

much wanted; more privates required for waiters and general work; a smarter band, or at least two drums and fifes, required for full dress parades; academical clock and bell, and morning gun, essential; philosophical and pyrotechnical apparatus and supplies much needed; artillery for experiments in gunnery to be put in order; and many other things will be essential for a permanent establishment.

A general examination took place Oct. 10, 1806; lasting four days, in presence of the Superintendent and the Acting Professor of Mathematics. Seven cadets were examined in arithmetic and the elements of algebra and geometry for advancement; six cadets, in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, for promotion to the Artillery; and five cadets, in algebra, geometry, including practical surveying of areas and heights, drawing, and elements of fortifications, for promotion to the Engineers. Three of the latter had practical experience in engineering, they having been two months on duty at Fort Jay (now Columbus), New York Harbor; and two had considerable theoretical and practical knowledge of astronomy. Examinations in French were passed over, as all had not had the same advantages, some being native Louisianians, and others had long enjoyed private tuition.

Nine cadets entered the Academy in 1806, and fifteen were graduated. Some of the latter, as was often the case, remained at West Point or at their homes, awaiting promotion to the Army till vacancies should occur.

Notwithstanding Lieut.-Colonel Williams's great industry and zealous devotion to the Academy, he, as the head of the Corps of Engineers, was necessarily absent much of the time attending to professional duties, particularly the construction of the defenses of New York Harbor, of which he took the personal charge. During

his absence from West Point, the Academy was under the immediate care of Major Barron, the senior officer of Engineers present, who grossly neglected his duties, and consequently idleness and great irregularities prevailed among cadets.

Lieutenant Gratiot, of the Engineers, Dec. 28, 1806, preferred charges against Major Barron, "for an almost neglect of the Military Academy during the absence of Lieut.-Colonel Williams, thereby not advancing the interest and wishes of the public, and destroying the reputation of the institution." For this and gross personal derelictions, he was brought before a court martial, and, pending trial, tendered his resignation, which was accepted, June 15, 1807.

On the arrest, April 14, 1807, of Major Barron, the command of the Military Academy, in the absence of Lieut.-Colonel Williams in South Carolina, devolved upon Captain Joseph G. Swift, under whose auspices it was opened for instruction with Francis D. Masson, Teacher of French and Drawing, and Ferdinand R. Hassler, who had been appointed Acting Professor of Mathematics.

Professor HASSLER was born, Oct. 6, 1770, at Aarau, in Switzerland. He studied mathematics and natural philosophy, particularly their practical applications, in the University of Göttingen and at Paris. He had been the Attorney-General of the Canton of Berne, and frequently had been employed in making statistical surveys and on other public works under the successive governments of his native land, his most important duty having been the direction of the great geodetic survey of Switzerland. Being an ardent Republican, he could not brook French interference in the affairs of his native land, and therefore emigrated to the United States. He was appointed, Feb. 14, 1807, Acting Professor of Mathematics by President Jefferson, at the in-

stance of his countryman, Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury. Hassler, though renowned as a profound mathematician, philosopher, and astronomer, was not a very successful instructor, except for those gifted with a mathematical genius, and who consequently least needed his aid. His was not a common, but a refined and analytical mind, taught by processes of its own. Never having been a teacher in his younger days, he had no conception of the methods by which knowledge is best conveyed to inferior or ordinary intellects. Besides, he understood nothing of discipline, a defect the cadets were quick to discover; hence they dropped one by one into the academic halls, recited the little they had learned, and then unceremoniously left, to go where they pleased. Between unruly boys and his irregularly paid starvation salary of \$700 per year, the poor professor had a hard time at the Academy.

He left West Point at the close of the academic term of 1809, and, after trial, was elected, March 20, 1810, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Union College, at Schenectady, N. Y. Here also he showed himself less a teacher than a devotee to science, as the following anecdote, related by President Nott, will show: One day the dinner-bell rang before the professor had finished his lecture; but, so completely absorbed was he in his subject, that he heard not the signal, at which the students retired for something more attractive. Long he continued lecturing to bare walls and empty benches, and was only stopped when the doorkeeper, becoming impatient for *his* dinner, handed the professor the key, begging him to lock the door when he had finished his lecture.

Hassler, having been selected to direct the United States Coast Survey, authorized by the law of Feb. 10, 1807, went to Europe, Sep. 4, 1811, to procure the

necessary instruments and standards of measure for commencing the work, but, in consequence of our declaration of war against Great Britain, he was detained in England as an alien enemy till 1815. Upon his return, Oct. 22, 1815, he was formally appointed the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, but did not commence his field labors (measuring a base-line near the Hudson) till 1816. In 1818 the survey was in effect discontinued and not resumed till 1832, from which time Professor Hassler directed this great work till his labors were closed by death, Nov. 20, 1843, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Our foreign relations were such in 1807 that the State of New York was unwilling to trust the safety of her great commercial capital to the small appropriations granted by Congress. Fortifications consequently were authorized to be erected on Staten Island for the defense of "the Narrows." The authorities, having great confidence in Lieut.-Colonel Williams, then superintending the defenses of the inner harbor of New York, as a man of solid learning and sound judgment, and possessing a practical knowledge of the military art, selected him to plan and conduct their works (Forts Richmond and Tompkins). So devoted was he to these duties, which consumed most of his time, that the freedom of the city of New York was bestowed upon him by the Corporation, Aug. 1, 1807, "in consideration of his important services in protecting and fortifying said city." Subsequently, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, sent a large check to Lieut.-Colonel Williams in a very complimentary letter, saying: "Your services to the State are not only viewed by me, but also by the Legislature, in the most thankful manner." Perhaps it is unnecessary to add that the check was politely returned by the noble-minded recipient.

The defenses of New York Harbor absorbed this

year much of the attention of Lieut.-Colonel Williams. With him absent, and only civilian professors, who were foreigners, it was difficult for the commanding officer to maintain rigid discipline at the Academy; hence there were frequent courts martial. These courts were ordered by the Superintendent, who reviewed the proceeding and had power to carry out sentences extending "to expulsion from the Academy," but the Secretary of War's confirmation was necessary before a cadet's name "could be expunged from the list of the Army." In those days a cadet could be a member of a court martial for the trial of a soldier, and, in a noted instance, a cadet (Kelly) was the judge advocate of a court for the trial of a captain of artillery. From these circumstances it would appear that a cadet was considered, under the law of 1802, in the light of an officer of the lowest grade of his corps, though holding no commission. The fact of a lieutenant, in 1807, having challenged a cadet, would also support this view.

The Academy closed in 1807 on the 23d of November, after the annual examination, at which only five cadets were graduated. During the year, seventeen had been appointed.

Up to this time, not half the number of cadets authorized by law had been appointed, and existing vacancies in the Army, notwithstanding the earnest protests of Lieut.-Colonel Williams, were being filled by civilians who had no military education. No one knew better than himself, transformed from a merchant to a soldier, how many years of close study and practice were necessary to compensate for the lack of that early training as essential to the military as to all civil professions; and seven years' familiar acquaintance with a military school had taught him that the scientific skeleton of an army was more quickly and cheaply created at a special academy than in the field. The rank and

file of an army, he felt, could be readily improvised, but to make of them a well-organized and homogeneous disciplined force, ready to face a foreign foe, could best be accomplished by well-instructed officers, particularly those in the higher grades or filling staff positions.

The Treaty of Paris, 1783, by which our independence was acknowledged by the mother country, was virtually a truce, not a peace. The Revolution had effected our political emancipation and proved our capacity for self-defense; but our moral, physical, and mental independence were yet to be achieved, and the strength of republican and confederate nationality demonstrated. Wearied with war, we had continued, from the termination of our seven years' Revolutionary struggle, to practice patient forbearance under the pressure of accumulated wrongs. Great Britain, still our bitter enemy, had violated her plighted faith by retaining the American posts upon the northern frontier; her voice was loud along the border, continually inciting the Indian savages to war upon us; our commerce was the prey of her cruisers and privateers; our merchant vessels were searched and our native sailors impressed upon the high seas; our trade and navigation became the sport of her cupidity and assumption; and the enormity of her paper blockades was exceeding all bounds. The British order in council, of May 16, 1806, declared the whole French coast in a state of blockade,—an order which Napoleon retaliated by his Berlin decree of Nov. 21, 1806, declaring the blockade of the British Islands; and this latter was answered by another order of the former power, Jan. 7, 1807, prohibiting all coast trade with France. Great numbers of our vessels, under these oppressive orders and decrees, were seized by the cruisers of both belligerents, and our lucrative neutral commerce was nearly destroyed. British ships of war hovered, in warlike display, upon our coasts;

blockaded our forts; penetrated our bays and rivers; anchored in our harbors; threatened our cities and towns with conflagration, and even fired upon the unprotected inhabitants of our shores. The public mind was highly incensed by these gross violations of our neutrality; but the climax of insolence was reached June 22, 1807, in the ever memorable attack of the ship *Leopard*, of fifty guns, under the countenance of the British squadron anchored within American waters, upon the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, by which twenty-one men were killed or wounded. The President, by proclamation, interdicted our harbors and waters to all British armed vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and demanded immediate reparation for this last high-handed outrage, but not till four years after did the tardy atonement come. Another order in council was issued, Nov. 11, 1807, forbidding neutral vessels to enter French harbors until they had previously stopped at a British port and paid duties on their cargoes. Napoleon, not to be outdone, answered, Dec. 17, 1807, by his famous Milan decree, confiscating any vessel which should submit to British search or pay any duties to his great enemy.

The United States could no longer, with honor, permit its flag to be insulted, its citizens to be enslaved, and its property to be plundered on the highway of nations; but placed between the upper and nether millstone of two colossal powers, and unprepared to contend with either, Congress, upon the recommendation of the President, temporized by laying an embargo, Dec. 22, 1807, upon its vessels in American ports, and ordered the immediate return of all our shipping afloat.

This gloomy condition of things rendered it manifestly proper for the Chief Engineer to ask for an increase of his corps, then composed of a few officers

superintending an extended line of coast defenses, and to submit, Sep. 19, 1807, a project to remodel the Military Academy, the principal features of his plan being as follows:—

Major Mansfield, with the brevet rank of Lieut.-Colonel, to be Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and, as head of the academic staff, to be the Director of Studies; Professor Hassler, with the brevet rank of Major, to be Professor of Mathematics, having an assistant with the brevet rank of Captain; Teacher Masson, with the brevet rank of Major, to be Professor of Fortification, Drawing, and the French Language, having two assistants with the brevet rank of Captains; and Captain Walbach, who had served as a cavalry officer in Germany and France, to be Professor of Equitation. These professors and their assistants to be distinct from the organization of the Corps of Engineers, “but to remain connected with it as an additional staff, and to be allowed an adequate salary in lieu of the present mode of pay.” Besides these, he proposed honorary Professors of Architecture, and of Chemistry and Mineralogy, “to attend at the Academy three months in the year, and give a course of lectures, theoretical and practical.”

In a communication to the President, made a few months later, Lieut.-Colonel Williams recommended the addition of a Riding Master, and Teacher of Broad and Small Sword; appropriations for buildings, apparatus, library, etc.; and to extend the plan of the Academy to include, subject to the Rules and Articles of War, the minor officers of the Navy, and Pay Cadets designed for the Army and Navy or civil life. “As these youths grow up and take their stations in society, they would naturally become militia, and in a few years, in the ordinary course of events, we should see a uniformity in our militia, resulting from a spirit of emu-

lation, which the reputation of having received a military education would naturally excite, and the same duties which have often been considered a burthen would become a pleasurable privilege. There is nothing more fascinating to youth than excellence in arms, and a little knowledge will excite a desire to acquire more." He concludes his report saying that, in order "that Congress may have as little trouble as possible, and to avoid a frequent recurrence to its authority on matters of course, it might perhaps be expedient to pass one short act, naming the additions to be made to the Corps of Engineers, but placing the direction of the Academy, external and internal, in the President of the United States, leaving the site of the buildings, the number and kind of professors, and all other matters connected with the institution, entirely to his judgment."

The dangers to our country arising from the contests of other nations, the ruin of our commerce in the Mediterranean, the capture of our vessels bound to the Baltic, France, and Spain, the violation of our territory, the insults to our people, and the degrading our character in the eyes of the whole world, roused the President to ask Congress, Feb. 25, 1808, for an augmentation of our military force to 6,000 regulars and 24,000 volunteers. Rapidly our situation grew more critical, and the great belligerents seemed determined to trample under foot the law of nations, and annihilate every vestige of our neutrality.

President Jefferson, no longer doubting the constitutionality of a Military Academy, sent to Congress, March 18, 1808, the following special message:—

"The scale on which the Military Academy at West Point was originally established has become too limited to furnish the number of well-instructed subjects in the different branches of artillery and engineering which the service calls for. The want of such charac-

ters is already sensibly felt, and will be increased with the enlargement of our plans of military preparation. The Chief Engineer, having been instructed to consider the subject, and to propose an augmentation which might render the establishment commensurate with the present circumstances of our country, has made the report which I now transmit for the consideration of Congress.

“The idea suggested by him of removing the institution to this place is also worthy of attention. Besides the advantage of placing it under the immediate eye of the Government, it may render its benefits common to the Naval Department, and will furnish opportunities of selecting, on better information, the characters most qualified to fulfill the duties which the public service may call for.”

The Senate, March 28, 1808, on this message, reported a bill in relation to the Military Academy, which was read, and ordered to a second reading; but April 15, 1808, its further consideration was postponed till the first Monday of the December following.

The report of Williams, promoted to be Colonel Feb. 23, 1808, referred to by the President, was a long document, narrating the struggles of the Academy since 1801, and the character of its few instructors, and concluding with suggestions, essentially as we have already given them, for its re-organization.

The academical term of 1808 began in April, and, in consequence of our threatening relations with Great Britain, the number of cadets present (about 35) was unusually large. Instruction in mathematics was given by Professor Hassler, assisted by Lieut. Alden Partridge; and French and drawing were taught by Francis D. Masson. The wearing of the new cadet uniform was made imperative. Captain Swift, having left West Point on other duty at the beginning of the preceding

vacation, Colonel Williams took personal command of the Military Academy to reestablish harmony, and gave orders which he had no doubt of accomplishing, for, says he, "although my conduct towards the young gentlemen is decisive, yet I trust that it will be found so tempered with justice and consideration for their youth and inexperience that even those who may suffer will at a future day applaud it." He summarily arraigned some turbulent cadets before a court martial, and in reporting its proceedings to the Secretary of War, says: "I am sorry to trouble you about such affairs, but you may depend that unless system is preserved, and the cadets know and feel the effects of order and discipline, the Academy will go into confusion; but it shall never do so if I can help it." The Secretary, in reply, writes: "Whenever the young gentlemen at the Academy become turbulent or refractory, and will not listen to admonition, they should be discharged without delay. As a general principle, I think courts martial should not be resorted to for cadets; but if, on suitable inquiry, there appears satisfactory evidence of improper conduct, that admonition or a discharge should follow, according to the circumstances of the case. You will please to let Cadet Smith know that he is discharged from the Academy, and will have his name struck from the roll."

Having restored order, Colonel Williams went back to New York to attend to the defenses of the harbor, leaving the Academy in charge of Lieut. Alden Partridge, by whom it was as well conducted as the then circumstances admitted.

JONATHAN SNOWDEN, who had commanded a company in General St. Clair's Miami Expedition, superseded, June 1, 1808, Captain Alexander Thompson, a veteran of 1794, as Military Storekeeper at West Point. This deprived the latter of all means of support. The

tender-hearted Williams, in concluding an official letter of July 26, 1808, to the Secretary of War, says: "You would certainly be moved to compassion were you to see him in his reduced state, surrounded by a respectable though indigent family,—his wife, a woman of an amiable mind, but in delicate health; a blooming daughter (Amelia), about eighteen; a son (Alexander), about fifteen; and two young daughters (Margaret and Catherine), twelve and nine, without an assistant of any kind in the family. . . . Could you have this painful scene before you as I have, I repeat you would be moved with compassion, and I feel assured that I may rely upon a favorable answer to a request I am about to make; it is to give Captain Thompson's son, Alexander Ramsay Thompson, a cadet warrant, to date August 1, 1808, as the intermediate pay is of importance to this poor family."

Francis Desiré Masson, who was Teacher of both French and Drawing, relinquished the latter, Sep. 1, 1808, to Mr. Zoeller, who had, under the law of Feb. 28, 1803, been appointed Teacher of Drawing. Instead of Drawing, Masson gave lectures on Fortification.

CHRISTIAN E. ZOELLER was born in Switzerland; studied mathematics and geodesy at the Academy of Carlsruhe, in Germany; had been employed in the survey of the Alps in the Cantons of Berne, Lausanne, and Leman, at the salt mines of Bex, and by the Government of Baden; and emigrated to the United States with Professor Hassler, by whom he was highly recommended. He was a good, honest German Swiss, of great purity of character; with limited education; and was a practical surveyor, able to teach the use of instruments, and topographical and lineal drawing. Under his instruction, cadets learned but little, considering, with Dogberry, that drawing must come by nature, not study. Besides, he commanded little of their re-

spect: he was continually joking with them, and placing himself on their level.

During the year 1808, 15 cadets had been graduated, and were promoted to the Army; and 41 only had been appointed to the Academy, notwithstanding the act of April 12, 1808, largely increasing the military force, authorized the addition of 20 cadets of light artillery, 16 of light dragoons, 20 of rifles, and 100 of infantry, in all 156, besides the 50 already authorized by the law of March 16, 1802, making a total of 206.

The Senate, in its session of 1808-9, voted for the removal of the Academy to Washington, but this measure failed to become a law, its consideration being indefinitely postponed March 3, 1809, by a vote of 49 to 34, in the House of Representatives. Many believed that beneficial results would follow the removal; that the institution would be brought into greater prominence, and would receive what it most wanted, the fostering care of the Government. On the other hand, it was contended that West Point was a much more eligible situation; that it would be expensive to the United States to remove the institution, and, after it was removed, to provide public buildings for its accommodation; and that private property had been embarked in the settlement at West Point, which would be injured by the removal.

Thomas Jefferson ceased, March 4, 1809, to be President of the United States. For seven years he had been the steadfast patron of the Military Academy, created under his auspices. The Corps of Engineers, fully appreciating his paternal care, requested him to sit for his full-length portrait, which was painted by Sully, and now adorns the library of the Military Academy.

Henry Dearborn ended his eight years as Secretary of War with Jefferson's administration. He was a man

of vigorous mind; of extensive knowledge of detail; of indefatigable industry; methodical and economical in administration; a good old patriot; and, though not unfriendly to the Academy, inherited from his service during the Revolution a certain undefined antagonism to military education, and entertained effete ideas with regard to most modern improvements. Three years later, though possessed of ample time and means, his miserable failure to invade Canada proved his total unfitness for elevated military command, whatever might have been his merits in earlier days.

JAMES MADISON, who became President Jefferson's successor, was a statesman of enlarged views. Repeatedly, in his messages to Congress, he urged, with great force and earnestness, the importance of increasing our means for military education, regarding "the advancement of science and the diffusion of information as the best aliment to true liberty;" but, plunged at once into foreign questions of impressment of our seamen, the rights of search, and outrages to neutral commerce, he had little time for personal attention to the Military Academy.

WILLIAM EUSTIS, a physician of Boston, Mass., was appointed March 9, 1809, Secretary of War under the new administration. He had been a surgeon in the Continental Army, and in the expedition of 1786-87 against Shays' insurgents; and was a member of Congress during Jefferson's first term as President. He was a man of moderate capacity; of social temperament; and of narrow prejudices, bred in camp and hospital. He had some knowledge of the Military Academy, having been in Congress during its infancy. As a Continental surgeon, he had been stationed opposite West Point, at the Beverly House, the headquarters of Arnold, whose escape, he often narrated, was through the energy of Corporal Levy, the coxswain of the gen-

eral's barge, who supposed they were going upon some official business. Arriving on board the *Vulture*, Arnold offered to make Levy a sergeant-major in the British service, at the same time making some remarks upon the cause of his abandoning the American Army. Levy replied that one coat was enough to wear, whereupon the commander of the *Vulture* commended his patriotism, treated the barge crew to good fare, and allowed them to return unmolested to West Point.

Secretary Eustis arrived at Washington April 7, 1809, accompanied by Major Swift, of the Engineers, who had known him intimately for some years, and had been requested to aid the new Cabinet officer in becoming acquainted with his duties. On an excursion from Boston to Portsmouth with the doctor, after he probably knew he was to go into Madison's Cabinet, Swift discussed a new formation of the Army, with a Staff Corps, and an enlargement of the Military Academy with a School of Practice by a Corps of Sappers and Miners. "The latter two Dr. Eustis did not approve," thus showing his hostility to the institution at West Point before he had entered upon the duties of the War Department. His subsequent acts, as will presently appear, show that, if possible, he meant to crush it, notwithstanding our increasing dangers made it apparent that in his hands were the successful or disastrous issues of the nation's fate. France had infringed her treaty, burnt our vessels on the high seas, and subjected to capture our commerce with her maritime foe. Great Britain continued to violate our territory, depredate on our commerce, impress our seamen, exclude our exports from market, and subject to tribute the staples of our country. Each power, under pretext of retaliating on us for our alleged submission to the other, had carried its injustice and violence beyond all bounds of endurance, and, every possible form of negotiation hav-

ing failed with both belligerents, nothing seemed left but war to preserve our liberty and honor.

The Academy in 1809 opened about the 1st of April with probably some 30 cadets, as the muster-roll shows 42, present and absent, at the end of the month, which number includes the ten appointed in 1809 before April 14, all of whom were doubtless selected by General Dearborn, as Dr. Eustis did not arrive at Washington till the 7th, and could hardly have become familiar with War Department affairs in a week. Small as was their number to meet the urgent necessity for instructed officers, Secretary Eustis began his administration by an effort to disperse them, degrade them to common laborers, and deprive them of all academic advantages. In a letter to Colonel Williams he says: "My opinion is, that you owe it to yourself, to these young men, and to the public, to take some of them with you to the works at New York. They ought (if there be not an objection, which does not occur to me) to be attached to companies, or at least to be about the works, if it be only that they may see in what manner work is done. And they should live on their pay and rations. More, they ought to put the public to no expense of any kind, either for transportation or quarters, or any other item. Occasionally they ought to be relieved, that all may have an opportunity of learning something, and of rendering some service to the public. However trivial the service, it holds them to their responsibility, and is at times *their proper place*. I beg you to think of this, and if there be any objections let me know it. Be assured that to learn the young men to subsist on small means is among the greatest services you can render them. They ought also to *labor*, or at least *to be so near to laborers* as to be able to work if it should be necessary."

His animus towards the Academy was further shown

by crowding out cadets by six companies of New York volunteers, under Colonel Simmons, ordered to take post at West Point; by refusing to appoint young Thompson a cadet, though so strongly urged on the score of humanity to the suffering family of a veteran officer; and by an order to dispense with the services of one of the three instructors appointed by President Jefferson, unless all would consent to live upon the pittance allowed to two. The latter decision was in response to a strong appeal from Colonel Williams, who says: "The accountant having returned Professor Masson's account, although the allowance has for a long time been regularly paid, and the Paymaster having omitted Professor Hassler's name on the pay-rolls and referred him to the War Office, it is my duty to explain their respective demands. . . . Mr. Hassler was employed by the express order of General Dearborn, at \$700 per annum, and it was justly considered an acquisition to obtain a man so eminently distinguished for learning and talents on such moderate terms. Mr. Masson has done the duties of Professor of Drawing, as of the French Language, and he had been paid \$15 per month, in addition to his pay, for this double duty. It was desirable to have a Professor of Fortification, and generally of the art of the engineers, and in these Mr. Masson excels. It was therefore decided by General Dearborn to have a Professor of Drawing, and relieve Mr. Masson from that duty, on condition of his performing the other duties for the same emoluments hitherto enjoyed. All this arrangement was called temporary, and the payments were a charge on the contingencies of the War Department, but it was considered to continue until due provision was made by law, which it was expected would have been done at the last session, and no doubt will be done at the next.

“I beg your permission to observe that, so long as the duties have been performed by the professors, the faith of the Government is pledged, and the payment is justly due. If it is judged proper to discontinue the payments, it seems reasonable that notice should be previously given, that the duties may discontinue also. Lieutenant Partridge does all his time will permit in aid of the Mathematical branch, but no one man is equal to the whole task, even if he had nothing else to do. Mr. Masson’s lectures are worth far more than his pay. The students are made to write them out, and thus they receive, in regular gradations, all the elements of their art in a manner that no English book I know of could teach. It is condensing all that is known in Europe in foreign languages in systematic form into our own, and when all the courses shall be finished it will make a very valuable work. I have no doubt but, on this representation, you will please to direct the settlement of the debt in the usual way.”

In this connection it is but just to quote from Major Swift’s letter of Aug. 9, 1809, to Colonel Williams, in which he says: “I can’t get the Secretary to do anything for Mrs. Thompson or her son. . . . I have doubts of his agreeing to sanction any accommodation, but I think he will not put any difficulty in the way of the commanding engineer allowing Mrs. Thompson a house and garden, and to take cadet boarders.” Soon after, Mrs. Thompson was permitted to occupy a small wooden building, from which she subsequently removed to the “Knox headquarters,” with the privilege of boarding twelve cadets. This was continued till her death, and to her daughters till Feb. 16, 1875, when the last survivor (Amelia) in her old age relinquished it.

In the absence of Colonel Williams, who was much occupied with his duties as Chief Engineer, particularly in hastening the construction of the defenses of New

York Harbor, Lieut. Alden Partridge was in command at West Point. In his report of Sep. 27, 1809, to Colonel Williams, he gives a vivid picture of the disorganization produced by Secretary Eustis's total neglect to provide for the wants of the Academy and support its discipline. He says: "On Monday last, there was a very thin Mathematical Academy; the French was not much better; and no Drawing. Yesterday there was a still less number in the Mathematical Academy, and some of those who did attend did not come into the Academy until about ten o'clock; the Academy of Fortification was similar; the Drawing Academy was also very thin. Having fully considered these circumstances, and being convinced that in the present management of the Academy it is impossible for me to be of that advantage I could wish, I have to request a leave of absence."

Lieutenant Partridge, not obtaining the leave of absence asked, submitted, Oct. 24, 1809, as directed by Colonel Williams, the following very sensible propositions for the consideration of the War Department:—

First. Let no person be appointed a cadet who is under fourteen or over eighteen years of age; nor unless he can produce testimony of his knowledge of the first rules of arithmetic, and with a tolerable handwriting.

Second. Let all the appointments for each year be made in such a manner that all the cadets for that year may join the Academy together at the close of the vacation. (The winter would probably be the most proper time for making the appointments.)

Third. Let the time of remaining at the Academy be limited to four years.

Fourth. Let the cadets be divided into four classes, to remain one year in each class, and let their studies be arranged accordingly.

Fifth. At the end of each term, let there be a general examination of the several classes, when each class, having completed the course of studies assigned, will be advanced one grade forward, and have its place filled by the next lower class, and the lowest class be composed of those newly appointed.

Sixth. After a class has completed the whole course of studies at the Academy, let its members be entitled to receive commissions, if there should be vacancies; if not, let them have the privilege of going upon duty with the Engineer officers, or of being attached to such companies in such tasks as they are judged best able to perform the duties of, until vacancies happen, receiving some additional compensation for their services.

Seventh. If, on the general examination, any one should be found unfit to enter a higher class, and his not being qualified should be owing to his own negligence, let him be dismissed the Academy; if there should be other and better reasons for it, let him remain another year in the reserve class.

