival of Pulaski, the Continental cavalry was not united and was under no higher leader than that of Colonel. To meet this deficiency, Washington recommended to Congress, Count Pulaski for the post, and wrote in his letter:

This gentleman has been, like us, engaged in defending the liberty and independence of his country, and has sacrificed his fortune to his zeal for those objects.

This letter was written shortly before the battle of Brandywine, where Count Pulaski struck his first blow for the liberty of America. He was stationed near Washington as a volunteer, and toward the close of the action, asked the command of Washington's body-guard, composed of some thirty men in order to reconnoiter. He advanced rapidly to within pistol shot of the enemy, and then returned to report that they were endeavoring to cut off the army's retreat. He was at once authorized to collect as many troops as he could, and employ them in his discretion to thwart the enemy. He did this so successfully, that four days afterwards, he was appointed by Congress, to command the cavalry with the rank of Brigadier-General.

He next met the British forces on the Lancaster Pike, about twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, it being Washington's intention to fight the British wherever they could be found. Pulaski was at the head of the cavalry, but his troop was small, many being

employed in reconnoitering. The American forces had halted near the Warren Tavern, which still stands north of Malvern, at the turn of the Lancaster Pike, in the Chester Valley. Colonel Bentalou, his second in command, relates that Pulaski intended merely to watch the enemy, but that he suddenly fell in with the whole British army in full march. He at once charged the van, causing a short halt, whereupon he returned full speed to headquarters to report what he had seen, and thereby warned Washington to guard his movements accordingly. A violent storm subsequently arose, which separated the two armies before their advanced detachments had hardly engaged.

Shortly thereafter, at the battle of Germantown, Pulaski was again in action. The cavalry was much separated because detachments were in attendance on different divisions of the army, and could not be brought into action together, much to Pulaski's disappointment.

When the Continental Army retired to Valley Forge, the cavalry was stationed at Trenton, the better to secure forage, and there Pulaski had his headquarters. The prospect was not encouraging. There was no hay in the town, and he was obliged to divide his force into smaller parties to obtain forage. He applied himself, however, to improve the service, his one desire being for action and plenty of it.

When the army at Valley Forge was on the point of starvation, he rendered valuable services north of Philadelphia, as General Greene was rendering south of it, by stopping supplies from entering the city for the use of the British, then in Philadelphia. The country for several miles around the city, was scoured by British foraging parties, who stripped the residents of everything portable, and in order to stop these depredations and relieve the necessities of his own troops, Washington ordered Wayne to patrol the

country, with orders to seize cattle, horses and provisions not needed by the inhabitants, and to issue certificates of value to be paid for by the Quartermaster. Pulaski was placed under Wayne with a detachment of dragoons. The two met in Jersey opposite the City. Some three thousand British troops crossed the Delaware to surprise them, when they were near Haddonfield, but Wayne and Pulaski closed upon their rear, and harassed them until they recrossed the Delaware. Pulaski and his dragoons seemed to be everywhere at once. His horse was wounded, and his own intrepidity and bravery, brought warm praises from Wayne in his report to the Commander-in-Chief.

Count Pulaski spoke English with difficulty, and he began to realize, after some five months experience at the head of the cavalry, that the results he had obtained, did not answer his expectations. His men were constantly separated, remote from each other, and necessarily, under those circumstances, subject to the command of the general officers of different army divisions and unable to act in concert, and there was doubtless some disinclination upon the part of the Continental officers, to receive orders from a foreigner, who did not understand their language, and whose ideas of discipline differed from those to which they had been accustomed. Count Pulaski therefore, resigned his command, of his own accord, fully convinced that these difficulties were not easy to remove. He returned to the main army at Valley Forge in March 1778, where he obtained from Washington permission to form an independent corps under his own immediate command. It was to consist of cavalry armed with lances, and foot equipped as light infantry. Washington recommended the plan to Congress. "The Count's valor," said the Commander,

and active zeal on all occasions, have done him great honor. It is to be understood he expects to retain his rank as Brigadier, and I think he is entitled to it from his character and particular disinterestedness on the present occasion.

Pulaski took this letter to York, where Congress was then sitting, and obtained the endorsement of his plan. He was authorized to raise and equip a body of sixty-eight light horse and two hundred foot. It was called "Pulaski's Legion," and if it was successful, its numbers could be afterwards increased. This idea of forming independent legions, proved of the greatest service in the conduct of the war. It engaged men from the location where they lived, and helped to solve the question of transportation.