Eighth. Let the Superintendent of the Academy, together with the several professors, have the privilege of forming rules and regulations for the internal government of the Academy.

Ninth. Let no cadet receive a commission until he has completed the whole course of studies at the Academy, and in granting commissions let the strictest regard be paid to merit.

“The particular class arrangement of the studies would require some reflection, and belongs more properly to the constitution. Since, however, young persons are better qualified for attending to studies where memory, more than reason, is concerned, it would seem proper that the first two years should be devoted more particularly to the French Language and Drawing, to-

gether with the elements of the Mathematics, reserving the higher studies for the last two years, when their age will be rather more mature."

It is presumed that there was no general examination at the end of the academic term of 1809, as, of the seven cadets commissioned this year, all but one were promoted before Dr. Eustis became Secretary of War, and were probably, after their examination in 1808, waiting for vacancies to occur in the Army.

By the beginning of the annual vacation, Secretary Eustis had so thoroughly proved his incompetency for his high office, and had so completely disorganized the Military Academy, that the Engineers were utterly disgusted, and, but for the anticipation of a war, their chief would have resigned, as his authority received no support whatever from the War Department.

With the academic term of 1809 ended the active services of all the heads of the several branches of instruction. Lieutenant Bomford, who taught Practical Pyrotechny, was ordered, Dec. 27, 1809, to New York; Professor Hassler, of the Department of Mathematics, resigned Feb. 14, 1810; Teacher Masson went to Europe on leave of absence, April 15, 1810; and Teacher Zoeller quitted the Department of Drawing April 30, 1810. Till the resignation of Francis D. Masson, March 31, 1812, his brother Florimond did his duties as Teacher of French, but not of Fortification.

FLORIMOND MASSON was the opposite of his brother Francis in appearance, manner, and disposition; was very amiable and a popular teacher, though cadets profited little by his instruction.

The Academy, now under command of *Second Lieutenant* Sylvanus Thayer, of the Engineers, besides being deprived of nearly all means of instruction, was cut off from every kind of supply, "even to a sheet of

paper and a single goose-quill with which to make out the usual muster-roll ;” and officers and cadets were in eternal difficulties in getting their pay and allowances. One of the latter writes, March 18, 1810 : “ I wish they would either put the institution on a respectable footing, or annihilate it at once, for in its present condition it is a disgrace to the United States.” An officer of Engineers, in a letter of April 1, 1810, to Colonel Williams, says : “ You seem somewhat dissatisfied with the Secretary of War, and perhaps for the same reason I might also be a little out of humour. He has changed the institutions of his predecessor, and is not willing we should go on in a style suited to the times and the honour of the country, but what of that? It matters not: we are not to blame who do all we can, and, if they withhold the means, the responsibility must fall upon their shoulders. . . . It is enough that we do all we can for the good of our country, and for our own reputation. . . . Congress makes no preparation for the worst that may happen, but think themselves quite safe in their chimney corners.”

While war was almost upon us, Secretary Eustis was doing his utmost to destroy the Military Academy. Not only did he fail to supply the requisites for educating cadets, not a single new one did he appoint ; and from the few remaining on the rolls he was making constant details for companies and War Department clerks, before they had been taught the rudiments of their profession.

Congress did little better, being chiefly engaged in discussing the removal of the Academy to Washington, for political, not educational, purposes. Till two years later, nothing for the improvement of the Academy was done, though Senator Bradley, instigated by Colonel Williams, had, April 13, 1810, reported a bill for the re-organization of the institution, containing the essen-

tial provisions of the subsequent enactment of April 29, 1812.

Colonel Williams favored the removal of the Academy, not to Washington, but to Staten Island, New York Harbor, as will appear from the following memorandum given by him, Jan. 26, 1810, to the Hon. De Witt Clinton, then a member of the United States House of Representatives : —

“Two questions relative to the Military Academy are now before Congress: first, to remove it to Washington, and, second, to retain it at West Point.

“Like many other cases in this contradictory world, the possession of the object makes but a small part of the motive on either side. Could the city of Washington be *bolstered* up by the transfer of all the public institutions in the Union, so as to force it to become a large and populous city, *an end would be answered*, whatever might be the fate of the institutions.

“In like manner, there may be local considerations respecting West Point, and these considerations are very natural to the New York Representatives in Congress. But if it were established anywhere else within the State, this object would be equally assured, and the New York Representatives would feel bound to obey any impulse given by the government of their own State. When the Secretary of War passed through New York, the Governor intimated to him a choice of three propositions, provided the Legislature should concur : —

“*First.* If the United States will pay for the land lately purchased adjoining Signal Hill on Staten Island, the State of New York will make them a present of all the works as far as they are constructed. Or,

“*Second.* If the United States will pay for the works, the State of New York will make them a present of the land, and, in either case, cede the jurisdiction in the usual way. Or,

“*Third.* If the United States will establish the Military Academy *there*, the State of New York will present works and land gratis, and cede as before proposed. This would be in effect giving the whole cost of their works as an endowment to the Academy, for, as the works would have cost the United States what they have cost the State, this money is a *direct* present, and in its application to the Academy operates *directly* where it will be immediately wanted.

“The advantages to the institution are :—

“*First.* All experiments in gunnery may be made on the beach, which gives a range of two miles or more. At West Point, there being only mountains and a river, no range can be had.

“*Second.* A good soil for complete vegetable maintenance, and the vicinity to a good market, besides a rich country all around, and decent society. West Point is grossly deficient in all these particulars.

“*Third.* A laboratory might be established here to supply all the United States; the fortifications going on would be a source of practical instruction; and all experiments of every kind, as well as every species of astronomical, geometrical, and maritime observations, might be pursued.

“*Fourth.* The Academy would become known throughout the United States. At West Point it is as completely obscure as if it were placed on the north side of the Ohio.

“*Fifth.* Many officers might be made masters of nautical astronomy while pursuing their other studies in the harbor. There never has been a Navy officer at the Academy at West Point since its establishment.

“In short, this place possesses all the advantages of a salubrious climate, — warm in winter and cool in summer, being covered by high lands to the northwest and open to sea breezes. The economy that might be

exercised in constructing works, under the eye and with the aid of this Academy, with its discipline and the strength of the troops that might be attached to it, would considerably reduce the expense, and no expense would be required here that would not be required to make the Academy what it ought to be if it were to remain at West Point, for there is not one stone upon another that must not be taken down if the works are to be rebuilt on the same site; and there is but one building, except the stores, that would require less money for a complete repair than the cost of a new one of equal capacity, and this one is but a wooden frame one story high."

Governor Tompkins, of New York, March 23, 1810, notified Colonel Williams that the Legislature of the State had passed a concurrent resolution requesting him to report, at their next session, whether any and what arrangements could be made with the General Government respecting a cession by the State of New York to the United States for the works of defense on Staten Island. Colonel Williams replied that the act of cession must be absolute before Congress would take any positive action respecting the removal of the Military Academy to Staten Island.

While Congress was talking much, and, like the Secretary of War, doing nothing, for the advancement of the institution, the Academy was re-opened early in April, 1810, with only fifteen cadets, and no other instructors than the temporary Teacher of French and Lieutenant Partridge, the Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics, who was in command during Colonel Williams's absence upon the defenses of New York Harbor, which he was pushing forward with all vigor, notwithstanding the continual obstruction and annoyances of the Secretary of War.

Colonel Williams, after earnest appeal and much per-

sistent effort, succeeded in extorting Secretary Eustis's approval, April 30, 1810, of the following regulations relative to the Military Academy at West Point:—

“1. From and after the 4th of July, 1810, no cadet shall be admitted into the Military Academy under the age of fifteen or above that of twenty years.

“2. Every cadet appointed in the service of the United States shall subscribe an engagement to serve four years unless sooner discharged.

“3. The qualifications for admission into the Academy, in addition to those of age before mentioned, shall be, that the candidate is well versed in the English language, in writing and arithmetic, that he is of good moral character and of sound constitution.

“4. Furloughs shall not be granted excepting in case of sickness, domestic casualties, or at the request of parents or guardians; and when on furlough (except in time of vacation by the rules of the Academy) pay and emoluments shall cease.

“5. When cadets shall become candidates for commissions, a certificate from the Superintendent, that they have been duly examined and are found to excel, will give them preference.

“6. Notice of appointments will be given to the commanding officer, and, if those attached shall not join within a reasonable time, they shall be reported absent without leave.

“7. A uniform shall be established by the Superintendent, with the approbation of the Secretary of War, for all cadets attached to the Academy, without regard to their respective corps.

“8. Interior regulations shall be made by the Superintendent for the time being, provided that no existing regulation be altered or counteracted without special order of the Commandant of the Corps of Engineers.

“9. While the Academy remains at West Point, a

vacation shall take place annually on the 15th of December, and terminate on the 15th of March following."

Before the ink of Secretary Eustis's official signature to these wise and needful regulations was fairly dry, he, without consultation with the Superintendent of the Academy, began making, from the handful of students at the institution, fresh details of cadets for War Department clerks, and to join companies, not to serve, as might reasonably have been expected, as *subaltern officers*, but as *private soldiers*. In an order of May 18, 1810, to Colonel Williams, the Secretary says: "After the cadets shall have completed (?) their academical education, it is intended that they shall be attached to companies to perform duty as *soldiers in the line*, in order to their becoming candidates for promotion to commissions. *By courtesy*, cadets are generally allowed to quarter and mess with the officers of the company to which they are attached."

Colonel Williams, May 25, 1810, under the authority given by the Secretary of War, April 30, 1810, established the following "Internal Regulations for the Military Academy," and directed that all others not in conformity to these should be null and void:—

"*First*. Every cadet attached to the Military Academy, previous to his being considered a candidate for a commission, shall have completed the following course of studies, viz.:—

"In Mathematics he shall be required to be well versed in Arithmetic, Logarithms, the Elements of Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration of heights and distances, Planometry, Stereometry, Surveying, Artificer's work, and Conic Sections.

"In French, to pronounce the language tolerably, and to translate from English into French, and from French into English, with accuracy.

"In military duty, to understand the manual exercise

with the musket, the management of the field-piece, and the various evolutions of the infantry and artillery perfectly.

“*Second.* Whenever a cadet shall have completed the above course of studies, he shall be entitled to a certificate to that effect signed by the commanding officer, after which, if he wishes, he shall be excused from attending the Academy, but may pursue such studies as he chooses at his quarters.

“*Third.* The hours for attending the Academy, for studying in quarters, for parades and drills, and for all other duties upon which the cadets may be called, shall be directed by the commanding officer, and his orders shall have equal force with these regulations.

“*Fourth.* All excuses for absences from duty must be made immediately and in writing. If reasonable, they will be accepted.

“*Fifth.* All unnecessary noise in or near any quarters in coming to or going from parade, or on or near the parade ground, and the discharging of firearms within the public walls (without special permission), are strictly prohibited.

“*Sixth.* The commanding officer shall be at liberty to appoint any cadet to do the duty of adjutant, and each cadet in turn shall do the duty of officer of the day in such manner as shall be directed.

“*Seventh.* Every cadet who shall obtain leave of absence shall at his departure and return report himself to the officer of the day.

“*Eighth.* Days for uniform parades shall be appointed by the commanding officers, and every cadet on such days will be required to appear on parade in the uniform of the Academy complete, unless specially excused.

“*Ninth.* All conduct contrary to the principles of military discipline, though not particularly mentioned,

is to be considered contrary to the regulations of the Military Academy.

“*Tenth.* Every cadet who shall knowingly violate any of the above regulations shall, for the first offense, be privately admonished by the commanding officer; for the second offense he shall be publicly admonished; for the third offense he shall be publicly reprimanded; for the fourth offense he shall be confined to his quarters for a term of time not exceeding eight days; and for the fifth offense he shall be stricken from the roll of the Academy as unworthy of being a member.

“*Eleventh.* Any cadet who shall wilfully be guilty of disobedience of any lawful order shall be immediately dismissed; but, previously to his dismissal, he shall, upon his requisition, be allowed a court of inquiry into the facts, and shall be heard in his defense. The court shall be appointed by the commanding officer, and consist of one or more commissioned officers, as may be deemed expedient; and in case of a commissioned officer, other than the commanding officer, being present, three cadets may form the court, and report the facts, but without an opinion, unless otherwise ordered by the commanding officer. In like manner, a court of inquiry into any occurrence may be ordered by the commanding officer, as occasion may require.

“*Twelfth.* In all cases of dismissal, a report shall be made to the Secretary of War, that he may assign such duties as he may think proper to the dismissed cadet at any other post or place.

“*Thirteenth.* Cadets are by law liable to perform any duty that a soldier may be commanded to perform, and, that there may be no misapprehension of this obligation, it is here declared that they are liable to be ordered on all kinds of military duty by the commanding officer, as well as upon any other duty that may tend to increase their general knowledge.

“*Fourteenth.* The strictest attention to the foregoing duties at the times specified will be required; and when on duty of any kind, the accurate observance of that duty is hereby specially enjoined under the penalty provided for the disobedience of orders.

“*Fifteenth.* The foregoing Interior Regulations, being authorized by the Eighth Article of the Regulations for the Military Academy established by the Secretary of War on the 30th day of April, 1810, are to be taken as part of Regulations, and have full and equal force with them.”

Colonel Williams, in the 13th paragraph of the above Regulations, felt bound to give a qualified sanction to Secretary Eustis's views of the legal obligations of cadets. The latter, to leave no doubt of his mean intentions, writes, June 4, 1810, to Colonel Williams: “It is intended as a general regulation, admitting of such exceptions as circumstances may render expedient, that, when the cadets have completed their academical education, they shall be attached to companies of the respective corps in which they are destined for commissions; that they shall wear precisely the same uniform (the cloth may be of superior quality) with the company to which they are attached, — the same arms, and perform *all the duties of privates*, with such exceptions and exemptions as the commanding officer may permit; that they may also perform the duties of corporals and sergeants, if found qualified; and that, when they shall be nominated for commissions, their appointments be considered and styled *promotions*.”

Colonel Williams, in commenting on the above, says, in substance: “The law contemplates a cadet being *above* a sergeant; the only questions are his capacity and the inexperience of youth. Cadets who have gone through a military education, and performed the duties of cadet company officers, ought not to be placed *under*

the command of non-commissioned officers; and, in general terms, they should be placed *above* soldiers, and their position be dignified as candidates for commissions. When 'off duty, let the cadet mess with officers, and be considered as what his name imports, a *younger brother*.'"

Colonel Williams soon after, June 13, 1810, in writing to the President on matters pertaining to the United States Military Philosophical Society, says in his letter, of which only a fragment is to be found: "I would not trouble you again on the subject of the Military Academy, if it were not to express the regret arising from two circumstances which I formerly intimated to you, and which I think are now clearly ascertained, by the repeated failure of every attempt in its favour, to be decided facts. *First*. Those members of both houses of Congress who wish to augment the establishments at Washington are determined to oppose everything relating to the institution, unless its removal to that city be a preliminary condition. *Second*. The opposite party are equally determined to oppose everything relative to the institution, if it be not absolutely fixed elsewhere as forever to prevent its removal to that city. . . . I communicated to the Secretary of War, some time since, a proposition made to me by Governor Tompkins [the cession of the State works and land at the eastern end of Staten Island, the details of which have been before stated]. . . . But unfortunately the Legislature of New York, whose assent to the Governor's proposition is necessary before it can be acted upon by the Government of the United States, will not be in session till February, and Congress must dissolve on the 4th of March. From these and other considerations, I totally despair of any alteration in the system that will raise the Academy to that state which the honour of the nation and the advantage of the Army

indispensably require. And convinced as I am that under its present want of necessary buildings, requisite professors, and almost everything that should constitute a seminary of military science, neither benefit to the public nor honour to myself can be derived from it, I hope to be permitted to view the present session as the last in which I shall be required personally to superintend this inadequate establishment. I think myself bound to express my sentiments thus early, that they may not appear hereafter to be devoid of due reflection. But I beseech you to be persuaded, sir, that, in every way that I can aid the administration and serve the public, I shall always be ready, within the compass of my limited talents, to testify the warmest zeal. On the other hand, whenever it appears to my mind impossible to render such services as the end in view indispensably requires, or to give such satisfaction to the Government and the public at large as from ostensible circumstances they might reasonably expect, I shall feel it to be my duty to acquiesce in my inability rather than vainly persist in useless efforts."

Colonel Williams's duties as Chief Engineer continuing to require his being absent most of his time from West Point, he issued, June 17, 1810, the following Engineer and Academy order: —

"With the arrival of a Captain of Engineers at West Point, on whom the command will devolve in the absence of the Colonel Commandant, it is necessary to establish some explanatory rules of distinction between the interior government of the Academy and the general exterior command: —

"*First.* All the rules established for the particular administration of academical superintendence necessarily fall under the professors' charge, and of course Lieutenant Partridge, the chief professor, must be supported, and in no instance interrupted, in enforcing the

execution of them, or in giving theoretical or practical instruction to the cadets.

Second. On the other hand, whatever relates to the command and police of the post will naturally fall under the direction of the superior officer. These outlines would be sufficient for a complete understanding if the duties did not in some measure so coincide as to make a line of distinction difficult; but the Colonel Commandant relies upon the judgment of the commanding officer, which, joined to the disposition of the professors generally, will, it is presumed, insure a complete coöperation. It must be understood, however, that while officers of the corps are engaged as professors, they must be considered as staff officers, and not liable to any military order which might interrupt or impede their academical duties; but this is not to exempt them from obeying all orders which the police and good government of the post, and gradations of military rank, may render necessary.

“As cases may arise where a court martial may be requisite, and as it is desirable that prisoners should not be kept long in confinement without trial, a standing court martial is hereby appointed, of which Captain Gratiot is president, Lieutenant Partridge and Lieutenant Thayer members, to sit occasionally on their own adjournments for the trial of such offenses as may occur until they shall be discharged. The president will appoint a judge-advocate occasionally. Captain Gratiot takes command of the post, its police, and government of the men, this day, notwithstanding the presence of the Colonel Commandant. He will please, however, to cause all daily reports to be communicated to him.”

This order gave great umbrage to Lieutenant Partridge, who, July 8, 1810, in an insubordinate temper, addressed the following communication to the Chief Engineer:—

“Agreeably to your request, I have the honor to make known to you the conditions upon which I am willing to continue my duties in the Academy in the same manner I have hitherto done.

“*First.* In the absence of yourself, all Academy regulations, and also the cadets, to be exclusively and in every respect under my direction.

“*Second.* The above being established, I will hold myself responsible for the improvement of the cadets in all their pursuits, both theoretical and practical, and also for the due enforcing of the regulations established for the government of the Academy.

“Should the above conditions be thought inadmissible, I would beg leave to be excused from all further duties in the Academy, and would take the liberty to request leave of absence until the 30th of September next, during which time I can make my arrangements either to return and do duty in the corps or resign.”

In reply to this, Colonel Williams, the next day, administered the following very proper rebuke:—

“I have received your letter of yesterday, stating ‘the conditions on which you are willing to continue your duties in the Academy in the same manner you have hitherto done,’ which you say is, ‘in my absence, all the academic regulations, and also the cadets, to be exclusively and in every respect under your direction.’ . . . Before I answer this demand, so positively expressed, I wish to call your recollection to the attention I have uniformly paid to you in everything relating to the Academy and this post, and such has been my confidence in your talents, zeal, and industry that I have thought the institution much benefited by these arrangements. If an officer senior to you had not been sent hither, no alteration would have been necessary, and I should have continued you in command with great satisfaction.

“The arrival of Captain Gratiot, however, alters this state of things, and the rights of seniority make him the commanding officer, but, expressly to give you satisfaction, I made additional regulations and separated the academical duties from those of the post, in the nature of staff appointments, thereby preserving to you the exclusive direction of the institution. These regulations were shown to you previously to their promulgation, and, hearing no objection, I concluded that the effect would perfect harmony. You now ask me to deprive Captain Gratiot of this right, and to grant you what the rules of the Army absolutely forbid, for, if you were to have the exclusive command of the cadets, there would be left nothing above a corporal’s duty for Captain Gratiot to perform.

“Respecting the leave of absence you ask, I have so repeatedly pointed out to you the impossibility of granting it without deviating from what I esteem my duty, that I did not expect a repetition of the request, and you will do me the justice to allow that my refusal, by its nature, involved a compliment to your usefulness. The health of Mrs. Williams prevents me from giving customary attention to business. I therefore request that, if you deem an answer necessary, you would let it lie over two or three days, and then make it in writing. This delay may aid your reflections, and relieve my domestic anxiety; but it would be more agreeable to hear nothing more on the subject.”

Lieutenant Partridge, instead of manfully acknowledging his error, procured a surgeon’s certificate of disability, which devolved his duties upon Lieutenant Thayer. On the 11th of July, Colonel Williams issued the following order:—

“The doctor having certified that Lieutenant Partridge is very much affected with a febrile disease, and rendered thereby unfit for duty, he is for the present

excused from the professorship, and Captain Gratiot will take upon himself the superintendence of the Academy, directing such of the cadets to assist in the duties as he, in conjunction with Lieutenant Thayer, may judge most capable to teach the several classes."

Accordingly, Cadets Boisaubin and Loomis were detailed as instructors to the first class; and Cadets Fanning and Larrabee to the second class.

By midsummer of 1810, Secretary Eustis, by his continual details of cadets for company and other duties, had left so few at West Point that, except in name, the Academy had virtually ceased to exist; and discipline was so palsied that Colonel Williams had to resort to summary measures to keep up even its semblance. He reports to the Secretary of War, July 18, 1810: "By virtue of authority vested in me as Superintendent, I have dismissed Cadet Burchstead from the Academy for committing violations of the regulations of the institution by assault and battery. Being also charged with 'mutiny by opposing the Officer of the Day with naked arms, — a military offense, and cognizable by a court martial, — I have directed him to proceed (under continual arrest) to Fort Jay [now Columbus] for trial." Notwithstanding all this, Secretary Eustis allowed Burchstead to continue a cadet, and subsequently, March 1, 1811, commissioned him an Ensign in the Second Regiment of Infantry.

Worn out by the apathy of Congress and the criminal perverseness of Secretary Eustis, Colonel Williams, writing Sep. 15, 1810, to Mr. Jefferson about one of his cadet protégés, pours out his heart in lamentations over the noble institution founded by the ex-President: "I wish I could make use of your voice to excite our General Legislature to some attention to the Military Academy. We want military more than any other description of talent, . . . and yet, strange to tell! we

are cold, chilling cold, upon every subject relative to military instruction. Nine tenths of Congress seem to me not only cold but blind, stone-blind, to the true interests of our nation on the score of its defense. I have been engaged eight years in the embryo of a military seminary, and have at last barely brought it into existence. It lives indeed, but, in comparison to what it ought to be, it is *a puny, rickety child*.

“I am tired, my dear sir, heartily tired; and although I never wished to terminate my labors but with my life, I must in future be excused from meddling with the Military Academy, unless, by some means or other, I can see a prospect of producing some benefit to my country, and, pardon my vanity, some honour to myself.”

Secretary Eustis, not content with destroying the Military Academy, proposed also to destroy the Corps of Engineers, by filling an existing vacancy in it by an appointment from without. On this, Colonel Williams, Oct. 3, 1810, wrote to the Secretary as follows:—

“In consequence of your remark this morning, and to confirm my statement in reply, I take the liberty of transmitting an extract from the law, which shows the impossibility of filling any vacancy that has occurred, or may hereafter occur, in the Corps of Engineers, *from without*, the law expressly requiring that all promotions be made *in* the corps.

“The Corps of Engineers has been made what it is by a spirit of emulation. Would it be expedient to destroy that spirit by disappointing the hope which is doubtless the source of such emulation? Could we expect to produce the officers we now have, if their hopes of promotion were to be so unexpectedly cut off?

“I have added the 63d Article of War, to show that all transfers must regard rank.”

Secretary Eustis's contempt for all official courtesy

and propriety, and utter disregard of the discipline of the Military Academy, will appear from the following letter of Nov. 5, 1810, written by his sanction to the Superintendent of the institution by Cadet Villard:—

“On my arrival at Washington, I called on the Secretary of War and told him that, as I had gone through my studies at West Point, likewise rather tired of the place after being there four years (not mentioning, however, the difficulty that I had), I requested him to order me on some duty at Washington, which he granted without the least hesitation; and, as he seems very well disposed in my favor, I will thank you, if convenient, to send me a statement of my conduct while on the Point, together with the proficiency that I have made in my studies while I have had the honor of being under your command.

“I am writing in the War Department, and, agreeable to the orders of the Secretary, I report myself to you on command at this place.”

Cadet Ormond Marsh, Nov. 12, 1810, in like manner, without the military formality of making an application through his commanding officer, writes to him from Norfolk, Va.:—

“The day after I had the honor of addressing to you my last letter, I called upon the Secretary of War again, and he gave me permission to repair to this place and wait for orders; and directed me to report myself to Major Nicoll, which I did accordingly. This, I presume, will be sufficient to have me reported absent with leave on the muster rolls for November.”

From the demagogue, practicing every species of official discourtesy, bent upon the destruction of our sole means of military instruction, regardless of our dangers from foreign war, and insensible to the earnest efforts of a noble subordinate, it is pleasing to turn to the enlightened estimate of such a soldier, statesman, and

jurist as Brockholst Livingston, of the United States Supreme Court, who, in a private letter of Nov. 11, 1810, to Colonel Williams, says:—

“I return your statement with a great many thanks for your politeness in letting me look over it, and for the pleasure which its perusal has afforded me. I have long thought a Military Academy absolutely indispensable in this country, and I think the public greatly indebted to your zeal and exertions for placing the one we have on so useful and respectable a footing. I hope you will encounter no difficulty in obtaining the improvements your experience has shown to be necessary, and that, while we are enjoying the benefit resulting from such an institution, we may not be unmindful of the gentleman without whose intelligence and perseverance we should still have been without it.”

The Military Academy, for want of cadets, having practically ceased to exist about the middle of July, 1810, no general examination could take place at the end of the academic year, a year with that of 1816,—for causes to be hereafter explained,—which are the solitary blanks in its long existence, without any graduates. During this year but two cadets were appointed,—William Sumter, January 18, and Alexander R. Thompson, Nov. 21, 1810,—both doubtless being Presidential appointments, or forced upon Secretary Eustis by peculiar circumstances; for, out of 206 authorized, these two were the only cadet appointments made till after the passage of the law of April 29, 1812, re-organizing the Academy. The first named cadet, a relative of General Sumter, then a Senator in Congress from South Carolina, probably never received a day's instruction at West Point, for, till long after the Academy expired, he was on duty upon the fortifications of Charleston Harbor; and in like manner the second, who was commissioned Jan. 3, 1812, could have received only pri-

vate lessons from some professor or officer remaining at West Point after his appointment, as during 1811 there was no academic term.

Colonel Williams, in his annual report of November, 1810, made the following statement:—

“To have a comprehensive idea of the patriotic views of the Government in establishing a Corps of Engineers, and causing that corps to constitute a Military Academy, it is necessary to recur to first principles, both as they relate to the political objects of such an institution and the branches of science which are the indispensable sources of the military art.

“Experience, the best of all possible instructors, has taught us that our harbors ought to be fortified. . . . The art of fortification, however simple it may seem to a superficial beholder, is so based on mathematical, mechanical, and philosophical principles that errors are liable to occur at every step, which, without a scientific guide, would tend to destroy the object aimed at. . . . These considerations, and the importance of having a Seminary of Military Science, doubtless induced the President to propose, and the Congress to establish, a Corps of Engineers, causing that corps to constitute a Military Academy.

“But the art of fortification alone cannot fulfil the object contemplated. Efficient military science requires a larger scale; it requires that practice should go hand in hand with theory, and that soldiers as well as officers should know the principles of their profession, and by that knowledge become sensible of the high importance of the duty exacted of them.

“As much as the principles of our Revolution and the temper of an independent republic oppose the propriety of a standing army in time of peace, so much do common sense and the same spirit of independence encourage the idea that we ought to be always ready to

raise an efficient force with the least inconvenience, and with the greatest possible promptitude; but, above all, that we should have a source of military science, forming a centre around which an army would grow by radiations to every point of the Union. . . .

“Now that war has become a complicated art, it requires study as well as practice to become a soldier, and a man to direct soldiers effectually should be well acquainted with the principles of science to guide his military operations, especially as, whenever we are attacked, we shall have to oppose veterans who have become proficient in the most effectual of all schools, — *actual war*.

“It seems, then, that while a large standing army in time of peace is universally reprobated, the means of raising an effectual one upon any sudden emergency must be as univerrally desired. . . .

“The Military Academy as such comprehends only what may be taught by its professors; but a great mass of military knowledge, theoretical and practical, is doubtless spread over these United States.

“To collect this into one focus, from which it may again emanate in proper directions, is to preserve for future generations the science which their fathers have obtained by dear experience on fields of glory; it seemed therefore proper to form a repository for this scattered mass of knowledge, and the Corps of Engineers have laid the foundation of a Society for Promoting Military Science by entering into certain preliminary articles; and to give it consistence a constitution has been made, under which they hope to associate the most respectable characters of their country. The society has presumed to request the President of the United States to become its patron. . . . It will become an immediate object to join to the institution the most respectable military and scientific characters of our

country ; and before all the veterans of our Revolutionary contest are gone from this world, it is hoped that the knowledge resulting from their honourable experience will be saved from oblivion, and secured among the archives of the society."

The United States Military Philosophical Society was founded at West Point, Nov. 12, 1802, for the objects above stated. Colonel Williams became its president, and so continued till his death. The officers of Engineers, professors of the Military Academy, and many distinguished *savants* of America and Europe were its members. President Jefferson was its patron, and took much interest in its proceedings.

Colonel Williams, after suggesting such reforms in the Military Academy as experience had dictated, concluded his report by saying : "To put the whole of the requisites here detailed into one concise point of view, they have been digested in the form of a bill to amend the act of March 16, 1802," which is essentially the same as embodied in the after-enactment of April 29, 1812.

President Madison, on taking the helm of state, March 4, 1809, found the United States involved in disputes with the British Government concerning the impressment of our seamen, the searching of our vessels, and restrictions on our commerce. He had tried persuasion, admonition, remonstrance, argument, and even concession ; but all alike proved unavailing with Great Britain, whose sole rule of conduct was her own interest and convenience. His efforts produced no other effect than to augment the evils they were designed to remove ; the appetite of the aggressor grew with what it fed upon ; and Britain's insolence increased with her power. War was inevitable ; and Secretary Eustis, at last alarmed at his fearful responsibility, and doubtless roused from his torpor by the President, wrote to Colonel Williams, Nov. 30, 1810 : —

“The subject of the Military Academy will be recommended for the consideration of Congress by the President. An extension of the establishment, to embrace a branch of the present or the institution of another academy at the seat of government, will be recommended. The President, and, I may add, the whole executive, coincide most entirely in the opinion I have ever entertained of the usefulness and importance of this branch of instruction; and, from the favourable opinions which I have observed in the members of the Legislature, I entertain strong hopes that adequate provision will be made. [Honest! honest Iago!]

“Whenever the subject shall be taken up by a committee, you will be informed, and in the mean time, revolving the subject in your own mind, you can be prepared to give the detail of effecting the establishment of two schools or academies under *one* system and *one* direction.”

Immediately after the receipt of the above, Colonel Williams wrote, Dec. 5, 1810, to Governor Tompkins, of New York: —

“Inclosed are copies of two letters from the Secretary of War, which I do not communicate officially because they do not bear the marks of such an expectation; but I think it essential that you should be previously informed of the intention of the President of the United States, in order that, when you see his message, you may, if you please, reserve a place in the speech you will make at the opening of the Legislature, in which coincident observations might come in naturally and of course.

“In my answer to the Secretary, I have said that ‘in mentioning two academies I presume the site of Staten Island might still be understood to be eligible for one, in case the government of the State should propose acceptable terms.’ What I am most afraid of is the etiquette

of each party declining to be the first proposer ; if this should be persisted in, the business must be lost. What would be the impropriety of your State saying at once that, in case the United States will lay out, on the same ground, an expense equivalent to what the State has expended there in permanent military establishments, then in that case the sum so laid out shall be considered as a reimbursement to the State of the cost of the fortifications as far as they have progressed? It may not be necessary to designate the Military Academy, provided the designation does not exclude that establishment ; but I do not mean to dictate to you. I know your disposition to further the views you have already suggested, and I rely on such means as you may think advisable. A proposition that only requires assent may be acted upon this session ; but there will be no time, after your Legislature meets, for any discussion in Congress."

Governor Tompkins replied, Dec. 8, 1810, as follows : —

"I do not much approve the idea, suggested by the Secretary of War, of having *two* seminaries under *one* system and direction. Jealousies about the patronage which each may receive from Government, and about supposed partialities in appointments from among the young men of each seminary, and the rivalry which will subsist between the pupils educated at different seminaries, will not only furnish the grounds of numerous duels when they meet in the Army, but will also draw a more distinct line in that profession between Northerly and Southerly men and Northerly and Southerly interests. However, anything rather than the Academy with its present endowment and conveniences."

President Madison's message, above alluded to, was communicated to Congress Dec. 5, 1810. In this able

state paper he, with great power and earnestness, sets forth the usefulness and necessity of a properly organized Military Academy, to teach the art of war with little expense to the nation, and no danger to the liberties of the people. He says:—

“In the midst of uncertainties necessarily connected with the great interests of the United States, prudence requires a continuance of our defensive and precautionary arrangements. . . .

“Experience has left no doubt either of the necessity or of the efficacy of competent military skill in those portions of an army, in fitting it for the final duties which it may have to perform.

“The Corps of Engineers, with the Military Academy, are entitled to the early attention of Congress. The buildings, at the seat fixed by law for the present Academy, are so far in decay as not to afford the necessary accommodation. But a revision of the law is recommended, principally with a view to a more enlarged cultivation and diffusion of the advantages of such institutions by providing professorships for all the necessary branches of military instruction, and by the establishment of an additional academy at the seat of government or elsewhere. The means by which wars, as well for defense as for offense, are now carried on, render these schools of the more scientific operations an indispensable part of every adequate system. Even among nations whose large standing armies and frequent wars afford every other opportunity of instruction, these establishments are found to be indispensable for the due attainment of the branches of military science which require a regular course of study and experiment. In a government happily without the other opportunities, seminaries where the elementary principles of the art of war can be taught without actual war, and without the expense of extensive and

standing armies, have the precious advantage of uniting an essential preparation against an external danger with a scrupulous regard to internal safety. In no other way, probably, can a provision of equal efficacy for the public defense be made at so little expense, or more consistently with the public liberty."

The committee of the United States House of Representatives to which this part of the President's Message was referred, through its chairman, Hon. Peter B. Porter, of the State of New York, requested, Dec. 20, 1810, the views of Colonel Williams. Unfortunately, only fragments of his reply are to be found, the Colonel's letter-books having been lost or destroyed. We gather the following from a few loose scraps filed with his papers:—

"The Corps of Engineers and Military Academy were so closely connected by the peace establishment of 1802 as to identify them as one, of which West Point was made the permanent station. By the strict literal construction of this law, it was a school for the science of an engineer, and for the use of engineers alone; but the interpretation of the law has constituted it a school for the instruction of all cadets of the Army. To effect the latter purpose, a body of professors ought to be attached, since the dispersion of officers of Engineers on their various duties, along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, of itself annihilates the Academy, if its professors are solely the Engineers.

"The post of West Point was probably chosen because it was public property, the storehouse of Revolutionary relics, and supposed to have ample buildings upon it; but the state of the buildings was unknown, for many were uninhabitable at the time, and never were in proper repair. Since 1802 more buildings have been pulled down for fear of falling, or have been demolished by the wind, than now exist, and those stand-

ing are not worth the expense of repair. West Point, therefore, as a site for the Academy, has no advantages on the score of buildings ; for gunnery it has no range, except the river, constantly filled with sailing craft ; its climate, delightful in summer, is extremely rigorous in winter ; its markets are distant and expensive ; and the comforts of society are as unattainable as on the summits of the Alleghanies.

“ There would be little if any opposition to a removal of the Academy from West Point, if gentlemen were agreed, or if they were indifferent, as to the site ; in either case, the disadvantages of West Point would be readily conceded. To conciliate opinions, two academies have been suggested, one at Washington and one elsewhere, both to be governed by one system and under one direction.

“ This idea may be considered in two points of view : As two separate and distinct academies, embracing all points of instruction in each one, although similar to each other in system and under one direction ; or as one and the same academy, but divided in such manner that one shall be preparatory to admission into the other, that is, one to be composed of the two minor and the other of the two superior classes, according to the division usual in our universities.

“ According to the *first* view, if one Academy were established in the District of Columbia and the other in the State of New York, each one forming a perfect system, it would seem to indicate a view of assembling the Southern military youth in one, and the Northern in the other. But experience has shown that Northern military youth bear a proportion of four to one, as proved by the graduations from the Academy. Besides, the most affluent cadets would naturally seek admission to the Academy at the seat of government, as the more fashionable and favoured one.

“That seminaries of learning thrive best at the North would seem to be indicated by the greater number and prosperity of them in the States north of the District of Columbia, at which the Southern youth are in a great measure educated. This fact, however, would operate equally against both propositions.

“In all military establishments there is an *esprit de corps* which is an unsocial and an invidious sentiment if carried into private life, but is the germ of military ambition, fully balancing the individual mischief that it has in some instances occasioned. Now, an *esprit de corps* existing in a Southern institution, and also in a Northern one at the same time, would be like drawing a line of perpetual jealousy and perhaps of enmity between the students at each of them. But it may be said that the Northern military students being greater in number will have a tendency to correct this jealousy by being a majority even in the Southern institution, and it seems reasonable that, should both be alike composed in this respect, the evil would be diminished. Whether the Northern youth would be in the majority could be learned only by experience.

“The Military Academy will require an immediate disbursement of money for academical buildings, apparatus, library, ordnance, and various supplies, which must be alike in both. If it be difficult to obtain a sufficient appropriation to effect this upon a proper scale for one, it must be twice as difficult to do it for two. Halving the appropriations would render both institutions inefficient, and be a literal waste of money.

“There is one point of view which must not be lost sight of in considering the case of the Military Academy, — the difference between the apparent and real expense. If the cost of the establishment of the Corps of Engineers were to be chargeable to that institution, it would be unjust, for the Engineers, as such, have

performed practical duties to the full value of their pay and subsistence. In like manner the pay and subsistence of the cadets would equally take place if they were all with their companies. So that the cost of the Military Academy, as such, is only the pay of professors, and the cost of apparatus, library, etc., which amounts to a mere trifle.

“According to the *second* view, if the Military Academy were to be one homogeneous body, but divided into two minor and two major classes, the former to be established in the State of New York and the other in the District of Columbia, then all the Southern youth must necessarily pass through the Northern seminary, and all the Northern youth would go ultimately through the Southern one, while the professors in the higher branches of military science need only attend the establishment at the seat of government. There would be a saving of one set of professors in this mode, and the apprehensions of jealousy would subside, because each student, as such, would have equal interest in, and attachment to, both institutions.

“This division would make the primary institution an elementary school in mathematics, languages, drawing, etc., such as is to be found in almost every town where any education can be obtained, and the institution therefore would not rise to any preëminence. It would be much the same thing as saying that no student should be admitted into the Military Academy till after he had gone through certain studies, which should be such as the primary school is to consist of. In short, it would be precisely the distinction that now exists between the city schools and the university. The only apprehension in this point of view is, whether the Government would be induced to support, at its expense, such a school as is common elsewhere. There would therefore be a well-grounded apprehension that the North-

ern school would dwindle from its imperfect state at the outset to absolute nonentity, and be abandoned. This, therefore, comes to the proposition of having but one institution, and that one to be at the seat of government."

The Senate, Jan. 8, 1811, reported a bill providing for the removal of the Military Academy to Staten Island, but after undergoing various amendments it was indefinitely postponed by the House of Representatives, March 3, 1811, thereby fortunately leaving the institution where it was originally established. West Point, as the site of the Military Academy, has its disadvantages, especially the want of available level space for buildings, drills, and the various practical exercises; but it would have been a great calamity to have removed it to Staten Island, near the temptations of a great city, and still more to Washington, where politicians would have constantly interfered with its discipline, and society interrupted its winter studies. When too late, March 30, 1811, the State of New York passed an act for the cession of the eastern end of Staten Island for the site of the Military Academy.

Congress, Jan. 22, 1811, passed an act for the appointment of three commissioners to settle the exterior line of the public land at West Point with the adjoining proprietor, Thomas North. The report of these commissioners was subsequently, Jan. 5, 1813, approved.

Of the few remaining cadets, nearly all of whom were on furlough, on command, and absent without leave, there were eighteen commissioned, without any examination, March 1, 1811; and one, doing duty as a clerk in the War Department, resigned April 1, 1811.

Though Congress, in its last short session, had failed to carry out the President's earnest recommendation respecting the Military Academy, it was hardly to be

expected that, on the verge of hostilities with a powerful nation, one of his chosen Cabinet ministers should have totally neglected his duty to his chief to forward to the utmost his clearly expressed wishes. Writing, Nov. 30, 1810, to Colonel Williams, Secretary Eustis had said: "The subject of the Military Academy will be recommended for the consideration of Congress by the President, who coincides, and, I may add, the *whole* executive coincide, most entirely in the opinion I have ever entertained of the usefulness and importance of this branch of instruction." His lack of sincerity in this utterance is best attested by his entire neglect of the Academy, and continued failure to appoint to it any cadet out of the two hundred and six authorized by existing law. Folding his arms with official complacency, he stood with the gulf of war before him, preparing to sacrifice his country's honor to his own perversity; but, perhaps dreading the President's displeasure, and wishing to have something to fall back upon, he wrote *confidentially*, March 13, 1811, to Colonel Williams: "It is desirable that you should be with the Academy this summer to gather the remains of those who are attached to it, to preserve them with the acquirements they have attained, and to superintend their proficiency so far as the means furnished by the Government will permit."

Colonel Williams was then just completing Castle Williams, the most considerable fort in the United States, and with great energy had placed the state defenses of New York Harbor in good condition. In reply, therefore, the Colonel, doubtless not thinking it a great distinction for a Chief Engineer to gather from all parts of the United States less than a score of ignorant boys for instruction under two teachers, wrote, March 26, 1811, to the Secretary: "I conceive Captain Partridge more than competent to perform all the

duties that can be requisite at West Point, for I presume that you will not increase the number of cadets at the Academy. . . . As you obligingly leave it to my option either to continue to superintend the works at New York in person, or take the command at West Point, I should certainly prefer the former, for all my zeal about the Military Academy is buried with the bill on that subject. But my idea is, that I ought to inspect the works to the northward, which I have not yet seen, and, from all I have heard relative to them, I think the summer will be very profitably spent in acquiring a perfect knowledge of their actual situation and the requisite defense for all the seaports. And, wherever I may be, I can give all necessary directions by letter."

The Academy, under command of Captain Partridge, nominally opened, April 1, 1811, with but *nine* cadets and *one* teacher besides himself.

To a proud, ambitious officer, the present condition of things was most humiliating, and, bound hand and foot by the orders of a petty tyrant who had some small spite to avenge, Colonel Williams felt there was no release but by resigning his commission. A warm friend, writing to him at this time, says: "I know all your difficulties and with what you have had to contend, but I think the prospect may brighten, and a few more months of anxiety perhaps will compensate for all, if the nation is not determined on giving up everything that is or has been military. . . . I would, if I were you, with such a corps looking up to you, and I may say to *you alone*, sacrifice a little more before quitting it."

A few days later, an officer of Engineers writes to him privately: "I am sorry to see you are in such bad spirits. If your exertions to promote the interests of the institution committed to your charge have been unavailing, you ought not on that account to despond,

for you can always console yourself with the conviction of having done your duty, and your corps and country will ever bear testimony to your useful labours. If a man of your philosophy cannot bear up with the apathy of Government, and that total disregard of everything but popularity, who can? You are the last man in the world I should suspect of being touched with anything coming from such men as have had, for these ten years past, the control of affairs [in the War Department]. . . . We must with patience wait for a change for the better (for it cannot be worse), but always persevering in doing the best. If they neglect their duty, it is no reason we should be disheartened, however great the obstacles may be which such neglect may throw in the way of our zeal. . . . You hint a determination to resign, if certain circumstances more favorable to your views do not follow. . . . I hope it will be the last thing you will think of."

Captain Partridge, the senior Engineer officer at the Military Academy, also disgusted with holding only the semblance of a command, with his authority unsupported, and without the means of continuing instruction, asked leave of absence that he might more usefully employ his time in exploring and determining the heights of the Catskill, Green, and White Mountains. Knowing the folly of keeping up the farce of an Academy with a handful of cadets, and no one to instruct them without taking Engineer officers from the supervision of fortifications, Colonel Williams, in forwarding Captain Partridge's application, laid the whole naked facts before the Secretary of War. He who, against every remonstrance, had been scattering cadets from Eastport to New Orleans, suddenly changed his base, saying in reply, June 5, 1811: "To disperse the cadets by attaching them to companies at the present time, and under the present circumstances of the Academy, ap-

pears to be inexpedient. Let them remain and receive such instruction as is provided. Without examining the position taken by officers of the Corps of Engineers, it is to be regretted that, under existing circumstances, a disposition is discovered to avoid the performance of any duties (whether they are strictly required by law or not) which can possibly be applicable to the small number of cadets present at the Academy. Captain Partridge may be indulged with a furlough, provided his services are not, in your judgment, required at the Academy; but nothing in this indulgence is to be construed into an admission of the grounds taken by the officers."

The inefficient measures adopted by Congress in the past three years in relation to Great Britain had not answered the expectations of their projectors; but every appeal to her justice and magnanimity had proved fruitless, and, as heretofore, her inflexible hostility continued unchanged. The Administration, having learned wisdom from these feeble expedients, had determined to change its course, and, abandoning commercial restrictions, to try the effect of physical force. Accordingly, the President, in his annual Message of Nov. 5, 1811, says:—

"With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armed attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

"I recommend, accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited term; for the acceptance of volunteer corps, whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services; for detach-

ments, as they may be wanted, of other portions of the militia ; and for such preparations of the great body as will proportion its usefulness to its intrinsic capacities. Nor can the occasion fail to remind you of *the importance of those military seminaries, which, in any event, will form a valuable and frugal part of our military establishment.*"

The Secretary of War, with the same imbecile spirit and policy which had characterized all his acts since entering upon office, proposed to the chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations 1,000 regulars and 1,000 militia for manning *all* the defenses of our great commercial capital against the whole power of Britain's fleets, and hardly a respectable scarecrow of an army of 10,000 men to invade Canada and protect our extended coasts and frontiers.

The President's annual Message led to animated debates in Congress upon the relative advantages of volunteer militia and regular troops. The advocates of volunteers contended that the raising of the former was in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, and the latter dangerous to civil liberty, as proved by the overthrow of other nations. The supporters of regulars answered that the term "volunteer" was not to be found in the Constitution, and the visions, scruples, apprehensions, and imaginary spectres of demagogues were not to be substituted for *its* provisions ; that "the power to raise and support armies" was limited only by the national exigencies, to be judged of by Congress ; that Washington, wise in council and action, and experienced as soldier and statesman, had never recommended volunteers, had emphatically condemned militia as the source of all our disasters, and never had expressed apprehensions of a standing army ; that, since his Presidency, volunteer militia had been advocated mainly on the ground that if they did no good they could do no

harm ; that there was no danger to the nation from any species of force maintained by yearly appropriations, and composed of our own citizens, sons, and brothers ; that the Rubicon was now passed, and it was not the time to try doubtful expedients in sustaining our foreign relations with energy and firmness ; that war was an art not to be learned in a day, but a science whose principles must be long studied in schools or in the field ; that all who had participated in our struggles knew the necessity of disciplined troops, without which we could not meet European veterans landed on our shores ; that the democratic dogma of our chief reliance being upon militia was a fallacy, for, as Pickering said, it had "never done any good to the country, except in the single affair of Bunker Hill ;" that the cry for a patriot, not a mercenary army, was mere claptrap, instancing the Continental soldiers as paid troops, whose compensation did not lessen their patriotism nor diminish their gallantry ; that even the Newburg letters of an artful incendiary could not inflame the impoverished Revolutionary army to deeds of violence, or the sacrifice of our dear-bought liberties ; and that corruption, not military force, was the frequent cause of the downfall of nations.

Senator Smith, of Maryland, reported, Nov. 12, 1814, a bill making further provision for the Corps of Engineers and the re-organization of the Military Academy. Captain William M'Ree, of the Engineers, writing Jan. 16, 1812, to Colonel Williams, from Washington, says : "Your apprehension, respecting the unfavorable disposition of the Secretary of War towards the success of this bill, was certainly correct. I could not ascertain his opinions on the probability of its final passage in the House, but his ideas relative to its necessity or expedience, as far as it concerns the Engineer department, appeared to me tolerably evident. 'If (to use his own

words) *the necessity of fortifications, etc., is the result of popular prejudice:*— Does it require any ingenuity to deduce the consequent estimation in which is held an institution, the great object of which establishment, it is asserted, derives importance merely from the operations of a ridiculous prejudice? Is it, then, difficult to divine what degree of support will be given to a bill which goes to the augmentation of, and making further provision for, a corps the utility of whose labors are thus rated? I am, notwithstanding, still of the opinion that the bill must go down in some shape or other; if not from any more flattering consideration, at least as a necessary appendage to the present system of war measures.”

Late in December, 1811, Colonel Williams returned from Frederick, Md., where he had been a member of the court martial for the trial of General Wilkinson, who was acquitted, much to the annoyance of Secretary Eustis. Major J. G. Swift, of the Engineers, had also been a member of the court, and in passing through Washington, Dec. 26, 1811, paid his respects to the Secretary of War. “I found myself,” says he, “not as graciously received as was the wont of that gentleman, who had favored me with his intimacy. I also found in this place of large gossip, especially so in the time of the session of Congress, that the acquittal of General Wilkinson was received with disappointment by the Executive, and it was rumoured that some charges had been made by an underling of the War Department adverse to the impartiality of some of the older officers of the court, but that Mr. Madison would not consent to any such mode of impugning the rights of opinion, and thus the charges were suppressed.”

With this new cause of displeasure, the Secretary's hostility to Colonel Williams became so marked that he felt there was no alternative but in resigning his position

of Chief Engineer. Little traces of his feelings are to be found in his official correspondence, but the private letters of his devoted wife tell the story. "Have you heard," says she, "anything unpleasant from the Secretary, that you talk of resigning immediately? Make up your mind, and rest assured that I shall be perfectly happy in spending the rest of my life at Mount Pleasant, if you can be content to relinquish the bustle of the world." Again she writes: "If you are sure that you have not suffered personal resentment to influence you in the least, or to carry you one jot beyond the true line of moderation and propriety, I think you perfectly right to pursue your way regardless of consequences, and to support, whilst you belong to it, the interest and honour of the Army and of the corps to which you belong; only prepare yourself so as not to be fretted by anything they can do. Having already almost made up your mind to resign, it is as well to do all the good you can to those you leave behind you." Later she says: "I am quite grieved to see by every letter that you are in purgatory. . . . I think it unfortunate that you did not make up your mind to resign sooner. Now I presume that you must wait until the question of peace or war is decided. . . . We have sufficient, with prudence, to live upon; banish, therefore, all concern of that kind from your mind, and make a determination to give up your commission whenever the situation of the country will admit it."

The officers of his corps, who to the highest official respect joined the most affectionate regard, entreated him not to resign. One speaks of the "almost paternal care of its beloved chief," and another writes: "I am sorry to hear you talking of private life. . . . I believe your remaining at the head of the corps at this time is more essential to its respectability and its happiness than it has been ever before. For now we have a Fa-

ther who has the affection of his sons, and without his protection, and unceasing labours for their honour and welfare, they stand at present but a poor chance of arriving at that elevation on which you would wish to leave them."

Captain Partridge, who had been absent from West Point on leave since June 5, 1811, wished to continue the determination of mountain heights, particularly the Alleghanies, as he understood, March 17, 1812, there was no necessity of his return to the Academy, where there was nothing to be done, "all the cadets having been commissioned except Smith," who was employed as a clerk in the War Department. This supposition was nearly correct, as, except two commissioned in March and two in June, every remaining cadet had been promoted to the Army, Jan. 3, 1812, essentially without other instruction than that received before midsummer of 1810, when the Academy, as an educational institution, may be said to have ceased to exist.

Congress, by the act of Jan. 11, 1812, to raise an additional military force for five years, authorized 104 cadets, making, with the 206 provided for by the laws of 1802 and 1808, 310 cadets; yet, with this expressed desire of the nation, and but five months before the actual declaration of war against one of the greatest powers of the earth, Secretary Eustis failed to make a single cadet appointment. To his everlasting disgrace be it said, that hostilities began without a pupil in our only educational establishment for the training of officers for the vast military force required for the defense of our thousands of miles of coast and frontier, and the invasion of the enemy's territory.

Francis D. Masson, whose position as Teacher of French had been filled since April 15, 1810, by his brother Florimond, resigned March 31, 1812, leaving the Military Academy without a single instructor.

The bill making further provision for the Corps of Engineers, which had long been under discussion, finally, April 29, 1812, became law. The provisions relating to the re-organization of the Military Academy are as follows:—

“SEC. 2. That the Military Academy shall consist of the Corps of Engineers, and the following professors, in addition to the teachers of the French language and drawing, already provided, namely: one Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, with the pay and emoluments of lieutenant-colonel, if not an officer of the corps, and, if taken from the corps, then so much in addition to his pay and emoluments as shall equal those of a lieutenant-colonel; one Professor of Mathematics, with the pay and emoluments of a major, if not an officer of the corps, and, if taken from the corps, then so much in addition to his pay and emoluments as shall equal those of a major; one Professor of the Art of Engineering in all its branches, with the pay and emoluments of a major, if not an officer of the corps, and, if taken from the corps, then so much in addition to his pay and emoluments as shall equal those of a major; each of the foregoing professors to have an assistant professor, which assistant professors shall be taken from the most prominent characters of the officers or cadets, and receive the pay and emoluments of captains, and no other pay or emoluments, while performing their duties: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall entitle the academical staff, as such, to any command in the Army separate from the Academy.

“SEC. 3. That the cadets heretofore appointed in the service of the United States, whether of artillery, cavalry, riflemen, or infantry, or that may in future be appointed as hereinafter provided, shall at no time exceed two hundred and fifty; that they may be attached, at the discretion of the President of the United States, as

students, to the Military Academy, and be subject to the established regulations thereof; that they shall be arranged into companies of non-commissioned officers and privates, according to the directions of the Commandant of Engineers, and be officered from the said corps, for the purpose of military instruction; that there shall be added to each company of cadets four musicians; and the said corps shall be trained and taught all the duties of a private, non-commissioned officer, and officer, be encamped at least three months of each year, and taught all the duties incident to a regular camp; that the candidates for cadets be not under the age of fourteen nor above the age of twenty-one years; that each cadet, previously to his appointment by the President of the United States, shall be versed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that he shall sign articles, with the consent of his parent or guardian, by which he shall engage to serve *five* years, unless sooner discharged; and all such cadets shall be entitled to and receive the pay and emoluments allowed by law to cadets in the Corps of Engineers.