Pulaski recruited his legion with diligence, and his success was greater than he had anticipated. By October, 1778, his force numbered three hundred and thirty, organized into three companies of horse and three of infantry.

During the Autumn, part of his legion was engaged at Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey, which had become a rendezvous for American privateers. Prizes were made of British vessels, as they sailed along the coast to and from New York, and British troops were therefore, despatched by water, to destroy the privateers, and burn the houses of the settlement. Pulaski was ordered to march from Trenton with his legion, but before he could arrive, the British had effected their mission and returned to their vessels. Among the officers of the legion was a sergeant deserter, who, for some reason or other, determined to seek revenge on De Bosen, a lieutenant of the legion, and finding means to board one of the enemy's vessels, communicated exact intelligence of De Bosen's position, and led to it a party of troops in the night, attacked it, and De Bosen was killed, and many of his company. Upon the first alarm Pulaski hastened to the scene with his cavalry, and drove the enemy from the ground. They fled in disorder, but the legion had lost some forty men in killed and wounded.

During the following Winter Pulaski's Legion was

stationed at Minnisink, on the Delaware, and he became dissatisfied with the want of action, but a letter from his Commander, to whom he had hinted his impatience, apparently settled his want of resolution, and he remained with his legion to wait the coming of Spring. In the meantime, the British had taken possession of Savannah, and the larger part of Georgia, and the ensuing months seemed likely to witness a vigorous prosecution of the war in the South.

General Lincoln had been appointed by Congress, at the request of the South Carolina delegates, to command the Southern department, and it was proposed to send Pulaski with his legion to support him. Action was deferred until the beginning of February 1779, when he was ordered to South Carolina and put under the command of Lincoln. Pulaski instantly obeyed, though the march was long and difficult, and in order to secure recruits and forage, he divided his legion into two detachments, one, headed by himself, marched by the upper road through the interior of the country, while the other proceeded along the seashore.\*

When Pulaski was approaching Charleston, he heard that the British had made an invasion into South Carolina and were marching on the town. He selected his best men and horses, and, by forced marches, entered Charleston upon May 8th, the rest of his division arriving three days thereafter. Nine hundred British troops, under General Prescott, shortly crossed the

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\* Pulaski carried a silk flag given him by the Moravian nuns of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and which is still preserved in Baltimore among the sacred possessions of the Maryland Historical Society. Longfellow has commemorated the incident in the beautiful Hymn which he attributes to the nuns at the consecration of the banner:

“Take thy banner! and if e’er  
Thou shouldst press the soldier’s bier,  
And the muffled drum should beat  
To the tread of mournful feet,  
Then this crimson flag shall be  
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.”





PULASKI'S BANNER

In the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. From the original, made by the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania





PULASKI'S BANNER

In the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. From the original, made by the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania



Ashley River and invested the town. Pulaski waited impatiently until the enemy had crossed the ferry, when he sallied out with his legion, and a few mounted volunteers, and attacked their advance. He intended drawing the British into an ambuscade, but was compelled to retreat by the increasing numbers of the foe. His coolness under fire, and his disregard of personal danger, were especially conspicuous, and his bold attack raised the spirits of the people, and inspired confidence in the inexperienced troops which had been assembled to defend the city.

The enemy now totalled some thirty-six hundred men, and the Continentals within the city, consisting of Carolina militiamen and two regiments, amounted to but three thousand. Prescott summoned the town to surrender. The Governor and Council were inclined to capitulate upon the best terms obtainable. Though General Lincoln was marching from Savannah with about four thousand men, yet he could not be expected to arrive soon enough to relieve the besieged. The majority favored capitulation, but Pulaski appeared before the Council, and urged them not to adopt such timid measures, and assured them that the city could be successfully defended until Lincoln arrived and the British were compelled to withdraw. His advice revived the hopes of the Council. General Moultrie and Colonel Laurens seconded this advice and the town was saved from surrender. General Prevost, fearful of the arrival of Lincoln, retreated in the night across the river. Pulaski then issued forth with his cavalry, to ascertain the direction they had taken. He passed up to the vicinity of Dorchester Bridge, from whence he could convey intelligence in the shortest time to Moultrie, and to Lincoln. Prevost continued along the islands near the sea, and Pulaski's Legion harassed him at all assailable points, finally joining Lincoln and acting under his orders. During all this time Pulaski

was suffering under a severe attack of fever and ague, but with inimitable courage kept on reconnoitering and harassing the enemy.