“SEC. 4. That when any cadet shall receive a regular degree from the academical staff, after going through all the classes, he shall be considered as among the candidates for a commission in any corps, according to the duties he may be judged competent to perform; and in case there shall not, at the time, be a vacancy in such corps, he may be attached to it, at the discretion of the President of the United States, by brevet of the lowest grade, as a supernumerary officer, with the usual pay and emoluments of such grade, until a vacancy shall happen: *Provided*, That there shall not be more than one supernumerary officer to any one company at the same time.

“SEC. 5. That \$25,000 be appropriated for erecting buildings, and for providing an apparatus, a library,

and all necessary implements, and for such contingent expenses as may be necessary and proper, in the judgment of the President of the United States, for such an institution."

This law visibly left the Military Academy at West Point; but, on its passage and long after, it was a dead letter, for the institution was without an instructor or cadet.

Christian E. Zoeller, who had resigned April 30, 1810, was reappointed July 1, 1812, Teacher of Drawing. Of course he did not then enter upon duty, as there were no cadets to be taught.

Colonel Williams, on the 10th of July, 1812, tendered his resignation as Chief Engineer of the United States Army and *ex-officio* Superintendent of the Military Academy, which was accepted August 29, to date July 31, 1812. The history of this transaction, involving military principles, will be given somewhat at length.

Colonel Williams, it will be recollected, had once before resigned, June 20, 1803, on a question of his rights of command. After twenty months, March 1, 1805, Lieutenant Macomb wrote to him: "I rejoice to let you know that it has been hinted by the President that your return to the service would be very pleasing to him;" and, on the 29th, General Wilkinson, writing from Washington, says: "The partiality which the President cherishes for you, and the service of your country, will not only justify but demand some concessions of opinion on doctrines which depend much on feeling," and he continues, "*your right of command is held in trust by the President, and will be conferred when it may be deemed convenient to the public service; in the mean time you are subject to his orders only.*"

A general order, first approved by the Secretary of War, then issued, recognizing the principles above

stated, and in two or three days afterwards, April 19, 1805, Colonel Williams accepted his commission of Chief Engineer which he had resigned June 20, 1803.

The act establishing the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Army passed April 10, 1806, and by the 63d of these Articles of War the power of the President to grant the command, by special engagement *held in trust* by him, is formally recognized and made law.

Till May 27, 1812, Colonel Williams continued to receive his orders from the War Department only; but on that day the Secretary of War, through the Acting Adjutant-General, thought proper to turn him over to Brig.-General Bloomfield, to whom the command of the city and harbor of New York had been confided.

On the 21st of June, 1812, by the return of that post which brought to New York the declaration of war against Great Britain, Colonel Williams claimed the command "held in trust by the President of the United States," and legally designated by the 63d Article of War. He says in a respectful letter: "By the 27th section of the Act of March 16, 1802, it is decided that 'the Engineers shall be subject at all times to do duty in such places and on such services as the President of the United States shall direct,' and by the 63d Article of War 'the Engineers are not to assume, nor are they subject to be ordered on, any duty beyond the line of their immediate profession, *except by the special order of the President of the United States.*'

"While the peace establishment alone existed, I had but three superior officers, — General Wilkinson and Colonels Burbeck and Cushing. I have now fourteen superiors, and, while I cannot assume the command of a subaltern, I am exposed to perform professional duty where a subaltern commands.

"War being now declared, my situation in this har-

bour becomes humiliating in the last degree. The works that have been constructed by me become inhabited and commanded by my inferiors, for in military command I have not the authority of a sergeant.

“I pray you, sir, to relieve me from this unpleasant situation, and by a special order, which you alone can give, to place me in that which my nominal rank naturally points out, and which my honour requires. I indulge a hope that this reasonable request will be complied with immediately, and that by return of post I shall be placed in a command consistent with my character, and such as, I hope also, is not unmerited by the public services I have rendered.”

On the 23d of June, the President directed the required command to be given, which the Secretary of War communicated to General Bloomfield in the following terms: “It is the pleasure of the President that, whenever the exigencies of the service may require the talents and knowledge of the officers of the Corps of Engineers beyond the line of their immediate profession, you may assign to those under your command such duties in the line of the Army as may comport with their rank.” On the 27th, General Bloomfield assured Colonel Williams that arrangements should be made to accord with his wishes.

The order was verbally communicated to Colonel Williams, Castle Williams designated as his post, and he gave on the 2d of July his estimate of the force and organization of its garrison. On the 7th, he put the Engineers under the direction of Major Armistead, reported himself ready for duty, and was about to take quarters on Governor’s Island to exercise the command due to his rank, and in conformity to the President’s order, communicated on the 23d of June by the Secretary of War.

A memorial, signed by eighteen company officers,

principally subaltern, was directed to Colonel Burbeck, in command of the Artillery in the harbor of New York, and left on the table of General Bloomfield's quarters. This memorial indulged in much *ad captandum* declamation, expressed great personal respect for the Engineers, and acknowledged the "latitude given to the President by the act of March 16, 1802, justifying him in assuming the power to call them to command troops," but affirmed that the Corps of Engineers are "by law, universal custom, and the importance of their professional duties, separated from the line of the Army," forgetting that the law makes no such declaration, and that there can be no "universal custom" in a country where there never was a Corps of Engineers till the existing enactment of 1802, the foreign engineers in the Revolutionary Army, and, subsequently, having been specifically employed as separate individuals, having no corps organization whatever.

On the rumor of this opposition, General Bloomfield had, on the 6th of July, written to the Secretary of War for fresh instructions, and on the 11th the Secretary answered, "leaving the employment of the Engineers altogether subject to his judgment and decision." While awaiting the Secretary's reply, General Bloomfield had, on the 10th, communicated to Colonel Williams a copy of his suspended order, which was to have been promulgated on the 9th. It is as follows:—

"It being 'the pleasure of the President' that '*whenever the exigencies of the service may require the talents and knowledge of the officers of the Corps of Engineers beyond the line of their immediate profession,*' that these under command at this post 'be assigned such duties in the line of the Army as may comport with their rank;' and the General commanding believing that '*the exigencies of the service re-*

quire' on this occasion the talents and abilities of Jonathan Williams, Esq., the Colonel of the Corps of Engineers, therefore, in pursuance of the orders of the President, directs that Colonel Williams take upon himself such duties in the line of the Army, stationed in this harbour and city, as may comport with the rank of Colonel in the Army and service of the United States, according to seniority of commission; and he is to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

[Signed] JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD."

A copy of the remonstrance of the eighteen company officers was also communicated to Colonel Williams, to explain the suspension of the above order. In forwarding this remonstrance, on the 9th, to the Secretary of War, General Bloomfield says: "I have deemed it correct to exercise that discretion with which the pleasure of the President has honoured me, to suspend calling Colonel Williams or any of the Corps of Engineers to exercise the duties in the line of the Army contemplated by your communication of the 23d of June last, until I shall be favoured with the further orders of the President in this unpleasant business."

Upon receiving, on July 10, the above communication from General Bloomfield, Colonel Williams wrote to the President of the United States as follows: —

"Since my letter to you of the 21st June, General Bloomfield communicated to me an order from the Secretary of War, which in substance agreed with the request I had the honour to make to you, and of which you have a copy enclosed. After completing some official duties at Philadelphia, I returned to New York, and reported myself ready to take such command as might 'comport with my rank.'

"General Bloomfield was about to issue the requisite order, when he received a communication, of which I

also enclose a copy, being a remonstrance against the measure, signed by eighteen company officers. Far be it from me, sir, to create any division among men whose profession, of all others, should form a well-connected and affectionate brotherhood. But I must be permitted to judge for myself in what relates personally to me; therefore it only remains to do the last act that can be done consistently with my honour, and a desire to preserve harmony among the officers in the Army, and I hereby resign my commission.

“The case is too imperious to need much argument, but it may not be improper to observe that, after having resigned on a former occasion, I was called again into service upon an express stipulation which was afterwards made law by the 63d Article of the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Army. This being the condition upon which alone I accepted my commission, I hold myself absolved from all obligation the moment it ceases to operate. The loss of an officer in his sixty-third year may not be considered of great importance when compared with that of eighteen officers in the vigor of youth, for by the tone of the remonstrance it is to be presumed that this consequence would follow if the order were to be enforced.”

At the same time, Colonel Williams wrote to Secretary Eustis: “For reasons offered to the President of the United States I have resigned, and do hereby resign, my commission as Colonel in the Corps of Engineers.”

Colonel Williams announced his resignation to his command in a feeling and manly order, concluding thus:

“In making this communication to the Corps of Engineers, the Colonel Commandant is equally influenced, by motives of self-justification, to those for whom he has, from the first moment of his connection with them, felt the affection of a parent; and of leaving behind him a monument of his sense of what is due to the

honour of that corps which is, by the records of the Army, placed at the head of the list. That it may never suffer the humiliation of being deprived of those rights which the other corps indiscriminately enjoy, shall ever be his constant prayer. Farewell, my dear friends! farewell!"

General T. H. Cushing, Adjutant-General of the Army, in transmitting, Aug. 29, 1812, the acceptance of Colonel Williams's resignation, "to take effect on the 31st of July, 1812," adds the following private letter:—

"In communicating an order which dissolves our connection as brothers-in-arms, permit me to offer my warmest wishes for your prosperity, happiness, and honour, and to express the regret I feel, in common with many respectable military and civil friends, at the public loss sustained by the resignation of an officer so distinguished for intelligence, industry, and zeal in the public service."

Thus was lost to the Army one of its brightest ornaments; to the Corps of Engineers, a chief whose devotion to its welfare and honor was unbounded; and to the Military Academy, a father who for years tenderly watched over its infancy, and long struggled for its advancement and eminence against the continued apathy of Congress, the feeble support of Secretary Dearborn, and the bitter hostility of his narrow-minded successor.

It will be naturally asked, why the administration of President Madison had not essayed some adjustment of difficulties in the seven weeks it had held Colonel Williams's resignation under consideration? Why, if it valued his great services and eminent abilities, it had not declined to allow him to leave the head of his distinguished corps? or why, to cut the Gordian knot of his just rights, it had not generously given one of its noblest veterans, fourth in rank in the whole Army, a

higher grade, instead of conferring such superior appointments upon inferior men, unknown to fame? It was because William Eustis was Secretary of War, and could not, or would not, rise "to the height of this great argument" in a manner befitting a Cabinet minister of the infant republic entering upon a death struggle with a giant of the earth. His hostility, somewhat political,—Williams being a Federalist of the Washington school,—was more splenetical, he having, from his entrance upon office, vowed war against the Military Academy and the Corps of Engineers. Bourbon-like, he knew nothing of military matters beyond what he had learned in the Revolution, where our Engineers were soldiers of fortune, serving for pay and titles, with no more rank and command than so many wagon-masters. In the prejudiced mind of an ignorant Secretary, those Revolutionary ideas were paramount to all our subsequent experience, and it was not for his narrow comprehension to appreciate the noble disinterestedness of one who had created a Corps of Engineers from native talent, who had organized a Military Academy for the education of our own officers, who had completely metamorphosed our coast defenses, and who, as President Jefferson had said, combined the virtues with the love of science of his illustrious kinsman, Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

After his resignation, Colonel Williams retired to his beautiful country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill, to enjoy that repose which had been denied him for long years. In imitation of Metastasio, he could now say:—

"Thanks, dear [Eustis], indulgent cheat,
 Kind Heaven, and your more kind deceit,
 At length have set me free :
 I feel no rival's proud control,
 I feel no inmate in my soul
 But peace and liberty."

At Mount Pleasant he received constant tokens of the attachment of his brother officers, and of civilians who had been associated with him. In a private letter De Witt Clinton says: "If we consider your absence from the Commission for the Defense of New York Harbour as so great a privation to us as an individual, be assured that your resignation as an officer is a subject of general regret: considering our exposed situation and the confidence reposed in you by all our citizens, we esteem your departure as a loss that cannot be supplied."

General Morton, of New York, writes: "I cannot suppress a feeling of indignation when I reflect that, from the weakness and wickedness of men in office, we have lost the virtues and talents which would have benefitted and honoured our country."

Major Swift echoes the unanimous sentiments of his brother Engineers when he says to Colonel Williams: "The corps are never to be without your aid as long as you remain on this world's stage, and you can never be without their grateful regard." As they could no longer enjoy his presence at West Point, the Corps of Engineers requested him to sit for his full-length likeness, which was executed by Sully, and now adorns the library of the Military Academy. A copy of the same was ordered Nov. 1, 1813, by the city of New York, "in consideration of the high sense the Common Council entertain of the important services rendered to the city by Colonel Jonathan Williams in preparing and executing plans of defence for the port, and as an evidence of the distinguished esteem they entertain for his character and professional talents."

Governor Tompkins, of New York, highly estimating Colonel Williams's talents and services to the State, conferred upon him, May 17, 1814, the brevet of Brigadier-General of the State Militia; and Feb. 13, 1815,

he was commissioned a full Brigadier-General by a vote of the Legislature of New York.

These were no common testimonials to the talents and character of a citizen of another State, stationed among them only for a few years.

After the retirement of Secretary Eustis from the office he had so unworthily filled, his successor, General Armstrong, a soldier who properly estimated true merit and eminent service, made, with the President's sanction, through John Bullus, Navy Agent at New York, a proposition for Colonel Williams's return to the head of the Corps of Engineers, with the rank of Major-General; which, for some unknown reason, was not carried into effect, though Williams had intimated, April 29, 1813, "that such an offer could not be declined consistently with the sentiments he had avowed relative to the service," particularly as the Government, by its late acts, had "acquiesced in the principles for which he had contended."

Hardly had Colonel Williams returned to private life before he was called from his retirement to become the executive member of the Committee of Defense of the Delaware River and Bay for the security of Philadelphia. At the same time, he was frequently consulted respecting the fortifications of New York Harbor, and many matters relating to the Military Academy, and was the Presiding Director of the Lancaster and Schuylkill Bridge Company.

In the autumn of 1814, General Williams's fellow-citizens of Philadelphia, relying upon his superior abilities and varied experience, elected him to Congress; but he was not destined to add a statesman's reputation to that of a useful citizen, a firm patriot, and an accomplished soldier, death having, May 16, 1815, removed him, at the age of sixty-five, to a higher reward than he had received on earth.

SUMMARY.

As sparks light vast conflagrations, so destiny seems to delight in bringing about great results from insignificant and doubtful beginnings. In sketching, therefore, the first ten years of the history of the United States Military Academy, we have dwelt somewhat minutely upon its early struggles, delineated the characters of its original instructors, and exhibited the good and bad phases of its civil and military administration.

It is now proper that we should give a condensed summary of the leading points developed in these ten years of trial.

ORGANIZATION. — By the law of May 9, 1794, the grade of cadet in the Army was first established, two being allowed to each company of the Corps of Artillerists and Engineers. By subsequent acts, an increased number was authorized, though none were appointed till May 12, 1800, and but nine up to the passage of the law of March 16, 1802, fixing the military peace establishment, by which the Corps of Engineers became a separate branch of service, and was made “to constitute a Military Academy.” This institution was, therefore, originally designed as a school for the instruction of Engineers, was the headquarters of that corps, and the chief *ex-officio* its Superintendent; but, as forty cadets of Artillery as well as ten of Engineers were attached to it, the interpretation of the law did not circumscribe the functions of the Academy, which, in fact, under Engineer administration, became an educational establishment for all the cadets of the Army.

The law of April 12, 1808, authorized 156 additional cadets of artillery, dragoons, infantry, and riflemen; and that of Jan. 11, 1812, provided for 64 more of artillery and cavalry, making a total of 310, which

was reduced to 260 by the act of April 29, 1812, reorganizing the Academy.

The whole number of cadets attached to the institution up to the latter date had been only 117, all of whom except two were appointed prior to President Madison's administration. The greatest number in the Academy at any one time from 1802 to 1812 was thirty-six, and the average for that entire period did not exceed twenty.

The instructors were all officers of Engineers, except one Teacher of French, 1803-12; one of Mathematics, 1807-9; and one of Drawing, 1808-10.

The library was very small, the apparatus quite incomplete, the buildings much dilapidated, the messing extremely poor, and the facilities provided by the Government totally inadequate to the creation of a scientific school for the proper education of officers of the Army.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION. — Presidents Jefferson and Madison, both enlightened statesmen, were warm patrons of the Military Academy, and, appreciating the importance of scientific instruction, in their annual messages frequently urged upon Congress liberal provisions for building up a great national seminary for educating officers to direct our arms; but absorbed in other weighty matters, the details for carrying out their wise policy were intrusted to their less sagacious Cabinet ministers.

General Dearborn, self-educated by his long and honorable service in the field, and not impressed by the scientific attainments of many foreign charlatans who served with more pay than brains in the Revolution, never, as Secretary of War, took a zealous interest in the Military Academy; and his successor, Dr. Eustis, was a positive foe to the institution, which, from his first entrance to the War Department, he determined

to crush. By his failure to appoint cadets, and his dispersion of the few in service before they were half educated, the Academy, except in name, ceased to exist before he had been a year in office, when war with Great Britain was as inevitable as the day it was declared. Not a cadet nor instructor was to be found at West Point when the struggle began.

If from 1808 to 1812, during which the portents of hostilities deeply darkened our political horizon, the Academy had been kept full with the 206 cadets allowed by law, and the course of instruction limited to two years, how different might have been the results of our first and second campaigns! Instead of 60 or 70 graduates to take the field, we should have had 400 to 500 to distribute as adjutants, field officers, etc., among the new regiments. It was within the competence of Secretary Eustis to do this, but he preferred not to perform his sacred duty, and rather by its neglect to play the Judas, and be our betrayer to the enemy.

MILITARY SUPERVISION.— The law of March 16, 1802, creating the Military Academy, provided that “the principal Engineer, or in his absence the next in rank, shall, under the direction of the President of the United States, be its Superintendent.” Colonel Williams, being the head of the Corps of Engineers, and never having been absent from West Point under circumstances which rendered it impracticable for him to direct and govern the institution, was by law, as he was in fact, the sole Superintendent, except from June 20, 1803, to April 19, 1805, when Capt. W. A. Barron, as senior Engineer officer present, exercised the supervision. Colonel Williams organized the institution with the sanction of the Secretary of War, made regulations for its government, and, whether present or absent, directed the studies and instruction in their minutest details; and his rules and orders were not sub-

ject to be annulled, changed, or modified by any junior officer having the immediate charge of the Academy in his absence. He alone took cognizance of the graver offenses and awarded punishments, and, during his absence, the officer in temporary command could only in urgent cases order arrests and reprimands. Colonel Williams was admirably qualified for the exercise of the high and varied duties of Superintendent by a large experience, high-toned character, soldierly qualities, and untiring industry.

During the twenty-two months while Colonel Williams was out of service, Captain Barron, as commanding officer, caused instruction to retrograde and discipline to decline at the Military Academy.

The Superintendent had no military staff, except the medical officer of the post and occasionally a subaltern of Engineers detailed as temporary adjutant.

There was no organized academic staff, each teacher being confined to his own branch of instruction, the Superintendent directing the whole.

REGULATIONS. — The first Regulations, made immediately after the opening of the Academy in 1802, were very brief, and adapted to the small requirements of the institution. After an experience of eight years, a more extended code was approved, April 30, 1810, and this is the basis upon which the school rests to this day. These Regulations established fifteen to twenty years as the age for entrance; obliged cadets to serve the United States for four years, unless sooner discharged; made a knowledge of the rudiments of an English education necessary for admission; fixed the entire course of studies; required a certificate of proficiency in the whole curriculum to be necessary before receiving a commission; abolished furloughs, except during vacations, or under peculiar circumstances; prescribed the same uniform for all cadets of the different

arms of service ; and ordained many minor rules for interior police and discipline. Though these Regulations showed the wisdom and foresight of the Superintendent, they were never operative under his administration, the Academy having, shortly after their approval, ceased to exist through the dereliction of the Secretary of War.

ADMISSION OF CADETS. — They entered the Academy without mental or physical examination, on any day or in any month of the year. Of the small body of cadets at the Academy from 1802 to 1810, some had good preliminary education before going to West Point ; a few were college graduates ; one had been an officer in the British Army ; another had practiced law in the Supreme Court of New York ; and generally they had more knowledge and maturity of mind than those of the present day ; but they were of all ages, from twelve to thirty-four years, one or two being married men with several children.

QUARTERS. — The cadets were lodged with soldiers in the old "Long Barracks" of the Revolution (near the site of the present hotel) ; except for a short period in 1805, were boarded at different private houses ; and were instructed in a two-story wooden building which served both as an "Academy" and for headquarters.

DISCIPLINE. — Colonel Williams, when in person superintending the Military Academy, maintained excellent discipline, with the courtesy of a gentleman and the kindness of a father. During his absence from West Point in 1803-5, while out of service, and in 1806-9, when engaged much of his time on the defenses of New York Harbor, great irregularities took place, from want of proper military control on the part of the commanding officer, but more because the instructors were all civilians and foreigners. After 1809, when Dr. Eustis became Secretary of War, the

Military Academy became thoroughly disorganized, and discipline was so completely palsied that Colonel Williams had to resort to the most summary measures to keep up even its semblance.

Till 1808, while cadets were considered officers of the lowest grade in the Army, they were tried by courts martial convened by order of the Superintendent, who executed sentences extending to expulsion from the Academy; but to drop them finally from the rolls required the sanction of the Secretary of War. After 1808, courts martial for the trial of cadets were abolished, and the Superintendent awarded all punishments upon his own investigation, or that of a court of inquiry detailed by him to ascertain facts in cases involving suspension, rustication, or dismissal.

INSTRUCTION. — Term time, somewhat varied, usually began in April and ended in November. Study hours, including recitations, after 1805, were from 8 A. M. to 1 P. M., 2 to 4 P. M., and in the evening; and drills and practical exercises from 4 P. M. to sunset and occasionally before breakfast. The instructors, at any one time, never exceeded four, and sometimes were reduced to one. The course of instruction was limited to the elements of geometrical and algebraic mathematics, with the use of surveying instruments; a smattering of the French language; the rudiments of military and topographical drawing; lectures and practical exercises in the elements of fortification; infantry drill, extending to the school of the company; the first principles of artillery, with the drill of field-pieces, target practice, and a little laboratory duty; and, for a very few of the most intelligent cadets, the higher mathematics, mechanics, and practical astronomy.

Mathematics ordinarily comprised algebra, to include cubic equations, geometry, plane trigonometry, mensuration of planes and solids, and the use of instru-

ments in surveying areas, heights, and distances. All cadets were required to obtain a thorough knowledge of this course (contained in Hutton's first volume), and some, who desired it, were taught the application of algebra to geometry, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, etc. This course consumed about two years, but somewhat varied with the age, previous attainments, industry, and capacity of the pupil.

French was ordinarily limited to the study of Masson's French Grammar and his Reader; but a few, who took private lessons, acquired a tolerable facility in speaking the language.

Drawing extended to the use of instruments, a little topography, and right-lined drawing, as applied chiefly to fortifications.

Engineering was taught first by the Superintendent, and subsequently, till 1810, by Francis D. Masson, through lectures on the elements of fortification, illustrated by a model of a fort, and by field exercises in practical military engineering. This course was little attended to except by cadets of Engineers.

Infantry comprised the drill of the school of the soldier and of the company, with dress-parades and inspections.

Artillery was little studied. Only definitions from Scheel's Artillery were learned, practical pyrotechny and preparation of fixed ammunition taught, and the use of field-pieces and mortars in drills and at target practice.

Natural Philosophy did not constitute any part of the course of instruction; but a few of the most advanced pupils studied Enfield's Philosophy, and practical astronomy.

CLASSIFICATION. — Owing to the irregularity of admission and promotion of cadets, and the variations from six months to six years in their term of probation, there

were not, nor could there be, annual classes. Cadets attended their teachers singly, or in small squads of three or four, according to their previous preparation and capacity, without regard to date of admission, each being allowed to advance according to his industry and ability. Cadetships were not ordinarily solicited by parents for their sons, but appointments to the Academy were secured by young men of mature age who were impelled by an invincible inclination for the profession of arms. Hence they came to West Point with a fixed determination to pursue their studies with diligence, and thus gain their object in the shortest time possible, which averaged less than two and a half years. As a general rule, the cadets from 1802 to 1810 came to the Military Academy better educated, made greater progress while there, and left it with higher attainments, at least in mathematics, than those who were graduated between 1810 and 1820 or 1821.

GRADUATION. — There being no classification of cadets nor fixed term of probation, they passed from one study to another at the discretion of the Superintendent, and were graduated whenever he deemed them competent to receive promotion to the Army. Examinations, till Dr. Eustis became Secretary of War, took place annually in October or November, when cadets who had completed their course of instruction, and were found qualified, received a certificate of proficiency, and were recommended for promotion to the arm of service for which they were best suited, the Engineers ranking first. If vacancies existed in the Army, graduates were immediately promoted to fill them; otherwise they had to wait till vacancies occurred. While thus waiting, the graduate continued to receive instruction at the Academy or was furloughed, at his own option. Occasionally and oftener after 1809, when vacancies were numerous or strong political influences were brought to

bear, there was danger of promotions being made prematurely from candidates not properly qualified.

Though only eighty-nine had been graduated from the Military Academy prior to the commencement of hostilities against Great Britain, and of these but sixty-five were then in the Army, they nobly performed their part in this "Second War of Independence." Of those serving in the field, one sixth laid down their lives in the struggle, one fourth were killed or wounded, and one fifth of those who survived received one or two brevets each for their distinguished gallantry in battle. Four — Swift, Armistead, Totten, and Gratiot — subsequently rose to be Chiefs of Engineers of the Army; one — Bomford — to be Chief of Ordnance; three — Swift, Thayer, and De Russy — to be Superintendents of the Military Academy; and many held high posts of honor and trust in civil life.

CONCLUSION. — From the foregoing it will appear that, during the first ten years of the existence of the Military Academy, its students were few, its teachers inadequate to the requirements of military education, its discipline and instruction as good as the appliances admitted, and that it produced all the results which could be legitimately claimed from a feebly endowed institution left to its own resources, and virtually suffered in 1810 to perish as an abandoned foundling amid the Hudson Highlands, by the fault of the Secretary of War, who should have been its parent head. Practically the Superintendent was its sole foster-father; and to its welfare, character, and development he gave an untiring devotion, though burdened with other weighty cares, being at the same time in command of the Corps of Engineers and in immediate charge of the construction of important fortifications in New York Harbor.

"In the birth of societies," says Montesquieu, "it is

the chiefs of the republics who form the civil institution, and in the sequel it is the chief institution which forms the chiefs of the republics." This aphorism has proved true of the Military Academy, created by the chiefs of our republic, and which in turn has formed the military chiefs of the republic.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the projector of the Military Academy was the revered Father of his Country, its founder the famed author of the Declaration of Independence, and its first Superintendent the noble son of a patriot sire who presided over the memorable meeting which threw down the gauntlet of defiance to British oppression; that the institution should have been located on the sacred spot around which Revolutionary history so thickly clusters; and that as an educational establishment it was first opened for instruction on the anniversary of the nation's birth, — July 4, 1802! Garlanded with such thrilling associations, and as a jewel set in Nature's majesty, is it to be wondered at that every true and loving graduate of the Military Academy gravitates to West Point as to the Mecca of his heart!

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD FROM JULY 31, 1812, TO JULY 28, 1817.

BREVET BRIG.-GENERAL JOSEPH G. SWIFT, SUPER-
INTENDENT.¹

UPON the resignation of Colonel Williams, July 31, 1812, Colonel Joseph G. Swift assumed command of the Corps of Engineers, though it was not till Dec. 4, 1812, that he was confirmed by the Senate as Chief Engineer of the United States Army, and *ex-officio* Superintendent of the Military Academy.

War with Great Britain having been declared, the Chief Engineer's duties in the field and as the head of an important department did not permit of his taking the personal command of the Military Academy, though he made frequent visits to West Point. To bar the authority claimed by Captain Partridge, the local commander, General Swift, by permission of the President, assumed, Jan. 5, 1815, the Inspectorship of the Academy.

There was no necessity for the Chief Engineer to be at West Point, the Military Academy having virtually ceased to exist through the perversity of Secretary Eustis, who appointed no cadets, and had dispersed in 1811 all others who had not been graduated. The great institution, authorized by the law of April 29, 1812, to consist of two hundred and sixty cadets and a respectable academic staff, was, upon the accession of the new Superintendent, reduced to one Captain of Engineers, a

¹ In the absence of General Swift, Captain ALDEN PARTRIDGE, the senior officer of Engineers present, was Acting Superintendent.

Teacher of Drawing, and a temporary Teacher of French. Both of these teachers being on furlough, Captain Partridge constituted the entire Academy present for duty!

Fortunately, the author of all this disgraceful condition of affairs, Secretary Eustis, was a few months subsequently (Dec. 3, 1812) invited to resign his office by a committee of his own political party. He was succeeded, Jan. 13, 1813, by an able veteran of the Revolution, General John Armstrong, who, unfortunately, like his two predecessors, had the same prejudices against military education.

ALDEN PARTRIDGE, the *locum tenens* at West Point, was born, Jan. 12, 1785, at Norwich, Vt. His father, who had done service in the Revolution, gave his son a good education, fitting him for college, which he entered at Dartmouth, N. H., in August, 1802, the year before Sylvanus Thayer became a pupil in that institution. Here young Partridge made good progress in his course of studies, before completing which he was appointed to be a cadet in the United States Military Academy, which he entered Dec. 14, 1805, and was graduated therefrom, Oct. 30, 1806, and promoted to a First Lieutenancy in the Corps of Engineers. From that time till his forced resignation from the Army, April 15, 1818, he was almost continuously on duty at the Military Academy, where he proved a good mathematical instructor and an admirable drill-master, but showed little administrative ability to govern a great institution of learning. With his industry, interest in military affairs, and rigid discipline, he doubtless would have made a respectable frontier post commander.

On the last day of September, 1812, Captain Partridge was fortunate in having command of one new cadet, Charles S. Merchant, who dropped in at West Point to become a subject for the development of the

Captain's drilling talent in teaching the new "plebe" the goose-step, and how to keep his shoulders back by gluing his little fingers to the seams of his pantaloons. By winter, five other aspirants for military glory reported for duty, but, the weather being cold and fuel scarce, the six embryo heroes were furloughed till April 15, 1813, when the Military Academy, with scarce a dozen cadets, resumed its existence.

Two days before this resurrection, Captain Partridge had become Professor of Mathematics, and Oct. 7, 1812, Lieut.-Colonel Jared Mansfield had been re-appointed as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, but did not enter upon duty till April 10, 1814. Teachers Zoeller and Masson, having returned from furlough, completed the existing academic staff. During the year, the number of cadets was considerably increased, and at the end of the academic term the class of 1813 was graduated, consisting of *one* member, George Trescot, who, being the *head man*, was promoted to the Corps of Engineers, in which he did good service during the existing war.

During the year 1814, there were appointed one hundred and fifty-five cadets, and from March 11 to July 21, there were thirty-one promoted to be Lieutenants in the Army. Captain Partridge had been transferred to the Department of Engineering, his place being supplied by the appointment, Sep. 1, 1813, of Andrew Ellicott, who entered upon duty as Professor of Mathematics at the end of the winter furlough of 1813-14.

ANDREW ELLICOTT, descended from a very enterprising and inventive family, was born, Jan. 24, 1754, in Bucks County, Penn. Public attention was early drawn to him because of his attainments in science, and hence he was commissioned by Congress to assist in the division and settlement of the boundaries of the new States. In 1784, he was employed by Virginia to es-

tablish the division line between it and Pennsylvania; the year after, he was one of the Commissioners to locate the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and, in 1786, he determined the northern limit of that State. These and other boundary surveys won for him the appellation of "Geographer of the United States."

Major Ellicott, in 1790, was employed by the Government to lay out the city of Washington, and determine the boundaries of the District of Columbia. After completing these and other important works, Ellicott was appointed by President Washington, in 1796, one of the Commissioners to fix the boundary line between the United States and the Spanish Possessions, which being satisfactorily completed, Governor M'Kean, of Pennsylvania, appointed him, in 1800, the Secretary of the Land Office of the State.

Ellicott retired to private life in 1808, was the recipient of many honors, including a membership of the National Institute of France, and enjoyed the intimacy of many of the most distinguished men of his day.

After so many years of faithful service, it is distressing to read in his letters that his pay was withheld by the Government, and he, in consequence, was reduced to such poverty that he was compelled to sell his library, and even his instruments. Notwithstanding this treatment by the Government, which had so largely profited by his services, Ellicott's love of country remained unabated, and he continued to devote himself to scientific pursuits, particularly to astronomy, for the advancement of which he deeply lamented that we had no observatory.

Declining the appointment of Surveyor-General of the United States, he accepted the position of Commissioner to examine the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and Juniata rivers and their tributaries, with a view to rendering them navigable. In these and other

pioneer works of internal improvement he took a lively interest.

The high character and superior intelligence displayed by Ellicott, in the various spheres he had filled for forty years, placed him among the recognized leaders of science. Therefore it is not surprising that he should have been appointed by President Madison the Professor of Mathematics in the Military Academy, a position he held with credit till his death, Aug. 29, 1820. Unfortunately he was too old to re-create and build up that important branch of instruction.

The Chief Engineer, upon consultation with Bishop Hobart, decided, with the sanction of the Secretary of War, to invite the Rev. Adam Empie, of the Episcopal Church, to take the Chaplaincy of the Military Academy, to which he was appointed Dec. 9, 1813, but did not enter upon duty till May 20, 1814. Before his advent, Captain Partridge, the factotum of the institution, read a sermon on Sunday, which he usually concluded with a summary of the shortcomings of the past week.

ADAM EMPIE, of North Carolina, was a hale, handsome, and scholarly-looking gentleman, of courteous and winning manner, very earnest and devoted to his calling, of moderate culture, and not deficient in eloquence. Having no duties of instruction to perform, after three years' service he left little impress upon the Academy. In addition to his Sunday performances, he made, during the week, prayers at reveille, roll-call, and at evening parade, not unfrequently under circumstances little calculated to inspire devotional feeling in his youthful audience. In the centre of a square open on one side, the "Parson" would reverently kneel down, sometimes in the snow, to offer up his prayer, the cadets standing uncovered.

Mr. Empie resigned April 30, 1817, and became President of William and Mary College, in Virginia.

Subsequently he had the misfortune of becoming totally blind.

Isaac Partridge, the uncle of the Acting Superintendent, was appointed, Jan. 30, 1814, to take charge of the Cadet Commons at West Point, where, says a cadet of that day, "there was nothing attractive, no tablecloths, no glass tumblers, no chairs, and the tables and benches were painted in red ochre, which made its decided impress on coat sleeves and the seat of honour of our trousers." The fare was as unattractive as the furniture. As the extemporized Mess Hall was not spacious enough to accommodate all of the cadets, the overflow was rationed by Mrs. Thompson, the widow of the former Military Storekeeper. Here the fare was a little better, but not over-tempting, as our experience in later years testifies.

The cadets' quarters, the old "Yellow Barracks," situated a little southwest of the present post hotel, were without furnaces or stoves, and deficient in almost every convenience. No wells nor pumps being at hand, water had to be obtained from the natural spring flowing from the hillside. To heat the rooms, wood had to be brought from wherever it could be found, a buck and saw in each room being indispensable. A cadet who passed the winter of 1814-15 at West Point says: "We suffered very much from cold, and had to lie on the floor wrapped in our blankets, and our feet to the fire. Our fires were made from rail-fences, and such dry stuff as we could find in the neighboring woods. We had to cut and haul it ourselves, and sometimes pack it on our backs. We had to forage for a living. It was very difficult to obtain food. We had to buy it of the neighboring farmers and cook it ourselves. A very hard winter."

The prescribed uniform in 1814 was a coat and pantaloons of blue cloth; round hat with black silk cock-

ade and gilt eagle; and Jefferson shoes. The coat was single-breasted, with one row of bullet buttons and a standing collar. Little attention, however, was paid to the prescribed dress, everything being worn, according to fancy, up to a major-general's uniform. The belts were black, and the muskets the same as those used by soldiers, except a lighter one for the small boys. Each cadet was expected to wear a sword, but few possessed the weapon.

During the summer of 1814, the cadets, under command of Captain Partridge, made an excursion to Governor's Island, New York Harbor, and were encamped on the glacis of Fort Columbus. While here they were paraded to witness the military execution of a soldier sentenced to death for desertion. Another excursion of three days to New York was made in the summer of 1816, upon the invitation of the city, when the cadets were reviewed by Governor De Witt Clinton.

The Military Academy having little reputation since the revival of the institution, the appointments to cadetships were not much solicited; hence Mr. Monroe, the Acting Secretary of War, the Chief Engineer, and others made strenuous efforts to induce young gentlemen of intelligence and character to go to West Point. Often, two or more of good families were selected to enter the Academy, and some had appointments at the same time as midshipmen in the Navy, to which service some cadets were transferred.

Francis D. Masson, on his return from furlough in Europe, resigned Jan. 3, 1815, as Teacher of French, his place during his absence having been filled by his brother Florimond.

CLAUDIUS BERARD succeeded Mr. Masson as the Teacher of French. He was born, April 12, 1785, at Bordeaux, France, and emigrated to the United States in 1807. He was appointed, in 1812, Professor of

Latin and Greek in Dickerson College, Penn., continuing there till he came to West Point. For more than thirty-three years, as Teacher and Professor of French, he faithfully and satisfactorily performed his duties in the Military Academy. He died, Aug. 8, 1848.

During the incumbency of James Monroe, from Sep. 27, 1814, to March 3, 1815, as Acting Secretary of War, he took a warm interest in the Military Academy, and approved of new regulations for its government (doubtless prepared by Captain Partridge to subserve his own ends), but they do not appear to have been enforced, as opposition at once arose on the part of the académic staff, through Professor Ellicott, to the authority there given to a "*permanent* Superintendent" other than the Chief Engineer, an officer unknown to the law, to "direct the studies" and "all other academic duties;" the academic staff contending, Aug. 1, 1815, that to it "belongs the direction of the studies of the cadets," and "the forming, of necessity, rules and regulations for carrying a system of scientific education into effect," as customary in all the "scientific institutions in either this country or Europe." Professor Ellicott, in a later communication, strongly urged the abandonment of the winter vacations, and the devotion of that season to study, particularly as comfortable new barracks were now ready for occupation.

Since the régime of Captain Partridge began, there had been at West Point a continuous struggle between old and new ideas of intellectual improvement, the *vis inertiae* of the former having nullified the sagacious views of the law of April 29, 1812, to meliorate and enlarge the curriculum of studies at the Military Academy. That law recognized an "academic staff" and two hundred and sixty cadets to be attached, at the discretion of the President of the United States, "as students to the Military Academy," the former having power

to regulate the education of the latter, and to "confer a regular degree" upon any of them before being considered "as among the candidates for a commission in any corps, according to the duties he may be judged competent to perform." In other words, the law bestowed *powers* as well as imposed *duties* upon the academic staff, all of which Partridge ignored, believing himself to be the autocrat of the institution, and as Post Commander to be supreme in directing everything, — discipline, police, education, and determining the fitness of cadets for graduation. But the Acting Superintendent was destined to receive an unexpected check in carrying out his eccentric ideas from a young Lieutenant of Engineers, just returned from the field of his fame in the campaign of 1814 on the Niagara, and who had become, Jan. 1, 1815, the Principal Assistant Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Military Academy.

This fresh scientist, Lieut. David B. Douglass, of the Engineers, a graduate of Yale College, where order and system existed, determined, with the aid of the other members of the academic staff, having like views, to use every effort to effect a radical change in educational methods at West Point. The opportunity soon presented itself. He, as senior Engineer in the absence of Captain Partridge, persuaded himself that it was proper to do wrong, in usurping power not belonging to a temporary commander, to accomplish a great good to the Military Academy. Accordingly, so soon as Partridge had left West Point for Washington, Douglass, Oct. 30, 1815, issued a circular requesting the "Professors, the Assistant Professors, and Teachers of the Military Academy, as a body, to deliberate on the propriety of arranging a course of study for the Academy, and of casting the cadets into grades, according to their progress in that course; also on the

propriety of drawing up a code of regulations for the government of the academic staff in their professional duties, and on such other subjects connected with the interests of the staff as they might think proper."

The academic staff met that evening, agreed upon a general outline of a course of study, and recommended a classification of cadets by means of an examination which Douglass, the next day, ordered to be held at once. After a continuance of this examination for nine days, eighty-two of the cadets were reported as "not qualified agreeably to law to enter upon the academic course," though its requirements were very small. Douglass's reign as Acting Superintendent was short, but it produced good fruit. Though Partridge, on his return, disapproved of all his subordinate's proceedings, he, in December following, ordered an examination to take place before an invited Board of Visitors, which practically adopted Douglass's views. Accordingly, an order was issued by the Chief Engineer to the Acting Superintendent and academic staff to prepare and recommend a course of instruction.

The new Mess Hall, Academic Building, and South Barracks were completed this year (1815), and the North Barracks two years later. These were substantial stone buildings without any architectural beauty, but they were a great improvement upon what had before existed. The Academic Building was burned, Feb. 19, 1838, with all the records of the post and Academy, and the other structures were demolished in 1849-52. With them vanished many happy memories of "auld lang syne," leaving nothing to recall the past to old graduates save the South Barracks pump, which still supplies its thirsty customers with delicious water.

The late war with Great Britain had left the Government treasury so depleted that there were no funds with which to carry on the Academy. Under these cir-

cumstances, by authority of the Secretary of War, the Chief Engineer tried to negotiate a loan from the New York banks to relieve the pressing necessities at West Point; but they not being satisfied with the security, he applied to Jacob Barker, a wealthy merchant, who advanced \$65,000 at seven per cent. interest, thereby preventing the disbandment of the Military Academy.

In 1815, but forty-seven new cadets had been appointed, and forty-one of the old ones were graduated at various dates from March to December. The graduates of the latter month were examined before three invited gentlemen, of whom were Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, late a Member of Congress, and De Witt Clinton, then Mayor of New York city. The latter, in his report of Feb. 1, 1816, of which I have only a fragment, says: "In the Military Academy no previous examination is required for the admission of cadets; they are not divided into classes; a course of studies is not prescribed; nor is a final examination, which is stamped with the approbation of their preceptors, considered an essential passport to military promotion: the consequences are, that young gentlemen ignorant of the first elements of science are admitted, that perhaps a majority of the cadets do not attend any of the professors, and that selections for the Army are sometimes considered in an unfavourable light."

This deplorable condition of things in the Military Academy and other irregularities at the post of West Point, becoming known to Secretary Crawford, who had succeeded to the War Department, he saw that a remedy for existing evils was imperatively called for, and that a change must be made in the command at West Point. Doubtless it was then, if not earlier,¹

¹ In February, 1816, says General Swift in his Diary, "While in conversation with the President on the subject of the defence of the approach to Washington [Cedar Point, on the Lower Potomac], he expressed an opinion that Captain Partridge might be detailed on the duty con-

decided to appoint either Colonel McRee or Major Thayer, both on professional duty in Europe, to succeed Partridge, though Thayer was not officially designated till the autumn of 1816.

The importance of military education had been so fully demonstrated by the late war with Great Britain that President Madison, in his annual Message of Dec. 5, 1815, strongly urged "an enlargement of the Military Academy, and the establishment of others in sections of the Union." Bills for creating these latter were introduced into Congress, but fortunately received no decisive action, thereby leaving us with a *single* Military Academy, producing uniformity of instruction for the Army, a common chord of sympathy in the whole service, and that strong bond of comradeship which even the rude shock of civil war could not sunder.

The Academy re-opened in April, 1816, with less than two hundred cadets. On April 6, the academic staff met, and decided upon a course of studies and the necessary rules for arranging the cadets, according to qualifications, to form four annual classes, with the studies of each year. With a view to this classification, one hundred and nineteen old cadets were examined, April 8; and fifty-four new cadets presented themselves for an examination in writing, orthography, and arithmetic, many failing therein. Out of these proceedings doubtless grew the Regulations of May 22, 1816, which were approved by Secretary Crawford, July 2, 1816.

nected with this contemplated work, or on some other duty that would relieve him from West Point. My reply to this was, that to displace Captain Partridge suddenly, and without assigning the cause, would not be just to his official rights. The President assented to the correctness of this, but said: 'Captain Partridge is not deemed by the Secretary of War the most suitable officer of Engineers for duty at the Academy.' I called immediately on the Secretary of War and stated these circumstances. He said the matter would be considered further, and, though he should not interfere with any order in reference thereto, he would prefer that I should send some officer of Engineers to relieve Captain Partridge."

These excellent Regulations are too long to be inserted here in full. They required increased qualifications for admission, and prescribed a course of four years of studies in the following branches: the English and French languages, and review of Latin and Greek, if previously acquired; Mathematics up to Fluxions, which latter were to be taught and studied at the option of the professor and student; Drawing of figures, fortifications, and topographical plans; Philosophy, embracing mechanics, hydraulics, pneumatics, optics, chemistry, magnetism, and astronomy; Engineering, embracing field and permanent fortifications, attack and defense of places, mines, and castrametation; Geography, with the use of globes and maps; Ethics, comprising moral science, and natural and political law; Military Instruction, embracing infantry and artillery tactics, practical gunnery, and camp duties; and Broad and Small Sword Exercise. All graduation was to be according to merit, and a diploma given; no cadet leaving the Academy was to be promoted till all of his classmates were provided for; and dismissed cadets could not receive appointments in the Army till five years after the promotion of their graduating classmates.

These Regulations seem never to have been enforced at the Academy, as Captain Partridge put every obstacle in the way to prevent any division of authority. The wrestling between him and the academic staff for their respective prerogatives continued till it became a chronic feud.

The uniform of the cadets, slightly differing from the present dress, was adopted Sep. 4, 1816. General Winfield Scott claimed that the change was made in compliment to his regiment, which had fought so gallantly in 1814 at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane in gray habiliments, because there was no blue cloth to be obtained for the regulation uniform when going into cam-

paign. The change was fortunate, for no color is so well adapted for rough usage, and concealment from the enemy in the field, as gray.

Owing to the condition of affairs at West Point, and for other reasons unnecessary here to state, General Swift was ordered to take personal command of the Military Academy. Upon his arrival at the post, the academic staff welcomed him in a flattering written address signed by each of its members, to which the General replied in fitting phrase, Nov. 25, 1816, the day he assumed command. After seven weeks of faithful performance of his duties, he returned, Jan. 13, 1817, to Washington, leaving Captain Partridge again in charge of the Academy.

During the year 1816, not a single cadet was graduated, none probably having completed the prescribed course of studies.

The knell of Partridge's administration was sounded, May 1, 1817, upon the return from Europe of Major Thayer, preparatory to his taking command of the Military Academy, July 28, 1817. It was high time for the change in the management of the institution, for during Partridge's régime, while three hundred and eighty-three cadets had been admitted to it, but ninety-one half-educated pupils, or less than twenty-five per cent., had been graduated therefrom. Further, all progress was paralyzed, most of the academic staff being in arrest, some on trial, and the remaining officials at West Point in bitter antagonism to the commanding officer. Upon President Monroe's visit to West Point in June, 1817, "it was determined that Captain Partridge should be brought before a court martial in reference to his disagreement with the professors."¹

In a report to the United States House of Repre-

¹ General Swift's Diary.

sentatives, made, April 2, 1822, by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, he says: "The Military Academy may be considered as having been in its infancy until the close of 1817, or beginning of 1818, prior to which there was little system or regularity. Cadets were admitted without examination, and without the least regard to their age or qualifications, as required by the law of 1812. Hence the institution was filled with students who were more or less unfit for their situations. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large portion of them have been under the necessity of leaving the Academy without completing their education. In support of these statements, it may be observed that in 1817, at which time the present Superintendent [Major Thayer] took charge of the Academy, there were 213 cadets, of whom 103 have resigned or been discharged, whose names will be found on the list marked A; of the 179 on that list, 122 left the Academy in consequence of being deficient in their studies, and nine were dismissed or compelled to resign in consequence of bad conduct. None of the others can be considered as a loss to the Academy, or to the public service."

SUMMARY.

IMMEDIATELY following the declaration of war against Great Britain, the Second Period of the existence of the Military Academy began. Every honorable effort had been made by the President to avoid the contest, but, as stated by Joel Barlow in his prospectus of a National Institution, to be established in the United States, "Although the principle has long since been known, that good laws faithfully executed within a State would protect the industry of men, and preserve *interior* tranquillity, yet no method was discovered which would effectually preserve *exterior* tranquillity between State and State. Treaties were made, oaths

were exacted, the name of God was invoked, forts, garrisons, and armies were established on their respective frontiers; all with the sincere desire, no doubt, of preserving peace."

The experience of all nations having shown the fallacy of relying upon these precautions, the only safe remedy was in peace to prepare for war. This maxim was grossly ignored by Secretary Eustis, who, for three years preceding hostilities, while directing the War Department, had disregarded every precaution to meet the impending conflict, especially that of having a sufficient supply of educated officers to carry on military operations. Even after the enactment of the law of April 29, 1812, providing for 260 cadets, he failed to appoint a single one.

ORGANIZATION. — Though Congress had authorized the remodeling of the Military Academy with a respectable staff, the institution may be said to have had no methodizing from 1812 to 1817, but to have been governed solely by the arbitrary will of the narrow-minded Acting Superintendent.

Though the law made ample provision for a large body of cadets, the greatest number in any one year (1814) was 220, and the average from 1812 to 1817 about half that number, only 347 having been appointed in these five years. Even for this small assemblage of cadets, of whom but 91 were graduated during that period and 83 subsequently, the academic staff was inadequate for their thorough instruction in the various branches of study.

The library and apparatus, for which large appropriations had been made, still remained ill-provided, but the accommodations for officers and cadets continued to improve.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION. — President Madison, in his annual messages, showed the most enlightened sympa-

thy with scientific education, but, absorbed in weighty cares of state and in the conduct of a war with one of the colossal powers of the earth, he had necessarily to devolve the charge of Military Academy affairs upon his Secretaries of War. Of Eustis we have said enough to show his utter neglect of duty. After that millstone was removed, General Armstrong, a man of marked ability, succeeded to the War Department, but he was chiefly occupied with planning and conducting campaigns and wrangling with other generals, till his fiasco of the defense of the capital, in 1814, drove him from office. His *ad interim* successor, James Monroe, though much interested in the Military Academy, could do little for the rickety institution during the less than six months of his incumbency of the War Department. Finally came William H. Crawford, a statesman of broad views, who, in his fifteen months as Secretary of War, initiated many reforms at West Point, culminating in the cure of the greatest evils by a change of Superintendents.

MILITARY SUPERVISION. — The Chief Engineer, *ex-officio* Superintendent of the Academy, being absent from West Point, except from Nov. 25, 1816 to Jan. 13, 1817, the command devolved upon Captain Alden Partridge, the senior engineer present. His government was that of a post commander, and not that of the head of a great educational institution, for which he had neither training nor capacity. He assumed to be sole governor in everything, from drilling a squad to usurping the entire functions of the whole academic staff, upon which, by law, devolved the decision of the fitness of cadets for graduation, "after going through all the classes," and showing competency to become commissioned officers of the Army.

The late General Harvey Brown, a cadet under Partridge, in a letter to me thus sketches the Captain:

“He was unfitted by nature and education for such a command. He was narrow and contracted in his views, and, without any knowledge of the world, he was better fitted for a professor than for the command of a great National Institution. He was well read for that day, and was, I think, a strictly moral man, but without the dignity of a gentleman or the bearing of a soldier. His house was small, and his meals were cooked out, and served by a man who was his woman of all work. He was never known to dispense the hospitalities of the post, even to giving a cup of cold water. He was strictly temperate, and conducted the religious services on Sunday in the absence of the Chaplain. He visited the rooms of the cadets daily, and the mess-room now and then. I do not think Captain Partridge ever commanded the respect of the cadets, or was a subject of hatred. He went by the quaint name of ‘Old Pewter,’ and the prison-room walls were covered with caricatures of him.”

REGULATIONS. — Colonel Williams’s Regulations for the Military Academy, approved April 30, 1810, were the only ones in existence, till the intrigue and ambition of Captain Partridge secured, Jan. 3, 1815, from the Acting Secretary of War, James Monroe, his sanction to the Captain’s recognition as “*Permanent Superintendent of the Military Academy,*” the legal permanent Superintendent being the Chief Engineer, who was shorn of his office to become simply the “Inspector of the Institution.”

These regulations were soon after, Feb. 28, 1815, modified, and directed that “from the Inspector only, the Superintendent of the Academy will receive orders, and to him only will the Superintendent make all returns and communications pertaining to the Institution.”

In 1816, Partridge drafted “an act making further

provision for the Military Academy," which contained many good features, but the prominent one was the provision to make himself the Autocrat of the Academy under the sole direction of the President of the United States. Of this draft Congress does not appear to have taken any notice.

The next regulations were those approved, July 2, 1816, by Secretary Crawford, which, as before stated, seem never to have gone into effect.

ADMISSION OF CADETS. — No attention seems to have been paid, in the admission of cadets, to the law of April 29, 1812. Many were under the minimum age of fourteen, one had but a single arm, and another was married before entering the institution, and one was married while at West Point. All were admitted without physical examination, and many had not the educational requirements, as proved by the examination held in November, 1815, by order of Captain Douglass, which showed that eighty-two "were not qualified agreeably to law to enter upon the studies of the academic course;" and "twenty not present on account of ill health or absence from the Academy." At a subsequent general examination, held in September, 1817, after Partridge's régime had terminated, General Thayer, in a letter to me, says: "Many on the list, who were admitted in 1813 and 1814 and subsequently, were found not to possess the requisites for admission. It appears also by the same list that during the whole of this period there were no fixed times for admission, and that among the dates of admission will be found every month of the year, and almost every day in each month. For instance, opposite the names of the eighty-three on the list admitted in 1814, being about half of the whole number admitted in that year, will be seen eleven different months and seventy different days, the admissions being pretty equally distributed throughout

the year. The same latitude of admission in 1813-15 and 1816."

INSTRUCTION.— There being no annual classes, no regular course of studies, no standard of attainment, in any branch, and the academic staff being practically ignored, instruction, except in infantry and artillery drills, was at a low ebb at the Academy during Partridge's administration.

The French Language was in effect a voluntary study, and not a requisite for graduation. Not one in ten of the cadets, as shown by the examination in September, 1817, could translate with tolerable facility the easiest French author.