General Prevost returned to Savannah in the early part of July, and Pulaski remained at Charleston to regain his health, which had become seriously undermined by exposure in the marshy country during hot weather. Many of his men also were sick.

Early in September, word reached Lincoln, then at Charleston, that Count d'Estaing was off the coast with a large French fleet, and willing to coöperate in the capture of Savannah. It was arranged that troops were to be marched as soon as possible into Georgia, while the French were to land near the mouth of the Savannah River, and a junction thus formed near the city.

Lincoln arrived in six days, but the only means of crossing the Savannah was a row boat and a single canoe. It was important to reconnoiter at once, to ascertain the position of the enemy. Pulaski used the canoe to transport three men at a time, the horses being led beside the canoe. Between twenty and thirty men, with their horses, were thus carried over the stream, under the command of Bentalou, who was ordered to move toward the enemy and send back intelligence.

The enemy retreated within their lines at Savannah. Approaching the town, Bentalou heard a voice which proved to be that of Pulaski himself, who had brought across the remainder of his legion. They encamped in the open for the night, and the next morning received word that d'Estaing had landed. He employed his legion without intermission, and, without going into the details of the memorable siege of Savannah, Pulaski fully sustained his reputation as a resourceful commander and brave leader. During the course of the siege he was despatched to attack a party of the

enemy which had ascended the Ogeechee River and had landed below the ferry. He surprised them and took several prisoners and dispersed the remainder, but d'Estaing wearied of the siege, resolved to take the place by assault. General Lincoln felt it could be captured by the usual approaches, but the French officers were afraid to trust their fleet, at that season of the year, to a possible coastal storm, and Lincoln assented. Orders were issued that the cavalry, under Pulaski, would proceed at the same time as the infantry, following the left column of the French troops, and preceding the column of the American light infantry, and endeavor thus to penetrate the enemy's lines. The French cavalry and the American cavalry, were both under Pulaski's command, but the assault was repulsed, chiefly because a deserter from the American army carried to the enemy the exact disposition of the attacking forces. D'Estaing, who lead in person the French soldiers, received two wounds and was carried from the field, and the carnage was so great from the enemy's batteries, that no impression could be made upon them. Pulaski, who had been stationed in the rear of the advanced columns, became uncertain what to do, on account of the confusion at the front and the obscurity caused by the smoke. He fearlessly rode forward into the thick of the conflict, calling Bentalou to follow him, but when they had proceeded a short distance, they heard of the havoc at the front, and with the hope of animating the troops by his presence, he pushed onward, but received a wound in the groin from a swivel gun, and fell from his horse near the front line. Bentalou was also wounded, but not seriously. The troops retreated leaving Pulaski on the field, but some of his legion returned, in the face of the enemy's fire, and bore him to the camp.

The siege of Savannah was raised. The French

troops returned to their fleet, and General Lincoln proceeded to South Carolina.

Pulaski and Bentalou were conveyed to the United States Brig *Wasp*, which was then lying with the French fleet, and despite the skill of the French surgeons, who gave every attention to Pulaski, the wound proved mortal. He died October 11, 1779, just as the *Wasp* was leaving the mouth of the river, and his body was committed to the waters, the only grave of one of the ablest men who volunteered their services for American independence.

The intelligence of Pulaski's death was regarded as a National calamity, and testimony to his skill and bravery were publicly rendered by the Governor and Council of South Carolina, and the Municipal authorities of Charleston. A funeral procession was held, the pall being borne by three French and three American officers, followed by the horse Pulaski had ridden when he received his mortal wound.

Thus ended the service to America of the only volunteer foreign officer of equal rank, who lost his life in her defense, and while other foreign officers received after the war, substantial grants of land and money, Pulaski's only reward was, and must be now, the gratitude of the American people. It has been said of him that he was amiable, gentle, conciliatory, candid, sincere, generous to his enemies and devoted to his friends, that his soldiers adhered to him as to a brother, and willingly endured fatigue and encountered perils most appalling, when encouraged by his approbation or led by his example. He is said even by the Russians to have possessed military talents of a very superior nature, nor were they ever able to take his person during the civil war. Ramsay, the historian, says of him that he was "a thunderbolt of war, and al-



ways sought the post of danger as the post of honor." When the Polish king heard of Pulaski's death, he exclaimed:

Pulaski has died as he lived—a hero—but an enemy of kings.