Drawing was also a voluntary study, very few paying any attention to it whatever.

Engineering was less attended to than French or Drawing, the greater number of cadets on graduating never having gone beyond the definitions to be found in Colonel Williams's little primer of fifty pages on the subject, which was their only text-book. Many cadets scarce knew the difference between the ditch and the glacis of a fort, save by the conventional colors adopted in their delineation. It is said that two cadets were graduated in 1815 in the Engineer Corps whose studies never extended beyond Hutton's Trigonometry.

During the brief period after March 6, 1817, when Crozet became Professor of Engineering, his instruction was oral and confined to subsidiary problems of Descriptive Geometry, to which very few of his pupils paid any attention, it "being Greek to them."

Mathematics, the most important branch of instruction, was very elementary. Many of the cadets of that period I have often heard speak, jestingly, of the good old times when "they graduated upon the rule of three, and never had to pass the *Pons Asinorum* of Geometry."

Natural and Experimental Philosophy was still more elementary in its teaching, not a few graduates leaving the Academy without any instruction whatever therein. The only apparatus in the professor's possession, to illustrate his subject, was a field transit-instrument and a clock.

Tactics of Infantry and Artillery were Captain Partridge's delight, and were well taught, but were necessarily limited, owing to the small number of cadets to exercise and the few pieces of ordnance for drill and target practice. He often gave lectures upon Grand Tactics and Strategy, illustrated by the history of noted campaigns, though most of his eloquence was lost on his inattentive hearers.

CLASSIFICATION. — There was none, nor could there be any, owing to the irregularity of admission and promotion of cadets, and the lack of any standard of qualification for advancement from one study to another. Final graduation was much dependent upon the age, size, and wishes of cadets, and the caprice of the Acting Superintendent.

DISCIPLINE was strict, but not impartial. There being no courts martial, punishments, decreed by the Acting Superintendent, who was both judge and executioner, were extra guard and police duty; confinement to quarters, guard-house, and black-hole, subsisting on soldiers' rations; and not unfrequently riding astride a cannon in the hot sun for several hours.

There was little dissipation and no gambling among the cadets, but they would steal away for suppers at "Old North's" or "Benny Haven's," though the risk was great, as Partridge made his round of inspection every day and sometimes at night. Chapel attendance was expected, but not rigidly enforced. High sentiments of honor prevailed among cadets, who, of their own action, expelled two for lying. Malingering was

infrequent, and real sickness little known; hence Surgeon Walsh, nicknamed "Doctor Salts," had little to do in his uncomfortable log hospital under the hill.

GRADUATION. — There was no fixed period for graduation. In 1813, a single cadet was graduated, his promotion taking place in six months after entering the Academy; in 1814, there were thirty-one graduated in the months from March to July; in 1815, forty were graduated at four different periods of the year; in 1816, there was not a single graduate; and in 1817, of the twenty graduates, one was promoted in April and the others in July. The period during which the graduates from 1813 to 1817 were at the Academy varied from six months to four years, the average probation being less than two years.

CONCLUSION. — From the foregoing narrative of the Second Period of the Military Academy's history, it is evident that under Captain Partridge the institution decidedly retrograded from its standing in 1809, when William Eustis became Secretary of War. This obstruction to all progress being removed in 1812, and the law of that year making ample provision for the welfare of the institution, its advancement should have been marked. The civil administration of the Academy was doubtless affected by the existence of hostilities with Great Britain, and frequent changes in the control of the War Department; but, with a proper Military Superintendent, it ought to have become an institution worthy of the nation. That its bad condition till 1817 was mainly due to its commanding officer is fully evidenced by the magic change in its character wrought with the same aids and appliances by his successor, Major Thayer, a soldier and a scholar.

The following sketch of Cadet Life in the early days of the Military Academy is so graphic that I append it to this chapter. The writer, General GEORGE D. RAM-

SAY, became Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, Sep. 15, 1863, and, having reached fourscore years, died at the city of Washington, May 23, 1882.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CADET LIFE OF
GEORGE D. RAMSAY.

I was appointed a cadet on the 4th May, 1814, by General John Armstrong, Secretary of War during the administration of Mr. Madison. My family had but recently removed to Washington from Virginia, in which State I was born on the 21st February, 1802, and consequently was but a little over twelve years of age when the appointment was conferred upon me. My education consisted of some little knowledge of Latin and Greek. I had read Cæsar's Commentaries, Sallust, and had made some little progress in the Greek grammar. Of mathematics I knew nothing.

The appointment was conferred upon me unsolicited, and without conditions of any kind that I now remember; even the time of my joining the Academy was, I believe, left to the convenience of my father.

After being duly provided with what was deemed a suitable outfit (and I well remember the ruffled shirts with large falling collars, two uniform coats of blue cloth, — one short, intended for daily wear, the other long-tailed, for full dress, — a round black hat ornamented with silk cockade and yellow eagle, etc.), I left home during the following month of August, under the charge of a friend, for West Point, which, at that time of stage-coach supremacy, was no short journey, and quite an undertaking for one so young and without any experience whatever as a traveler.

Leaving Washington early in the morning, breakfasting and dining on the road, we reached Baltimore about twilight, after what had seemed to me to be an interminable journey; and three days thereafter, via

Lancaster and Philadelphia, we reached New York, and took lodgings at the American Hotel, Broadway. On being recognized as a cadet from the uniform I wore, I was informed that the "Corps" (not then so called) was encamped on Governor's Island, and, meeting during the day with some cadet friends, I was readily induced to accompany them with bag and baggage on their return to camp; and thus, in the month of August, 1814, in the camp on Governor's Island, commenced my cadet life.

There were no preliminaries connected with my initiation. I presume that I was presented to Captain Partridge, but of the ceremony I have no recollection. I became by his invitation an inmate of the tent of a cadet friend, and enjoyed for the first time the youthful delight of sleeping under canvas. I was, of course, but a looker-on, not joining in any duty save the never-to-be-neglected one of attending mess. I regularly and without special assignment fell into the squad to which my friend belonged, and to which we were summoned by "Peas upon the Trencher," or its fellow melody, "Roast Beef," and with both of which I soon became familiar.

The cadets, under the command of Captain Alden Partridge, of the Corps of Engineers, and Superintendent of the Military Academy, had come from West Point to Governor's Island on a short war visit of observation, and for practical military instruction in camp duties, etc. The opportunity thus afforded of mingling with and becoming, though temporarily, a part of so large a garrison in a state of war, infused in the cadets a spirit of martial ardor and desire for active service, and most willingly would they have remained and "fought it out," if need be, until the close of the war not far distant. During their short sojourn on the island, the cadets were encamped on the extended glacis

of Fort Columbus, and were subjected to the duties and orders of the garrison, regularly mounting guard, etc. There was no cooking in camp, and the transport sloop which had conveyed the "corps" to the island answered the purpose of a mess hall, and I have a lively recollection of the difficulties and discomfort which attended the messing. A few rough boards extending from side to side in the deep and capacious hull served the purpose of tables, at which squads in rotation were served with the coarsest kind of fare. I remember well the difficulties which fell to my lot, as I was so short of stature that my chin was just even with the table, and it required on my part a good deal of tiptoe dexterity to secure even a moiety of my allowance.

The day after my arrival became memorable by the military execution of a soldier who had been by a court-martial adjudged guilty of desertion, and sentenced to undergo the *ultima ratio* of military punishment.

The execution in the presence of the entire garrison, including the cadets, and all under arms, took place in close proximity to the cadet camp, and all were deeply impressed by the enactment of this unusual and very sad drama, and I well remember the painful excitement it occasioned a very youthful sentinel whose midnight round was near the grave. He made, and in vain, every effort to obtain a substitute, and even appealed to me to take his place on guard, and backed his appeal by the seductive offer of a dollar, all of which I declined, on the plea of not being eligible for the duty, but no doubt for the graver reason that I was as unwilling as himself to encounter, by the "glimpses of the moon," the "questionable shape" of the poor deserter.

"Hazing" was but little known at this early day; but it was well authenticated that a ghost had been seen stalking about the camp on the night of the execution by affrighted and inexperienced sentinels.

The brief campaign soon drew to a close, and the tents were at early dawn struck with precision under the enlivening influence of "Strike your tents and march away."

The homeward voyage of the transport sloop was my first experience on shipboard, and if I had entertained any fears as to "the dangers of the seas," they were soon dispelled by the gentle and favorable breezes which wafted us on amid such scenes of beauty.

At this period, sloops, the then characteristic craft of the Hudson, were in the ascendant, and only *three steamboats* — the Hudson and Fulton, plying between New York and Albany, and the Firefly between New York and Newburg, — gladdened the waters of the Hudson. Our "flagship" afforded but scanty accommodation for so large a party, and it did not turn out that the quantity or quality of the provisions had undergone a favorable change for this day upon the waters; but this mattered little amid so much of rollicking good-humor, and we reached our destination, the Point, just as the sun was peeping his last adieus over Cro' Nest. The impatient landing was soon effected, and without regard to the order of going, and, once on shore, the mess halls became the objective points.

I had at length reached my new home, but homeless, and my first evening's introduction to it, however profitable in the long run, was anything but encouraging.

There were two mess halls: the one under the hill, for a limited number of cadets, was presided over by the venerable Mrs. Thompson, who lived to an advanced age, and was well known to many generations of cadets; the other mess hall was on the Plain, near the present quarters of the Superintendent, and was kept by the recognized Steward of the Academy, Mr. Isaac Partridge, a connection of Captain Partridge. *The sauce qui*

peut seemed to be the order of the evening; and as I was "unassigned" and knew not where to go, I followed in the rush to Mrs. Thompson's, where I was told to go on to the Partridge hall; and on making my appearance at its crowded portals, I found my reception by no means more cordial, and I was rudely hustled out. It seemed to me no occasion to extend courtesy to a stranger, and more especially to a hungry one, where supper was by no means assured, and where "Number One" appeared to be the prominent and favored guest. For a first appearance on the stage of West Point, and without rehearsal, it was by no means encouraging to a diffident, modest, and homesick youth; and I fell back upon the now deserted Plain, filled, not with supper, but with emotions of despair. Luckily for me, at once and with wonder, I became absorbed with the surpassing beauty of the surroundings, and as I stood alone, unconsciously drinking in the influence of the silent scene, I must have fully realized that which has since been so beautifully written, "a thing of beauty is a joy forever," — a joy which clung to me in all its original loveliness during the many years I basked within its influence. This little episode of romance did not, it must be acknowledged, cause me to altogether forget my supper, in pursuit of which I wandered on until I found myself returned to the now deserted banquet hall of Mrs. Thompson, and indebted to the kind offices of the *mâîtresse d'hôtel*, Souverine. I was furnished with an abundant supper from what, fortunately for me, had not been devoured by my hungry "brothers-in-arms." Souverine, called by the cadets "Shoverin," was a decided character and prominent feature in the mess, where she did the honors of chief waitress. By birth a creole of St. Domingo, full of French vivacity and with an amusing *patois*, she was always at meals a source of mirth, and kept up a lively encounter of wit with the

young cadets, who generally came under Mrs. Thompson's care. It sometimes happened that the merriment would reach the vigilant ears of Mrs. Thompson, when the good old lady would swoop down upon us with a lecture on good behavior, which was always received with becoming deference. In addition to Souverine, our colored population in 1814-15 included "Black George" and family, and their presence not unfrequently carried me back in affectionate remembrance to "Old Virginia."

Casting my fortunes at Mrs. Thompson's, I soon became initiated into the etiquette and usage of that polite caravansary; and I now write of that era of two-pronged forks, and when "saveall" was the choicest dish, and the observances at the table not altogether Chesterfieldian. We marched to and from meals, but no roll-call was observed, as I suppose it could not then have been believed that any one would willingly absent himself on such occasions; not that the meals were at all inviting, but viewed as a necessity by ever-hungry cadets.

We had, I must confess, some rather reprehensible practices at mess, and particularly, during the winter, of carrying from the table the sinews of war for a barrack-room supper, usually called "hooking." Bread, butter, sugar, etc., would by concerted action be spirited away, and after "taps," when everybody was presumed to be in bed, the cooking at the appointed rendezvous would commence and in due time the supper served. As a rare thing, a turkey or chicken would lend its welcome aid. This system continued even after the mess hall on the Plain was built and occupied, and it was found very difficult to break it up. In this connection, I remember an amusing incident in front of this mess hall. It happened on a day that an unusual subsidy had been levied on the table; and to the surprise of all in

coming out, the battalion was halted and formed into line. A suspicion of search ran through the ranks, when there at once commenced a vigorous fire to the rear, and a well-defined third line of bread and potatoes sprung up. "Hooking" was not considered at all disreputable, and had its origin doubtless in the universities, and at times in not over-wholesome food presented at the mess hall. I remember when a mess-hall steward, Divins by name (and probably in 1816), kept a flock of sheep, among which a disease known as the *rot* prevailed, and which were, in this repulsive condition, it was currently believed, served at dinner; and on one occasion, as we marched into dinner and discovered on the tables the ever-present mutton, we were seized with a feeling of disgust, and without preconcerted action marched round the tables and out of doors. This *muttonous* prompt manœuvre was construed into mutinous by Captain Partridge, who was always on hand, and caused us to return to the mess halls, when some compromise was made with the steward, and bread, butter, and molasses substituted as a peace-offering. This flock of sheep held the undisputed pasturage of the Plain, and it was a lucky straggler found near the precipitous cliffs that escaped being hurled into the depths below. In this war of extermination the cadets became expert, and the flock was thus more than decimated. The sheep speculation fortunately proved a failure, and there was no further *revenons à nos moutons*. During my time, the mess hall was always indifferent, if not positively bad, — certainly always below what should have been the proper standard. There was nothing attractive: no tablecloths, no glass tumblers, no chairs, and the tables and benches were painted in red ochre, which made its impress on the sleeves of our gray uniform coats, and on the unmentionable seats of honor of our trowsers.

One of my poetical classmates addressed an ode to mess hall in parody of "Hohenlinden," the following stanza of which comes to my remembrance: —

Few, few shall fat-en where many eat,
 Where pickled pork's their choicest meat,
 And every trust to them is sweet,
 That live estranged from luxury.

Having slipped unbidden into the ranks on Governor's Island, I felt myself, with my wonderful military experience of a week or two, quite a campaigner, on reaching the Point. I was assigned to quarters in barracks, was soon supplied with arms and accoutrements, and could be seen any morning at reveille roll-call at the extreme end of the line, as diminutive in person as if viewed through the reverse end of a telescope.

My room-mates, to whom I was so much indebted, were all Virginians; and with one exception "old cadets," as those were called who had been a year or two at the Academy; and it required but short probation, for those who were deemed old enough, to obtain commissions in the various arms of the military service. These were "the cadets of our time, who graduated in the rule of three," as was once given in a toast on some festive occasion at the Point by Colonel James Monroe, one of them so well known and respected, and who was one of my Virginia room-mates referred to. This was near the close of the War of 1812-14, when a little military knowledge passed for a heap, combined as it was with a high sense of military discipline and *esprit de corps*, and these "rule of three graduates" won for themselves distinction, and were among the foremost to give renown to the Military Academy.

The barracks of 1814-15 stood upon the site of the present hotel, — a building in length about two hundred and fifty feet, — and was known as the Yellow Barracks, although, at the time, all the buildings on the

Point were painted yellow. It consisted of two stories with wings, with corresponding centre of intermediate proportions. The upper floor was reached by a high flight of steps with "stoops." The rooms were large, but without any conveniences. There were no wells or pumps, and the water for drinking and washing was derived from the natural springs flowing from the hillside, and I well remember how slippery and dangerous these hillsides were in the cold winter mornings, when creeping down, "jug" in hand, it was difficult to maintain one's foothold. The duty of water-carrier generally devolved upon me by virtue of my juvenility, as did the privilege of making the fires, sweeping the room, shoveling the snow, and all other small "chores," as they were called round about us, necessary to my complete military education, and which from my inaptitude, it was thought, had been neglected. In time, I became an earnest worker, and after having been taught *how* by a Vermont room-mate, I found it quite a pleasure to make in early morning a rousing wood-fire, and I would often get up before reveille for this purpose. There were no furnaces or stoves, and wood was burned in open fireplaces — sawed and split and brought to the barrack rooms by their respective occupants; a "saw and buck" in each room was indispensable. This practice continued, to include the winter of 1818, if not afterward, and I well remember what a severe task it was to carry up the wood, often covered with snow, to the third floor of the South Barracks, and this amusement, as a general thing, so as not to interfere with the duties of the day, generally fell upon us after supper. The sawing came afterward.

My subsequent experience induces me to acknowledge the great benefit I derived from this practical and useful system of training; it certainly has served me many a good turn; and it tends in my eye to make labor re-

spectable. During the winters of 1814-15, cadets were greatly exposed to the cold. Greatcoats had not become the fashion for boys, and such a comfort was a specialty. My wardrobe had been carefully prepared, but the inventory did not include a greatcoat. I never knew Captain Partridge to wear one, and he was out in all weathers; and as to umbrellas, there was not one in 1814 at the Point, in my belief; and even as late as 1820, Major Worth declared that an offender seen with an umbrella should be dismissed the military service.

During the winters of 1814-16, there were regular vacations from the 1st of December to the 31st of March, when the general academic duties were suspended, although a portion of the cadets were retained at the Point. Those who remained had to attend prescribed roll-calls and recitations. The younger cadets had to exhibit on Sunday morning at the Academy, to Professor Ellicott, manuscripts in which were recorded the tasks in arithmetic which he had on the preceding Sunday marked out for the week's study. No examination was had as to the manner of obtaining results; but if the manuscripts were neat and presentable, we were treated like good little boys, and patted on the head. Of course we gave ourselves up pretty much to the manuscripts, and let the arithmetic take care of itself. Having joined the Academy in August, 1814, I remained at the Point during the ensuing vacation as a matter of preference, which I had no reason to regret. The more serious restrictions of the Academy were thrown aside, and we had every reasonable indulgence granted, and the principal duties we had to perform were rendered an agreeable and instructive pastime. Captain Partridge was very fond of artillery practice, and during this vacation he would often turn us out with bricole and drag-rope, and, without regard to the depth of snow, hitch us to and drag an 18-pounder

to the river, and there practice ricochet-firing on the ice in the direction of Newburg. We were each instructed, and had a chance to fire, occasioning great rivalry. We became expert artillerists, and I benefited more by this practice and the knowledge obtained than at any future period. With us, the deeper the snow, the greater the fun and enjoyment. The hauling down to the river was comparatively an easy matter; but retracing our steps with snow up to the waist was the *hic labor, hoc opus est*, which tried our mettle. I remember that on one occasion the snow was too much for us; and a gun that became snowbound, on ascending the hill near the chestnuts, had to await the thaw of spring before we could get it back to the park on the Plain.

Captain Partridge was well versed in the science of artillery and in its practice, and he was for the day an accomplished tactician. He was passionately fond of field exercises, and often combined with the battalion drills dissertations on the formation of armies, and taught us how great battles had been won. In these flying lectures he was interesting and instructive, and beguiled many an hour usually given to monotonous drill. This fondness for drilling was so much a part of his nature that it was no uncommon thing to see him, musket in hand, drilling a squad.

The vacations — which absorbed the best part of the year as adapted to study, the winter — were the result of necessity rather than a boon to indulgence. The close of the War of 1812 left the treasury in an impoverished condition, and consequently every species of economy had to be practiced in the administration of the public service. The cost of fuel during the winter months was even a consideration, and one which exercised an influence in promoting vacations. The scholastic progress of the Academy was thus materially re-

tarded, and consequently much more of attention was given to practical soldiering in all of the arms of service, with the exception of cavalry and horse artillery, which cost nothing comparatively, than the scientific pursuits, which involved the expense of professors, books, and instruments. The library consisted of but few miscellaneous works, and the philosophical apparatus was limited, and only adapted to elementary instruction. . . .

The vacations of 1814–16 embraced many privileges to those who remained at the Academy. We were for the greater part good skaters, and in high practice on pond and river, and, apart from our limited official obligations, we amused ourselves in this and in other outdoor pastimes.

Buttermilk Falls was a favorite resort, and prior to the vacation we made acquaintance with the head of the house of Benny Havens, who was authorized to deal with cadets, for which purpose he made weekly visits on Saturdays to the dock with a boat freighted with shoes, pens, ink, paper, and such small necessities as we stood in need of, in the absence of any other trading establishment. Everything was on the square; assumedly no spirituous liquors were introduced; nor, indeed, was it the habit of cadets to indulge in them. When allowed to go “beyond the walls,” and the public domain was much more circumscribed than now, there was no restriction, and Havens’s was the Delmonico’s for dinners, especially on Saturdays, and for suppers of buckwheat cakes and molasses. There were other resorts for buckwheat cakes and apple-pies, — the most attractive, the house of Mrs. Kinsley, which at that time was encompassed by a wilderness of rocks, and called by cadets “Stonylonesome.” Mrs. Kinsley had a son, a cadet, who subsequently was Assistant Instructor of Tactics at the Academy in 1820, and of

Artillery in 1823. Mrs. Kinsley also rejoiced in a houseful of very pretty daughters, one of whom married a Cadet Pratt, who with his cousin, Billy Johnson, nephew to "Old Tecumseh," and Payne, came as cadets all the way from Kentucky on horseback to West Point, fetching all of their worldly goods in saddle-bags. At that time, Kentucky was an almost *terra incognita*, and the advent of these three gallant Lochinvars, who had come out from the West, was a subject quite worthy of Mr. James; and nothing could have excited more the wonder of the cadets. No one had before imagined that West Point was accessible to the "Far West" by the Simplon pass of Cro' Nest. Our geographical views became much enlarged. Payne subsequently lost his arm by the premature discharge of a 12-pounder gun on the occasion of firing a salute. A short time thereafter, this Kentucky trio resigned and went home. Billy Johnson was considered a genius in mathematics. Pratt, of this trio, had a rival in the affections of Miss Kinsley in the person of Lieut. George W. Gardiner, Post Adjutant, called by the cadets the "Little God of War" [a gallant soldier, killed by the Indians in Dade's Massacre]. Gardiner was of diminutive size, but every inch a soldier, and one that few men would have cared to encounter. Pratt, however, smarting under some supposed invasion of his pretensions to the fair lady, and regardless of consequences, proceeded to the Lieutenant's quarters to "beard the lion in his den," when Gardiner seized a pair of tongs, in the jaws of which he embraced Pratt's neck, and gave to the tongs such a twist as to render their removal no easy matter. It was thought a very funny adventure; but nothing more serious grew out of it than Pratt's marriage.

The accident to Payne calls to mind another, and which proved fatal. Cadet Vincent M. Lowe, who was held in high estimation, was killed during the year 1817

by the accidental discharge of a gun [in firing a New Year's salute]. The Cadets' Monument had its origin in his death, each cadet paying fifteen dollars.

I might add, under the head of vacations, that the classes, such as they were, were not altogether neglected. Professor Mansfield instructed some of the older and more advanced cadets in a course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and in Astronomy. In 1814-15, but little attention was paid to the general instruction of the younger cadets; they were submitted chiefly to the care of the Teacher of French, Mr. Florimond Mason, a rather distinguished-looking French gentleman of military port, and, as I remember him, in a blue coat, and white cassimere pantaloons, over which he wore long and always brightly polished boots. The instruction consisted in reading aloud for the accent, and in writing for the orthography from dictation. But an hour or two a day was given to this instruction, and it amounted to but little.

The general parade ground where all parades were held was on the Plain, in front of the present quarters of the Superintendent. There was no company parade in 1814, although I am under the impression that the guard was habitually turned off in the barrack-yard. On the beating of the call, the whole body would move promiscuously to the grand parade, and would fall in and be ranked and sized by the Cadet Adjutant, who came next to Captain Partridge in the exercise of authority. The parade formed by the Adjutant, the command would be assumed by the Officer of the Day, who also paraded, and called the roll of all classes, and reported delinquents. The evening parade was the only occasion, when the battalion was formed, that Captain Partridge did not command as a matter of course. There was no Commandant of Cadets, as Instructor of Tactics, before 1818. Captain Partridge, during the

interval from 1814 to 1817, was Commander, Professor, teaching all branches then taught, and, when need be, Chaplain. In the absence of that functionary, he always on Sundays read a sermon, after which he reviewed the doings of the past week, and gave a short discourse on things in general. "Yet it availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate," was with him a favorite and so oft-repeated text as to become a byword with cadets.

Our Chaplain from 1814 to 1817 was the Rev. Adam Empie, from North Carolina, a hale and scholarly-looking gentleman, of courteous and winning manner, of polite learning, and respectable eloquence. He, on resigning, became President of William and Mary College, Virginia, and had the misfortune to become totally blind.

During Mr. Empie's time, we had prayers at morning roll-call and on evening parade, and not unfrequently under circumstances but little calculated to inspire devotional feeling. For the purpose of prayers, the wings were thrown forward, and the parade formed into three sides of a square. "The parson," as he was familiarly called, would proceed to the centre, reverently kneel down, sometimes in the snow, and offer up a prayer, the parade meanwhile uncovered. At times, it was fearfully cold, and the prayers were but little heeded, all anxiously awaiting the final Amen!

At reveille roll-call, it would sometimes happen that the parson was caught napping, and the roll-call dismissed just as his reverend head would appear above the hill as he was coming up from his quarters to prayers. This was always considered a triumph by the cadets, and sometimes unmistakably manifested. . . .

As a disciplinarian, Captain Partridge was rigid, but somewhat given to favoritism. In appearance he was naturally austere, and in his manner discovered but

little of the *suaviter in modo*. He was shy and diffident, evidently the result of his ascetic mode of life. He lived in the most unostentatious and frugal manner, and had but few if any associates not connected with his official duties. In his habits he was strictly temperate, and was conspicuous for the moral observances of life. Captain Partridge was never known to be without uniform, and it was believed that he had none other than military clothes. His was that of the Corps of Engineers, with the embroidered collar and cuffs, and the Essayons buttons, — the coat always buttoned up; his appearance was that of a martinet, stiff and precise, undeviatingly so. When without his sword, on general occasions, he carried a small rattan, which, when in conversation, he in a nervous manner constantly applied to his leg. There was something characteristic in his appearance, which those who were familiar with him can never forget. He at times appeared in an ancient uniform coat, with rather more than the then prescribed embroidery, and with unusually wide-spread tails, known to the cadets as the "Peacock," and which was looked upon as a sort of judicial robe, which, when put on, meant execution of some kind, and which always occasioned a sharp lookout. Captain Partridge was known to the cadets by the sobriquet of "Old Pewter," — he was universally so called; and when he was seen coming from his "salt-box," as his diminutive quarters were called, on a tour of inspection to the barracks, the cry would resound, "Old Pewter's coming!" when every idler would make for his quarters, seize his books and slate, and assume the virtue of study. Sometimes he would come unobserved, and slip noiselessly into the rooms when his presence was least expected or desired, and not unfrequently in the midst of a rollicking set. To be detected in any violation of the Regulations was certain and immediate punishment, and offenders were

at once confined to the barracks or guard-house, or indulged with extra hours of guard duty. Fifteen days in the guard-house was no uncommon circumstance, with extra guard *ad libitum*. Indeed, in 1814-18, there was no limit, within the discretion of the Superintendent, to punishments as described. Courts martial were unknown, and I never knew of any one questioning the right of punishment. Confinement was so common, few escaping, and the offenses very trifling as a general thing, that it was not at all looked upon as a degradation; nor did it constitute demerit, as no class-standing had been then established. It was, however, very detrimental to a proper *esprit de corps*. The confined were regarded as prisoners, marched under guard to meals, exempt from academic instruction, — in short, in a degree subjected to the discipline of a prison.

I cannot conclude this narrative without particular reference to our good professors of the olden time, Colonel Mansfield, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and Major Ellicott, Professor of Mathematics.

Colonel Mansfield was extremely near-sighted, and of such delicate structure as to convey the idea of decrepitude. His manner was very gentle, and as a professor he was by no means rigid. In demonstrations he required the classes to use, in constructing figures on the board, the same letters used in the text-book, little suspecting that it would afford the means of refreshing memory by peeping over his shoulder and reading from the book before him, to which his attention was intently given. Colonel Mansfield was much beloved and respected by the cadets, and deemed an efficient instructor. As an astronomical observer, he was quite renowned, and had been engaged, before coming to the Academy, in extensive surveys of boundary lines.

Major Ellicott, Professor of Mathematics, was the op-

posite in figure to his philosophical compeer, and would well have personified Falstaff in person. He was very jolly, and had his jokes with the youngsters, who gave him the sobriquet of "Old Infinite Series." His instruction in mathematics was limited, and did not extend beyond Spherical Trigonometry before the coming of Professor Crozet. Major Ellicott was also a good astronomical observer, and had also been engaged in boundary surveys. He was the first postmaster at West Point. In his manner, Professor Ellicott was very precise, and neat in his figures. He always had, I think, attached to his buttonhole, a very small slate, with sponge and pencil, and his figures were of the smallest. He always required the figures on the board to be constructed with mathematical precision, with cord and ruler, and to construct a perfect geometrical figure was, with him, equal to a successful demonstration.

During the years 1814-15, there were at the Point a few soldiers of the olden time, who were privileged characters, and who were fast friends with the cadets, and more or less in their confidence. One of these, "Old Whipple," lived in a small box opposite the west wing of the Yellow Barracks, and was the authorized bootblack. Having served everywhere, he had, by some natural process of events which seem especially provident to old soldiers, brought up at West Point. And Whipple was the right man in the right place; he was the bosom friend of all the youngsters, and no one could drive so good a trade as he in purchasing a barrel of apples or of cider (neither prohibited), the bills of exchange, always at sight, being represented by superfluous old clothing. Whipple was an original, peculiar in phraseology, and abounding in mother-wit, and was, in cadet estimation, the best old fellow in the world.

Another old soldier of credit and renown, who

“served when George the Third was King,” I well remember in George Stringfellow. George was the Figaro of the Point, and his wife represented the clothes-washing department. Their respective vocations brought them in close barrack association, and that high military courtesy and deference which the long life of a soldier had conferred on George made him ever a source of amusement and interest. George was a perfect martinet, his appearance always neat and soldier-like, and his observance of military etiquette a part of his existence. To cadets individually, he always observed the respect due to his superiors, and by no possible chance could the battalion be paraded, even on occasions of marching to meals, that George would not, by wonderful instinct, be found in close proximity, standing erect in the attitude of salute until he was passed. Like old soldiers, George would at times take an extra glass, and having a slight natural lisp he was, on such occasions, particularly grand and unintelligible.

During my time at the Point, the best relations of friendship existed among the cadets. Quarreling, fighting, or reporting were of rare occurrence. I remember one duel with pistols between two cadets, growing out of a misunderstanding at the mess table. This came off before breakfast in Washington Garden, under all the rules of the code, and fortunately proved harmless. It was generally known in barracks, but probably not so to the authorities, as no notice was taken of it. On another occasion, two cadets went to Fort Clinton to settle a dispute with loaded muskets, but on arriving on the ground the bully in the case, when brought to the score, backed out. Of course there were occasional pugilistic encounters, as will necessarily happen in the best regulated families, which usually resulted in a closer friendship.

The class of 1818 assumed the name of "Specials," and as the control was with the class to which belonged the greater part of the cadet officers, they could with impunity excuse themselves from roll-calls, marching to meals, and indeed almost all of the duties not academic. "Specials" were never reported, and, although delinquents, were exempt from demerit. A classmate of mine, of the succeeding class, who had been turned back to us, was by his former class made a *Special by brevet*, and enjoyed all the immunities pertaining thereto. My class fell heir to the above privilege. The whole proceeding of class supremacy was rather arrogant, though not prohibited by the authorities, who could not have been ignorant of the assumed privileges, and perhaps after all it was not detrimental, as primogeniture is quite a natural right as exercised in all colleges.

From 1814 to 1820, cadets were much given to athletic sports, so essentially necessary to manly development in the proper blending of physical and mental training. Football and handy (shindy) were the familiar games, and the Plain the field of action, and the contests generally of the most lively and exciting interest.

Skating was also a favorite amusement both on ponds and river, and although not unfrequently attended with a cold bath, I remember no more serious result than an occasional wet jacket. Swimming, at the proper season, came in for its share, and although the Northern boys were the more expert on the ice, the Southern were more at home in the water. Indeed, both departments were admirably and at all times well represented. And it was a merry sight to witness, not yet faded from my remembrance, — the many youthful and agile figures gliding, with a grace unappreciated by themselves, over the polished surface of the ice, or boldly

plunging into the deep waters of the Hudson, and manfully stemming its propulsive current. I remember a cadet from North Carolina, who would have regarded a swim from "Sestos to Abydos" as child's play. He swam with all the assurance of a South Sea Islander, and I have known him to remain in the water off Gee's Point and beyond his depth for fully an hour. His persistency in staying in the water was more or less a source of anxiety to the swimming party, and authority had to be frequently exercised to bring him to *terra firma*.

In chronicling the amusements and pastimes of my youthful days, I must not omit the occasional ascents of Cro' Nest, and fishing excursions to the lakes so enchantingly nestled on the summit of the West Point range of hills, and so abounding with the finny tribe. And having thus revisited this pinnacle, from which, in the retrospect, such an extensive *coup d'œil* is brought to light of early recollections and early times, it becomes me to bring to a close this *currente calamo* narrative of my happy West Point days, —

"When the young blood ran current in my veins,
And boyhood made me sanguine."

CHAPTER III.

PERIOD FROM JULY 28, 1817, TO JULY 1, 1833.

BVT. COLONEL SYLVANUS THAYER, SUPERINTENDENT.

THE ASSOCIATION OF GRADUATES OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY, with deep feelings of gratitude to the great Superintendent of the Institution from 1817 to 1833, erected a statue to his memory at the southwest angle of the Plain of West Point, which was unveiled on the Fiftieth Anniversary of his retiring from the charge of the Academy of which he has been so justly called "The Father."

The Address, delivered by me on that occasion, gives the essential facts connected with the administration of General Thayer. It is, therefore, here appended as a part of the EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL CULLUM AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF GENERAL THAYER, AT WEST POINT, N. Y., JUNE 11, 1883.

Ladies and Gentlemen, and Fellow-Graduates of the Military Academy: —

This year completes the FIRST CENTURY of our national existence. On the 11th of April, 1783, Congress issued its Proclamation for the cessation of hostilities with the mother country, after eight years of severe struggle and bloody battle.

On that day, the Commander-in-Chief, whose headquarters were then at Newburg, was called upon by Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Chairman of the Commit-

tee for Peace Arrangements, to state his views upon a military peace establishment. Though oppressed with weighty cares, and deeply distressed by recent efforts to tempt his own patriotism and to excite mutiny in his starving army, Washington immediately (April 14, 1783) called upon his general officers for their opinions, to enable him to prepare his response, which he soon submitted to Congress in a voluminous and masterly report. One of the prominent features of this able document was to urge the importance of military education, for all knew how much our cause had suffered from the lack of discipline and instruction; how dependent we had been upon foreign soldiers of fortune; and how ignorance had often usurped high commands.

That West Point, in full view of Newburg, where the Continental Army was encamped, should be the chosen location of Washington and many of his officers for a Military School was obvious; for here was the stage upon which had been played the first acts of the nearly consummated tragedy of the Revolution; and this was the key of the magnificent Hudson, the strategic line of operations from the Atlantic to the Canadas, whose loss would have sundered in twain the power of the United Colonies. If further proof were needed, it is to be found in the fact that General Huntington, the trusted friend of Washington, by return of mail (April 16, 1783), answered from West Point his circular, saying that here was the post for the location of "an Academy for instruction in all branches of the military art." Shortly after (April 22, 1783), Colonel Timothy Pickering, Quartermaster-General of the Army, wrote that "it might be expedient to establish a Military School or Academy at West Point." Steuben and other officers advocated the creation of one or more Military Academies at the principal posts of the United States. The most important post at this time was West

Point, where, soon after, were deposited our surplus ordnance and military stores.

From the termination of the Revolution, Washington was the earnest advocate of a Military Academy. In his speech to Congress, Dec. 3, 1793, he asks whether, in the Act more effectually to provide for the national defense, "a material feature in our improvement of it ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone." Upon this recommendation, Congress, in 1794, created the subaltern grade of Cadet, the cadets to be attached to their regiments, and "furnished at the public expense with the necessary books, instruments, and apparatus" for their instruction. This plan of educating young officers at their posts was found impracticable; hence Washington, in his last annual Message, Dec. 7, 1796, again urged, in the most cogent language, the establishment of a Military Academy, where a regular course of instruction in the science of war could be given. "Whatever argument," says he, "may be drawn from particular examples superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government." After leaving the executive chair, he writes, Dec. 13, 1798, to the Secretary of War, upon the importance of having good engineers and artillerists, and the impossibility of forming them suddenly where "much previous study and experience are essential."¹ Again, May 13,

¹ Marshal Vauban, the great engineer of Louis XIV., said a century before (1693): "When I examine myself, I find myself not more than half an engineer, *after forty years of very hard study, and of the largest experience any one ever had.*"

1799, he writes to him earnestly upon the same subject, and, just before the opening of the next Congress, Hamilton reiterates like sentiments. "No sound mind," says the latter, "can doubt the essentiality of military science in time of war, any more than the moral certainty that the most pacific policy on the part of a government will not preserve it from being engaged in war more or less frequently. To avoid great evils, it must either have a respectable force prepared for service, or the means of preparing such a force with expedition. The latter, most agreeable to the genius of our Government and nation, is the object of a Military Academy." A copy of this letter was forwarded to Washington, who replies, Dec. 12, 1799, only two days before his death, saying: "I have duly received your letter on the subject of a Military Academy. The establishment of an institution of this kind, upon a respectable and extensive basis, has ever been considered by me as an object of primary importance to this country; and while I was in the chair of Government, I omitted no proper opportunity of recommending it, in my public speeches and other ways, to the attention of the Legislature. . . . I sincerely hope that the subject will meet with due attention, and that the reasons for its establishment, which you have so clearly pointed out in your letter to the Secretary, will prevail upon the Legislature to place it upon a permanent and respectable footing."

This last legacy of the Father of his Country, and the earnest efforts of the patriot soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution, finally effected the cheapest and safest mode of developing and perpetuating military knowledge by the establishment, March 16, 1802, of this Military Academy at West Point, then a school for ten cadets of Engineers and forty of Artillery, and now a world-renowned institution, educating three hundred

and forty-four pupils for all branches of service in the Army.

Notwithstanding the claims of Washington and the wise men of 1783 to the paternity of the Military Academy at West Point, we are gravely informed by a writer in the April, 1883, number of the "Magazine of American History," with startling headlines, that General Henry Burbeck was the "Founder of the United States Military Academy"! Over fourscore years have elapsed since this crowning glory of the Commandant of Artillery purports to have been achieved, of which no mention is made in the carefully collated state papers, such early records of the Military Academy as are still extant, or in the writings of so many diligent searchers into the history of West Point. "No printed document," truly says the author of the article, "is to be found which, *in the remotest degree*, associates Burbeck's name with the inception or establishment" of this institution. The wonderful story has had a Rip Van Winkle sleep of over fourscore years till "the appearance of this sketch" in the "Magazine of American History"! No one will dispute the writer's originality of discovery, not even the shade of "the gallant and modest Burbeck." While in flesh, the kind old General was my near neighbor at New London, Conn., for the ten years preceding his death. I saw him almost daily, and frequently discussed with him the past of the old Army, but never once did *his modesty* permit the slightest allusion to his being the great "Founder of the Military Academy," though he was never silent upon his claims to other devices. The first intimation of the astounding fact now comes to us from this article, of which certainly the well-informed contemporaries of Burbeck in the old Army were ignorant, or the secret of their prison-house must have leaked out in some word or writing which would have informed the public.

When Jefferson, an enlightened statesman and patron of learning, became the President of the United States, March 4, 1801, he recognized the failure of the attempts to educate young officers at their posts, and the necessity of improving their military training by bringing them together for instruction, as had often been proposed by Washington and others. "Accordingly," says Joseph G. Swift, then a cadet of Artillerists and Engineers, in his diary, "during the summer of 1801, General Dearborn, the Secretary of War, gave notice to our little Army that President Jefferson had directed the establishment of a Military School at West Point for the instruction of cadets, under the law of 1794 and subsequent Acts of Congress."¹ Burbeck, then at the head of a military department, was, of course, the official channel through which these instructions of his superiors were communicated to the regimental cadets, included in his command, to assemble at West Point; but that would no more entitle Burbeck to the claim of being the "Founder of the Military Academy" than the Adjutant-General, through whom come all army orders, would be entitled to be considered the projector of every army operation directed by the Secretary of War and General-in-Chief.

"On the 1st of October," says Swift, then at Fort Wolcott, R. I., "I received a letter from General Dearborn directing me to repair to this school," and "October 15, 1801, I reported myself to the Commandant (of the post of West Point), Lieutenant Osborne, and to Professor Barron" (the head of the Military School), at which time there were present "*twelve cadets*,"² whose mornings were chiefly taken up in lis-

¹ Under these laws, no cadet was appointed till May 12, 1800, and not to exceed *nine* were appointed prior to the creation, March 16, 1802, of the present Military Academy. Neither was any teacher appointed except George Barron, Jan. 6, 1801.

² The official record makes the number to be *nine*. Probably Swift

tening to a lecture on elementary mathematics by Barron, and "the afternoons of the day were variously occupied in some brief military exercise, but much more in field sports." Such was this so-called Military School, with one "teacher," nine cadets, and three young lieutenants; and such was the valuable knowledge imparted to its pupils! Yet the "Magazine" writer gravely informs us that "on Sep. 1, 1801, Lieut.-Colonel Tousard¹ having arranged *the classes, the course of instruction* was regularly begun;" but unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, all this brave show of "classes" and "instruction" came to nought in a few brief weeks, for in November, Barron was arrested upon a serious charge (which resulted in his dismissal from service), and thereupon the School was suspended till Major Jonathan Williams took command, Dec. 15, 1801. This admirable selection for the Superintendency was not made by Burbeck, but by the President himself, who became acquainted, through Benjamin Franklin, with Williams, in 1784, at Paris; and ever after, Jefferson so highly appreciated his character and talents that, April 1, 1802, he appointed him Chief Engineer, and *ex-officio* Superintendent of this institution.

It was truly fortunate for the Military Academy that its first Superintendent was such a man as Major Jonathan Williams, with the experience of fifty-two years of an eventful life; with the patriot instincts of his Revolutionary sire, and grand-uncle Benjamin Franklin; with a mind liberally educated, and stored with much scientific and general information; with the pen of a ready writer which had done good service in our struggle for independence; with a judgment matured by a mercan-

included three *students*, — Lieutenants Wilson, Howard, and Macomb, then on duty at West Point.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Tousard was the Inspector of Artillery in 1801, but at no time an officer of the Military School at West Point.

tile intercourse abroad and high social position at home ; with great decision of character, and untiring zeal in the public service ; and, withal, a most kind and polished gentleman and a brave and chivalric soldier. To such pledges for success in his important command, he added industry, exactness, patience, and benevolence ; hence, under his eminent example, the Academy quickly received tone and character, steadily advanced in discipline and usefulness, and brought forth golden fruit in its distinguished graduates, who did brilliant service in our War of 1812-15 with Great Britain, which began in gloom and disaster, and closed in a blaze of victory. Of the graduates of the Military Academy serving in the field in this contest, one sixth laid down their lives, one fourth were mortally or severely wounded, and one fifth of those who survived received one or two brevets each for their distinguished gallantry in that war.

Unfortunately for the Military Academy, Dr. William Eustis, who had been a hospital surgeon in the Continental Army, was appointed, March 7, 1809, a member of President Madison's Cabinet. He began his administration of the War Department by an effort to disperse the few cadets at the institution, degrade them to common laborers, and deprive them of all educational advantages. By midsummer of 1810, he, by his failure to make new appointments, and by his constant detail of cadets for clerks and for subordinate company duties, had left so few at West Point that the Military Academy, except in name, had virtually *ceased to exist* ; and discipline was so palsied by his constant intermeddling that only by the most summary measures could Williams preserve even its semblance.

Though Eustis had resigned, and did not vacate his office till his successor was appointed, Jan. 13, 1813, others more enlightened, including the President, foresaw the approaching storm of war. Madison, accord-

ingly, in an able state paper communicated to Congress Dec. 5, 1810, sets forth the usefulness and necessity of a properly organized Military Academy to teach the art of war with little expense to the nation, and without danger to the liberties of the people.

Finally, April 29, 1812, Congress passed a law greatly augmenting the Military Academy; but, Eustis being still Secretary of War, nothing was done to carry out its ample provisions. Instead of enlarging the supply of educated talent to direct the impending struggle, Eustis sought to repeat the fable of trying to destroy the infant Hercules in the cradle.

Not till after the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain had a cadet, under the new law, been sent to the Military Academy. Cadet Charles S. Merchant, who recently died after two thirds of a century's continuous service, reported for duty, Sept. 30, 1812, at West Point, to Capt. Alden Partridge, the only officer present. The Acting Superintendent and the newly arrived "plebe" then constituted the whole of the magnificent Military Academy, which, under the existing law of April 29, 1812, was to consist of two hundred and sixty cadets, one Professor of Engineering, one of Natural Philosophy, and one of Mathematics (each with an Assistant Professor), one Teacher of French and another of Drawing. With such an ample academic staff on paper, and with *one* cadet in actual possession, we cannot wonder that Captain Partridge, as Acting Superintendent, should have admitted Merchant as a full-fledged cadet, to constitute the entire corps with its four classes, without undergoing any examination into his physical and mental qualifications, or his capacity, as required by law, to be at once "trained and taught all the duties of a private, non-commissioned officer, and officer, and be encamped three months of each year." By Dec. 15, 1812, while the Acting Superin-

tendent, who was an admirable drill-master, was putting Merchant through his facings and teaching him the "goose-step," five other cadets (George W. Gardiner, Nathaniel G. Dana, John S. Allanson, John Munroe, and Isaac A. Adams) dropped in at West Point, the entire six forming the "School of the Company." By this time the Hudson Highlands were covered with snow, and the winter vacation began, for in those days the winters at West Point were considered too severe for the germination of mathematical ideas; hence these ardent aspirants for military glory were furloughed till April 15, 1813, when the Military Academy, with scarce a score of cadets, resumed its existence under the more favorable auspices of the new Secretary of War, the veteran Gen. John Armstrong.

At this time, Gen. Joseph G. Swift had become the Chief Engineer of our Army, and *ex-officio* Superintendent of the Military Academy; but, the necessities of the existing war requiring his presence in the field, the temporary command of West Point continued under the senior officer present, Capt. Alden Partridge, who proved entirely unequal to the high duties intrusted to him. But during a period of hostilities, and the derangements consequent thereon, the sovereign remedy for existing evils could not at once be applied,—the selection of a suitable Superintendent, competent to lay a broad foundation of scientific instruction, and to direct the administration of the Military Academy in a way to fulfill its high destiny.

Captain Partridge, after a few years' trial, having been found wanting, attention was naturally fixed upon some of our most prominent Engineer officers to take his place. None at that time enjoyed higher reputations for adaptability, as soldiers and scholars, to the important command of the Military Academy, than Colonel McRee and Major Thayer, both of whom were

in Europe, ostensibly to examine the French and Netherland fortifications and purchase books to form a library at West Point, though it was doubtless designed that in going abroad they, by the study of the military schools and establishments in Northern Europe, should fit themselves, one or the other, to become the future Superintendent of the Military Academy. The choice fortunately fell upon Major Thayer, who was ordered to return to the United States by May 1, 1817, to take command at West Point, necessity, in the opinion of the President, justifying a departure from the letter of the organic law of 1802, which required the "Principal Engineer, and in his absence the next in rank, to be the Superintendent of the Military Academy."

Captain and Brevet Major Sylvanus Thayer was not thirty-two years of age when he assumed, July 28, 1817, his responsible trust. When a youth of nine years, he became the arbiter of his own fortune, battling with poverty and adversity under which a less resolute boy would have succumbed. Subsequently, sustaining himself by school-teaching, and buoyed up by his innate energy, he found time to master the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages, and the elements of mathematics, thus enabling him, in September, 1803, to creditably enter Dartmouth College, N. H., where his untiring energy and vigorous intellect soon made their mark, though such men as George Ticknor, the distinguished author, and Joseph Bell, the eminent lawyer, were his class competitors. In his sophomore year he had the second honor, the Greek oration, and in his senior the valedictory was assigned to him; but, having been appointed a cadet, he was compelled to leave college for West Point before Commencement Day. At the Military Academy, he was the most brilliant boy in his class, and in less than a year was graduated, Feb. 23, 1808. From that date till called to the field in 1812, he was

actively employed on engineer service ; in giving mathematical instruction at West Point, where he was also the Adjutant of the Academy ; and upon ordnance duty, there being then scarcely an officer in our Army who knew how to make even a musket cartridge. During the War of 1812-15, he was the Chief Engineer of various forces in the field, and for his "distinguished and meritorious services" was brevetted a major.

Upon the termination of hostilities, he and Colonel McRee were selected to accompany Commodore Decatur's expedition to chastise the Algerine pirates who had been preying upon our commerce in the Mediterranean ; but their destination was suddenly changed from Africa to Europe, from which Thayer, as we have before stated, had returned, with his mind richly stored with useful knowledge, to enter upon his new career.

Major Thayer, upon graduating at West Point, had left his Alma Mater under the wise and efficient supervision of Colonel Williams, and upon his return, after the lapse of only nine years, he found the Military Academy in a chaotic condition, without system or regularity in its administration, or harmony among its professors, most of whom were absent or in arrest. The number of cadets belonging to the institution was much below the legal allowance, and these had been admitted at all ages from twelve to thirty-four ; some were maimed and others married, and many were totally disqualified for the profession of arms. Preliminary mental and physical examinations had been dispensed with ; no classification by merit existed ; and graduation from the institution depended more upon vacancies in the Army, age and growth of cadets, and fancied fitness to become officers, than upon any rigid test of attainments. Some, despite the law of 1812, requiring that they should go "through all the classes," became full-fledged officers

in four months, and others again not till they had been pupils for nearly six years.

True, the wise regulations of the Academy, approved July 2, 1816, by Secretary Crawford, prescribed a regular course of four years' instruction; but these salutary requirements appear to have been practically ignored, and it could not be otherwise, as, between winter vacations and summer encampments, little or no time was left for study. The veteran Mansfield patiently taught Natural Philosophy from "Enfield;" the still older Ellicott rarely transcended the elementary Mathematics of Hutton's first volume; Crozet had hardly commenced the introduction of Descriptive Geometry and Engineering, as brought by him from the Polytechnic School of France, where he had been educated; Zoeller gave some instruction in the use of steel pen and brush in Drawing, and the employment of surveying instruments in the field; Berard taught only "Duffiel's Course of French;" the Chaplain gave no instruction in Geography, History, and Ethics; Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology were untaught; Pierre Thomas practiced a little Sword Exercise; and the Commanding Officer gave an occasional lecture on Military History, drilled the cadets as infantry, and confined the artillery instruction to the manual of the piece and some target practice with twelve and eighteen pounders. Up to 1817, nothing was positive in discipline, instruction, or administration, all being conducted by a militia rule rather than upon any fixed military system. As courts martial for the trial of cadets had no existence, they had no dread of punishment beyond the arbitrary awards of the Commandant, and deficiency, or being turned back for neglect of studies, had never occurred; the professors, mostly old men, had little ambition, and were in a state of chronic feud with their superior; and the control of cadets' supplies and the care of public

property was mainly in the hands of the relations and protégés of the Acting Superintendent, who gave to them most of the patronage of the Academy.

“Old Pewter,” as Partridge was familiarly called by the cadets, who entertained for him a kind regard, though not a profound respect, was temperate, industrious, exacting, energetic, in his plodding way doing the best he could; but living the ascetic life of a recluse, and knowing little of the world beyond West Point, he continually moved, clad in his antiquated uniform, in the same unvarying treadmill of routine. Like Bottom in the play, he was ready to perform all parts, whether of exercising command, filling a professor’s chair, supplying the pulpit, drilling a squad or battalion, lecturing on grand tactics or moral philosophy, inspecting mess kitchens or barracks, wrangling with bombardier soldiers, or descending to play police spy upon cadets. He seemed to ignore all division of labor; and, zealous to supervise every detail, completely lost sight of the enlarged functions of his high office. That he was incapable of directing a great institution of learning was not only then evident, but was subsequently proved by the entire failure of his many private military schools. Worse than all, some years after leaving the Army, in a vituperative document addressed to Congress, the President, and the country, under the signature of Americus, he malignantly aspersed the motives and characters of honorable men, and raised his hand to destroy, if possible, the institution from which he had been graduated, and over which he had had the distinguished honor of presiding.

The officer relieved, and his successor in command of the Military Academy, were the very antipodes of each other, and both stamped the institution with their respective characters. Partridge was ungainly in person and uncouth in manner, Thayer of heroic mould and of

stately dignity ; the one a martinet drill-master and contracted pedant, the other a scientific soldier and erudite scholar ; the former partial and severe by turns, the latter uniform and just in discipline ; the one controlling by temporary expedients, the other administering authority with enlightened wisdom ; the former everywhere present and general factotum, the latter an unseen governor steadily regulating a complex machine ; and while the one with restless activity accomplished little, the other, buried in his study, worked out with cool composure the great problem of military education.

The change from darkness to sunlight at West Point was magical. The Academy, which had nodded through several years of comparative stagnation, was suddenly metamorphosed from a drowsy school of supine students to the precocious nonage of a great seminary of science and military art. The wand of the new Carnot waved over all, educing strength and symmetry from atony and chaos. With heart, soul, and resolution, giving himself no rest, and utilizing all within his control, he boldly and undismayed entered upon his Augean labors of educational reformation. With good habits and vigorous health, he was able to endure excessive exertion ; an ardent nature intensified his zeal in the performance of duty ; system and study taught him what to do, and how to do it ; his iron will overcame all opposition, and brooked nothing not tributary to his success ; and a vaulting ambition overleaped all impediments in the path to his purpose, which was to create a military educational institution worthy of a great people, and unsurpassed in the nations of the Old World.

Major Thayer, upon assuming the Superintendency, found himself virtually without a command, the cadets of the Military Academy being mysteriously dispersed to all parts of the country on furloughs. As no record

of their abodes was to be found at West Point, resort was had to the newspapers to advertise for their return, which was very irregular. Some never came back, and hence, by order of the President, were dismissed on the first of the following March.