Pulaski was a lover of freedom, ardently attached to his native land, and he did not cease in the fight to rescue his country from the thralldom of despotic rule, until the three greatest military monarchies of Europe had united to crush her. He embraced the American cause as his own, as that of human liberty and of human rights, and he lost his life in defending it, thus acquiring the highest of all claims to a Nation's remembrance and gratitude.

Would that he could see his native Poland now—a land which includes one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory—as large as Germany; possessing thirty million inhabitants, nearly as many as France. Seventy per cent of her people are native Poles; the sixth state in Europe in size and population; possessing six towns, each with over one hundred thousand inhabitants; having access to the sea, by a port under her own control; blessed with a Republican form of Government based on universal suffrage, and which guarantees all citizens equal rights in the eyes of the law, and equal protection of life, liberty and property—an independent and united Poland—free in faith, free in language, and free in self-government.

"... AND SOLD BY MESSRS. FRANKLIN AND HALL"

By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS, Ph.D.

The William L. Clements Library

In the autumn of 1929, I was given some of the books from the Library of my late uncle, Mr. Charles Hopkins Clark of Hartford. I did not examine them very carefully at the time, as I was about to make an extended trip to Europe. A year elapsed before my attention was focused upon a volume in that collection entitled *An Historical Account of Earthquakes*, Liverpool, 1756, of which a title-page facsimile is published herewith. Below the imprint of R. Williamson of Liverpool, were the words, "... And sold by Messrs. Franklin and Hall, in Philadelphia." Anything that might even remotely be called a Benjamin Franklin "Imprint" gives the bibliographer a peculiar thrill. Obviously this was not a true "Franklin Imprint," but as I had not previously had my attention called to any books printed by another and sold by Franklin, I turned to the various bibliographies. Neither Henry Stevens', Paul Leicester Ford's nor William J. Campbell's works contained any mention of this book. Such an omission seemed natural enough, as the book could not possibly fall into any of the well known classes of books printed by Franklin, books written by Franklin, or books about Franklin.

When, in 1737, there was a seismic disturbance in Pennsylvania, Franklin printed an article on the "Causes of Earthquakes" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 15 of that year. But, as Sparks remarked, this essay "appears to be rather a compilation from various authors than an original composition." It did not appear in any of Franklin's collected works until the Duane edition of 1807. The year 1755 was marked by a very severe earthquake in New En-

gland, and by the famous Lisbon disaster. As many a sermon and broadside attest, these natural phenomena were the occasion for an outburst from the press upon the causes of such disasters, and their intimate relationship with the sins of this wicked world. According to the British Museum catalogue, the Reverend Thomas Hunter published in 1756 a sermon on *National Wickedness the cause of national misery, A Sermon* [on Jer. vi., 8] *preached . . . on . . . the day appointed for a general fast . . . on account of the late earthquakes . . .* Liverpool, 1756. The *Dictionary of National Biography* credits him, in the same year, with a book entitled *Impartial Account of Earthquakes*, but as will appear below, a search of the principal English libraries reveals no copy of any book with such a title. However, since we have the book, *An Historical Account of Earthquakes* was unquestionably published in 1756, in which pages 138 to 159 consist of Thomas Hunter's sermon as noted above. Whether or not Hunter wrote or compiled the entire book has not yet been established.

In searching for another copy of the book with which to collate my own, I wrote to that indefatigable Franklin enthusiast, Mr. George Simpson Eddy, of New York. Mr. Eddy at once found an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 5, 1756, in which it is announced that the book was “Lately published in Liverpool, and to be sold in the New Printing Office, in Market Street, Philadelphia, (Price 3 s. 9 d.).” It was further announced that “the Sermon may be had alone, Price 6d.”

When Franklin took Hall into partnership, he sold Hall the stock of books in the shop, who thereafter advertised in his own name the books he kept for sale. *But* the publications from the press of Franklin and Hall seem to have been advertised as to be sold at the New Printing Office, and that was the joint business of Franklin and Hall. The importation of the book