Hardly had Major Thayer secured a nucleus of his command, and become deeply absorbed in meditating the initiatory steps to begin his administration systematically, when a new interruption confronted him. Captain Partridge, on the 29th day of August, contrary to the meaning and intent of the orders he had received, returned to West Point, and on the next day, because he was not put in possession of certain quarters which he coveted (called the "salt box" by the cadets), assumed command of the Military Academy. "This unauthorized act," says the Chief Engineer in his official communication, "together with the unmilitary and disorderly manner in which it has been effected, has the Brigadier-General's strongest censure." In consequence of this unwarranted proceeding, Captain Partridge was immediately arrested, and ordered to leave West Point without delay. Major Thayer resumed the Superintendency Sep. 5, 1817, when the Academy began that successful ascent which, in the succeeding sixteen years, culminated in such notable perfection of the institution.

Subsequently, Oct. 20, 1817, Captain Partridge was arraigned before a court martial, Major-General Winfield Scott being the president, and was sentenced to be *cashiered*, but, in consideration of the Captain's "zeal and perseverance in the discharge of his professional duties," he was recommended to the President's clemency, who remitted the sentence, as advised by the Chief Engineer, "provided Captain Partridge would resign," which he did, April 15, 1818.

As before stated, the regulations of the Military

Academy of July 2, 1816, seem never to have been operative. The great work of purification did not practically begin till the return of Major Thayer to command. His military experience in the field, his foreign travel and associations, his familiarity with the polite usages of society, his dignified bearing and refined mode of life, and, above all, his scientific acquirements, enlarged professional reading, and familiarity with the French and dead languages, gave him immense vantage-ground for success. Almost by intuition, he discovered the virulent ulcers destroying the vital parts of the Academy, and such as he could not cauterize into healing action, like a bold surgeon, he promptly extirpated. Examinations were at once held, the incompetent and vicious dismissed, and the indolent, who had lingered for many years without progress, quickly discovered that a like fate awaited a continuance of their dereliction. He promptly organized the cadets into a battalion of two companies, officered by members of their own body, with a colonel at its head and an adjutant and sergeant-major for his staff; appointed an officer of the Army as "Commandant of Cadets," responsible for their tactical instruction and soldierly discipline; transacted business with members of his command only at stated office hours; classified all cadets according to their proficiency in studies; divided classes into small sections for more thorough instruction by the teachers in charge; required weekly class reports showing the daily progress of students according to a scale of marks; directed more thorough recitations, and a freer use of the blackboard; greatly improved the curriculum of studies, according to a well-digested programme; organized a proper Academic Board, with the Superintendent at its head; introduced the check-book system, to curtail the prevailing extravagance of cadets, then deeply in debt; reduced the expenses of educating pupils to

less than one half the cost at the Woolwich Military Academy in England ; had the Officer of the Day daily to dine with him, enabling himself thereby to learn all that was transpiring in camp or barracks ; required cadets to obtain a permit from him for almost everything, even to a letter from the post-office, thus maintaining such constant intercourse as enabled him to call all by name, and understand their characters and habits ; and made many other salutary provisions to secure thorough discipline, a high standard of honor, complete physical and mental development, and a generous rivalry for conspicuous soldiership and eminent class rank. The more thoroughly to guarantee the latter, the Secretary of War directed, Feb. 14, 1818, the publishing in the Army Register of the names of the five cadets of each class most distinguished for attainments and meritorious conduct. Soon after, April 14, 1818, the Professorship of Geography, History, and Ethics was established, thus adding new and important elements in the education of cadets.

These successive advances, which so marvelously elevated the tone and character of the Military Academy in less than a year, are best exemplified by the first regulations under Major Thayer's Superintendency, approved July 23, 1818, by that enlightened Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun. These regulations provided for a January and a June examination in each year ; required new cadets to report at West Point before the 25th of June, and prohibited examinations for admissions after September 1st, unless candidates were prevented by sickness from reporting sooner ; established an annual encampment in July and August in lieu of vacations, which were abolished ; granted furloughs for two months after the June examination, provided that not more than one fourth of the Corps of Cadets were absent at one time ; allowed only those to be graduated

who had gone through the exercises of two entire encampments; stopped the pay of all failing to return at the expiration of their furloughs, and dismissed them from the service; made a diploma the evidence of having completed the full course of studies; attached to the Army Register the names of the five most distinguished of each class reported at the preceding June examination; secured promotion to the grade of commissioned officer according to "general merit," as established upon graduation; admitted aptitude for the several arms of service to be considered, provided it did not interfere with the order of class rank; declared a cadet suspended for any cause from the Academy ineligible to a commission in the Army till his entire class had been promoted; and, finally, forbade that any deficient or dismissed cadet should be appointed "to any office or post in the Army of the United States until at least five years after the promotion of the class to which he had belonged."

The day after the adoption of these salutary safeguards for the discipline, instruction, honor, and rights of the military service, the first class in the order of scholarly attainments and meritorious conduct was graduated from the Academy. Prominent in this class of 1818 were Richard Delafield, for twelve years the Superintendent of this institution; Andrew Talcott, an eminent scientist, who passed away at the advanced age of eighty-seven; Horace Webster, late President of the College of New York; Samuel Ringgold, Harvey Brown, and Samuel Mackenzie, excellent officers of artillery, the former killed at the battle of Palo Alto in the Mexican War; John J. Jackson, of Virginia, who dared to be loyal to the flag under which he was educated, even at the expense of expulsion from the Secession Convention of his native State; Hartman Bache, the high-toned soldier and veteran engineer;

and other gallant officers and worthy gentlemen whose names are well known in Army annals.

With each revolving year of Colonel Thayer's Superintendency, class after class was graduated, adding to our Army 570 officers, of whom the nation may be justly proud, for in that galaxy are many bright particular stars which have given lustre to our arms, illuminated the paths of science, brightened halls of learning, and adorned various vocations of usefulness.

In this brief address, it would be impossible to record each prominent event in Thayer's management, and to descant upon the multiform meliorations introduced by him during the sixteen years of his masterly administration, wherein he built up the Military Academy from an elementary school to a model seminary of science and soldiery, worthy of a great people. In these sixteen years, mathematics, from Hutton's Elements, had advanced to a complete course of algebra, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, descriptive geometry (including shades, shadows, and perspective), surveying and the use of instruments in the field, analytical geometry, and differential and integral calculus; from a little smattering of French, taught to a few in 1817, some in 1833 became sufficiently proficient to speak the language, most to read it fluently, and all to translate readily scientific text-books and professional works; drawing, confined mostly to copying a few traces of fortifications and a slight use of the brush, had progressed to the delineation of the human figure, pen and pencil landscapes, and topography in all styles of representation; natural and experimental philosophy, from what is to be found in Enfield, had grown to an extended course in physics, dynamics, hydrostatics, hydrodynamics, magnetism, electro-magnetism, optics, and astronomy, embracing their principles, phenomena, and use of the various instruments; chemistry, miner-

alogy, and geology, in all their branches, had been introduced in 1820; artillery, from a few elements given in a small treatise, with a little target practice and the manual of the piece, had expanded to the theory and practice of gunnery, the fabrication of pyrotechnics required for all the purposes of war, and the manœuvres of pieces and foot batteries; grammar, rhetoric, geography, history, moral philosophy, and constitutional and international law had been added in 1818 to the duties of the Chaplain; engineering, just beginning to be taught as in the Polytechnic School of France, had been enlarged to the broad basis upon which it was built subsequently, the admirable course of field and permanent fortifications, the science of war, architecture, stereotomy, and civil engineering in all of its branches; infantry tactics, confined chiefly to elementary drills in 1817, comprised in 1833 the theory and practice of all movements, from the school of the soldier to evolutions of the line, including the exercises of light infantry and riflemen; military police in camp and barracks was carried out to the full extent required by Army regulations; numerous summer marches had been made, extending even as far as Boston, but were abolished after 1822, that hospitable city having proved a Capua to the cadet Hannibals; ¹ the hours for study, recitation, exercises, recrea-

¹ That the Academy suffered little by this relaxation is evidenced by the strong commendation of President Monroe in his annual Message of this year. He says: "Good order is preserved in it, and the young men are well instructed in every science connected with the great objects of the institution. They are well trained and disciplined in the practical parts of the profession. It has always been found difficult to control the ardor inseparable from that early age in such a manner as to give it a proper direction. The great object to be accomplished is the restraint of that ardor by such wise regulation and government as will keep it within a just subordination, and at the same time elevate it to the highest purposes. This object seems to be essentially obtained in this institution, and with great advantage to the nation. The Military Academy forms the basis, in regard to science, on which the military establishment rests. It furnishes annually, after due examination, and on the report of the

tion, and sleep had been judiciously adjusted to produce the maximum instruction and minimum injury to health ; rigorous and just discipline and healthy moral tone had been firmly established ; cheerful obedience to orders and harmony and good will prevailed ; the power of courts martial to try cadets had been affirmed in 1819 by the Attorney-General and President ; all degrading punishments had been abolished, and those of a strictly military type substituted ; the dissipated, idle, vicious, and incompetent were eliminated from the institution ; effete professors had been replaced by the brightest instructors who had been graduated at the Academy ; a new hospital had been erected for the accommodation of the sick, and malingery was checked ; the library, from a few miscellaneous volumes, had grown to embrace a large and valuable collection of scientific, military, and standard works ; models, instruments, and apparatus had been supplied for instruction in the various departments ; a Board of Visitors annually attended the June examination, and reported upon the condition of the Academy ; cadet appointments were distributed according to population ; the hotel had been erected for the accommodation of official visitors and relatives of cadets, but not to subserve the purposes of a fashionable watering-place ; many buildings for the accommodation of officers and for the other uses of the Academy had been built ; adjacent land had been purchased to enlarge the post, and remove the " Gridley Tavern " nuisance ; a military band of great excellence had been created, led by Willis's famous Kent bugle ; shade trees

academic staff, many well-informed youths to fill the vacancies which occur in the several corps in the Army ; while others, who retire to private life, carry with them such attainments as, under the right reserved to the several States to appoint the officers and to train the militia, will enable them, by affording a wider field for selection, to promote the great object of the power vested in Congress of providing for the organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia."

had been planted, and many embellishments made to the grounds of West Point; and above all, there had been inculcated sentiments of high honor, strict integrity, ardent patriotism, obedience to command, fidelity to duty, laudable ambition, professional pride, refined courtesy, kindness to juniors, reverence for seniors, and the various accessories which make up the true gentleman and chivalric soldier.

Colonel Thayer, in the sixteen years of his successful administration, had gathered around him an able body of skilled officers, who materially aided him in his herculean task, — Professors Douglass, Davies, and Courtenay, who had developed the analytical sciences, the true groundwork of military education; Torrey, Hopkins, and Mather, who had made the course of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; Crozet and Mahan, who had skillfully applied all these branches to military and civil engineering and the science of war; McIlvaine and Warner, who had given their culture and eminent abilities to the teaching of ethics and law; the haughty Worth and the scholarly Hitchcock, who had impressed discipline and tone in their daily control of cadets; an able body of assistant professors, selected from the fittest of their classes, who efficiently aided their chiefs; and the soldierly members of his military staff, who had essentially lessened his burden of endless details. But the directing mind was the great Superintendent himself, a ripe scholar, acquainted with every science taught, passionately fond of military literature, and singularly gifted for his elevated command. To the discharge of his important functions he brought eminent personal qualifications, uniting decision with courtesy, authority with kindness, knowledge with consideration for ignorance, strict discipline with paternal admonition, unfaltering integrity to unflinching firmness, fidelity to his trust, and loyalty to his country, and with a restless

energy and an untiring industry that never left anything unfinished or to chance. With such qualities and accomplishments, it is not surprising that the Academy, which he found weak, imperfectly organized, low in prerequisites, and inferior in its course of training, should be raised, by his knowledge of its wants and devotion to its interests, to be the paragon of educational institutions in this country, and, judged by its fruits, not surpassed in the nations of the Old World.

Colonel Thayer fortunately had entered upon his command almost simultaneously with Secretary Calhoun's succession to the War Department. Both were in the prime of vigorous manhood, and possessed many of the same strong salient points of mind and character, — decision, firmness, analytical power, organizing capacity, knowledge of agents, skill to control, high aspirations, purity of purpose, stainless honor, enlarged views, and towering ambition. They soon became fast friends, and entertained mutual respect for each other's character and motives. Under these fortuitous circumstances, Thayer, for the first eight critical years of his superintendency, had Calhoun's unswerving support, and unbounded confidence in his appointed mission of leading the Academy from a dreary wilderness into a land of promise. For the four succeeding years, during President John Quincy Adams's administration, the same trust was reposed by Secretaries Barbour and Porter in Colonel Thayer's good government.

Commendations, official and unofficial, of Thayer's superintendence, came from all quarters. Daniel Webster, in a private letter, says: "I congratulate you on the continued success and growing respectability of the institution under your care, and the universal sentiment, so favorable to your character and merits, in regard to the manner in which you conduct the seminary." President Jackson's Attorney-General, B. F. Butler, in a

public address, affirms that "it was during the superintendence of that exact disciplinarian, whose praise is on every military lip, that the Academy emerged from comparative obscurity, and took, in its appropriate sciences, the first place among our public institutions." General Scott, as early as 1826, strongly recommended Thayer to be brevetted a Colonel, "for the highest development and effect" given to the Military Academy, to which "for more than eight years he had devoted his great attainments, and the most unwearied zeal and application to its duties. It is believed that he has at length given to the School an excellence equal to the most celebrated in the world." Many other commendations, equally flattering, could be added, but these will suffice.¹

Thayer, at the end of President Adams's administration, expresses, in a letter to General Swift, a desire to leave West Point, because "of a sense of filial duty to an aged mother," and to be placed at another post nearer to her; but, he adds, "an officer has not the privilege of selecting the service which he will perform." Though strongly impressed with this military sentiment, it is not impossible that his clear vision saw the shadows of coming events.

For twelve years Colonel Thayer had held a sway at West Point which had never been disputed, even by the Executive, when, in 1829, General Andrew Jackson, a man of iron, became President of the United States, and John H. Eaton, a man of putty in the hands of his moulder, his Secretary of War. Though the existing relations between Jackson and Thayer were amicable, it was inevitable that there would soon be a collision between these two positive men respecting the control

¹ In 1853, the surviving graduates of the first class which entered the Military Academy under Thayer's administration presented to the Colonel a beautiful sword, with appropriate inscriptions. By his will he bequeathed it to his nephew, Colonel Moulton, of St. Louis, Mo.

of the Military Academy. Thayer, while knowing his duties as a subordinate, knew also his right to the cordial support of the higher powers in carrying out his legitimate measures. Hence he pursued the even tenor of his way, though not unmindful of what Jefferson said when Monroe had proposed to appoint Jackson Minister to Russia: "Why, good God! he would breed you a quarrel before he had been there a month."

A month, however, passed after the President's inauguration, and the sky was all serene; but soon a little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, began to gather at Washington. As usual, cadets were tried by courts martial at West Point, and their sentences of dismissal sanctioned by the Secretary of War; but, after the lapse of a few short weeks, they would return with an order that they were reinstated by the President. Cadets discharged for deficiency in their studies were also restored. Thayer bore these blows at the vital discipline of the Academy as patiently as possible, but when they were again and again repeated, it may well be imagined that the equanimity of the imperious Colonel was not a little disturbed, though smothered from a high sense of subordination. The antagonistic attitude of the President soon ripened into actual hostility, much through the influence of an official personage who was an intimate visitor at the White House. For a very grave offense, he had, years before, been dismissed from the Military Academy when about graduating high in his class. Being a man of ability and resolution, and determined to have his revenge, he left no stone unturned to prejudice the President against the supposed author of his woes; and, alas for the weakness of poor human nature! others were at hand who, to avenge fancied wrongs, turned against their old commander.

Governor Lewis Cass, in 1831, became Secretary of

War, — a man of enlightened views, of much learning, of excellent abilities, and of a kindly nature disposing him to do right; but the courage of his convictions capitulated when the great Jupiter from his Olympian height nodded the signal for surrender. Consequently, things went on as formerly. Leaves of absence to cadets were extended at the War Department without consulting the Superintendent of the Academy, and those dismissed were reinstated as of yore. The last straw to break the camel's back came when a cadet, an old offender, pardoned and restored to West Point, erected a hickory pole in front of the barracks as the signal of his triumph over authority.

Finally, finding no support at Washington, and that the arbitrary will of the President was to override all law and regulation, Thayer ceased to ask for details for courts martial; and hence, when the next serious breach of discipline occurred, the case, without comment, was reported to the War Department, by which the offending cadet was summarily dismissed, as much to the astonishment of Colonel Thayer as to the cadet himself. Immediately the latter proceeded to Washington, laid the case before the President, who pardoned his offense and restored him to his class, with which he graduated creditably, became a conspicuous soldier, and gallantly laid down his life in the Mexican War at the assault of Churubusco.

Thayer, worn out by the irrepressible conflict of authority, saw that he had become a mere automaton of power at West Point, and felt that he could no longer, under the existing régime, be of service to the institution which he had raised to its present excellence, and that he could not continue to be a target for the shafts which were daily destroying his prerogative.

Before, however, asking to be relieved of his command, he wrote a temperate private letter to the Secre-

tary of War, in which he says: "I am led to believe that there is something at this institution which does not altogether meet with the President's approbation, but I am at a loss to conjecture whether the dissatisfaction, if such really exists, relates to persons or things. If it be the former, I need not point out the proper remedy, and have only to say that I have nothing to ask or to deprecate with respect to myself. Fourteen successive annual Boards of Visitors have been sent to attend the general examinations, and to inquire into the administration of the institution. Many of the members of these boards were known to come here with strong prepossessions against the institution. Others were also known to be confidential friends of President Jackson. All will, I am sure, do me the justice to acknowledge that I afforded every possible facility for their investigations, and that they had access to all sources of information on the spot. Besides these annual visitations, frequent inspections by high officials of the Government have been made. Has a single abuse or act of maladministration during these fourteen years been presented to the notice of the Government by either of the authorities I have named? If so, I am utterly ignorant of it. I am certain that the President is too just and generous to pass sentence of condemnation on any one without a hearing, or to have formed unfavorable opinions respecting the administration of the Academy from information derived from interested and prejudiced sources. . . . Some persons, I am told, are of the opinion that the Regulations are too rigid." He then goes on to examine their merits and application to cadets, and remarks that, if they be not suitable, it is the President's duty to change them, and proposes that he should convene a board "of not less than three discreet persons, having the entire confidence of the Executive, to be sent to West Point to examine and dis-

cuss the whole matter, and report their opinions." He concludes by saying "that any regulations, however perfect in themselves, or however well administered by the authorities here, are incapable of producing the desired result so long as the impression continues (and I assume the impression is deep and general) that they do not meet with the full approbation of the Executive, or while it is believed that a dismissed cadet can get reinstated, whether by the influence of powerful friends or by direct and personal application to the President."

It is a remarkable coincidence that, the very day on which this letter was mailed to the Secretary, an order was issued by him convening at West Point a court martial, consisting of thirteen distinguished officers of high rank, *ostensibly* for the trial of some cadets. Had it not some ulterior purpose, as was then surmised? What the Executive's design may have been must remain a profound mystery; but it is a significant fact that the great court, which solemnly sat upon a few cases of cadet delinquencies, adjourned, having, like the mountain, labored and brought forth a mouse.

That Thayer's letter opened some eyes at Washington seems more than probable, for, just a month after its date and the notable court martial had been dissolved, the Secretary of War replied in the kindest and warmest terms, assuring Thayer that "there is not, in the mind of the President, the slightest shade of unkindly feeling toward you. I speak to you with the utmost candor, and I say that I do know. He has great respect for you, and he has expressed it to me many times." He then goes on to discuss his and the President's views of the character and effect of the Regulations of the Academy. "But these impressions," he adds, "when strongest, were not associated with the least doubt of your conduct and capacity, and, in jus-

tice to myself, I may add of your peculiar fitness for the very arduous and responsible office you hold. . . . The state of affairs at the Academy is good. The temporary difficulties have disappeared, and I imagine when they existed they were greatly overrated. Dismiss the whole subject from your mind."

These soft words did not entirely dispel Thayer's misgivings respecting his own future or that of the institution. Accordingly, Jan. 19, 1833, he tendered his resignation as Superintendent of the Military Academy. The Secretary of War reluctantly, March 14, 1833, informed him, through the Inspector of the Academy, that his wishes had been acceded to, and that he would be relieved upon the termination of the June examination.

The Chief Engineer, in concluding his letter, says: "In thus communicating to you the consent of the Secretary of War to your separation from the Academy, I am directed by him to say to you, that the very able and efficient manner in which you have discharged the arduous duties of its superintendence, and conducted its affairs generally, is duly appreciated and meets with his approbation; in which favorable sentiment this department fully concurs."

At this June examination of 1833, the last class under Thayer's administration was graduated just half a century ago. It was my own, called the Carroll Class, after Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Our class entered the Academy one hundred and thirty strong, of whom fifty-six were graduated, forty-three with the class of 1833, and thirteen subsequently. Of the graduates, about one half continued to do good service in the Army, and the other half resigned to fill various spheres of usefulness in civil life; nine fell upon the battle-field; and now only half a score remain of

those who, fifty years since, doffed the gray for the blue. To those of this rear-guard of worthy veterans, some of whom it gladdens my heart to see before me on this interesting occasion, I am proud to say they are, though a small, yet a precious, remnant of the class, often pronounced by the great Superintendent the best in general abilities, in his opinion, of any that ever was graduated from this institution.

Never can I forget our happy graduation day. There was no sleep for me after reveille that morning. Soon after, upon looking out of my window, I saw the majestic Thayer taking his early walk. He always rose at five, at which hour his servant never forgot to call him, though he sometimes did forget whether he wore his own or his master's boots and other habiliments, an offense readily condoned because of his punctuality in sounding the five o'clock call. On that graduation morning, as soon as I could swallow my breakfast, I called to bid farewell to the great Jove seated on his armchair throne in the basement of the Superintendent's quarters. Years afterwards, when I occupied the same house, I could never enter that humble apartment without reverently taking off my cap out of respect for the memory of my venerated predecessor.

Since 1833, fifty classes have left these academic halls, swelling the number of graduates of the institution to nearly three thousand. These have filled every arm of the military service with talent, efficiency, and integrity; have materially aided in successfully conducting three great wars, by the first of which American rights were asserted, by the second the national domain extended, and by the last the Union preserved; have perpetually pushed the wild savage from our borders, and been the pioneers of advancing civilization; have constructed and armed our fortifications, improved our harbors and rivers, defined our boundaries, surveyed

our inland seas, lighted our extensive coasts, and explored the length and breadth of our land; have given to our militia and volunteers large numbers of valuable officers, and to our colleges able presidents and professors; have furnished distinguished civil engineers, who have bound our territory together with a network of roads and canals; have supplied valuable City, State, and Government functionaries; have improved our workshops and the culture of the soil; have added their mite to the counting-house, the bar, and the pulpit; and, by their contributions to knowledge and the writing of text-books, have greatly elevated the scientific standard of most of our educational institutions.

To this catalogue of the services of the élèves of the Military Academy, it may be added that, though of our generals during the Rebellion only a little more than a third were graduated here, yet most of our great armies and a large majority of our army corps were commanded by them; that, of those promoted to major-generals, two thirds were from the Military Academy; and that, upon the re-organization of the Army in 1866, after the termination of the war, of the sixteen holding commissions of general officers, — the prizes of eminent services, — all were graduates of this institution, except the gallant and accomplished Terry, of whom the Army is justly proud.

Another important feature of the Military Academy is the integrity of its graduates, as proved by the fact that *less than two per cent.* of their entire number have been cashiered or dismissed from the Army, and nearly all of these for dissipation, or purely military offenses, such as disobedience of orders, absence without leave, etc., involving no taint of dishonesty. In the seventeen years since the re-organization of the Army in 1866, but *eleven* graduates have been dismissed,

while *two hundred and twenty-five* of those not educated here have been compelled to leave the army, or, taking the ratio of numbers in service, the dismissals of non-graduates have been *ten times* as great as those of graduates of the Academy.

Addressing the Army of the Potomac some years since, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said: "This nation is indebted to the West Point Military Academy for as noble a band of graduates as the world can produce. The standard of honor is nowhere higher. Respect and reverence for law and liberty are nowhere more profound. Scrupulous fidelity to duty is nowhere more nearly a religion, and the honor of honesty, *the honor of honesty*, THE HONOR OF HONESTY, is nowhere so signally illustrated as in the graduates of the West Point Military Academy."

With these striking facts before us, showing the excellence of the Military Academy, matured for years by the wisdom and fostering care of those who have shaped its destiny, it is certainly due to the institution, which has been so severely tested in the crucible of peace and war, that our countrymen should feel that its past is a guarantee of its future usefulness, and that it should be prized as one of the precious jewels in the rich regalia of the nation.

But we must return from this attractive digression to our proper theme.

The peerless Superintendent was relieved, July 1, 1833, from command of the Military Academy, which, in the sixteen years of his devoted administration, had grown from a badly conducted rudimentary school to become a preëminent seminary of science, an enduring monument of his fame, a fostering mother to the whole Army, the cynosure of all educational institutions throughout the land, and a priceless possession for the nation's security and glory. Such laurels had Thayer

won by his masterly skill and efficiency that, five years later, when his successor was relieved from duty at West Point, he was invited by Mr. Poinsett, then Secretary of War under President Van Buren, to resume with almost absolute powers the charge of the Military Academy. The unfortunate appointment at the time of a Chaplain little suited to secure the moral discipline of cadets frustrated the whole scheme.

Upon leaving West Point, Thayer was made a member of the Board of Engineers, and was also charged with the planning and building of the fortifications and other public works in and about Boston Harbor, which, as erected by him, will endure for ages as models of engineering skill, and standards of economy and stability of construction. These arduous labors, to which he gave his whole time, except while absent sick in Europe, occupied him for thirty years, when, June 1, 1863, age and feeble health terminated his active military career of more than half a century of unsurpassed usefulness and faithful service. The day before his retirement, he was brevetted Brigadier-General for "long and faithful service."

In his retirement in his humble and almost hermit home at Braintree, Mass., near where he was born, I usually visited him, at least once a year, to enjoy his instructive and genial conversation. He was to me no longer a chip of an iceberg, as I had imagined while a cadet under him, but a warm friend, who received me with cordiality, and easily entered into discussion of the various topics of the day, especially military matters at home and abroad. Sometimes he would talk of his early career, particularly of his disappointment in not reaching Europe in time to participate in the Waterloo campaign of 1815, though, after Napoleon's defeat, he was somewhat compensated by witnessing the daily evolutions and reviews of the allied armies. But his

chief delight was to dwell upon the Military Academy and the triumphs of its graduates, with each of whose history and character he was nearly as familiar as if they had been his own children. Notwithstanding his love for the Military Academy was so ardent, it was very difficult to get him to write out any of the details of its history, with which he was so familiar. For many years I pertinaciously plied him with questions, but his dislike to writing was so great that I never succeeded in obtaining a tenth of the information I desired, yet our correspondence would fill volumes. The last letter he ever wrote, found unfinished among his papers, was to myself.

On the 7th of September, 1872, at Braintree, Mass.,

“Of no distemper, of no blast he died,
 But fell like autumn fruit that mellow'd long ;
 Even wonder'd at, because he dropt no sooner.
 Fate seem'd to wind him up for fourscore years ;
 Yet freshly ran he on seven winters more ;
 Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,
 The wheels of weary life at last stood still.”

His remains were followed to the grave by a large number of officers of the Army, some of the Navy, most of his neighbors, and many distinguished friends. To his parent earth, in the old cemetery of Braintree, were bequeathed his mortal remains ; but like the sacred relics which

“In Santa Croce's holy precincts lie,
 Ashes which make it holier, dust which is
 Even in itself an immortality,”

so the Military Academy demanded the earthly tenement of the master mind of its great “Father,” whose magic wand had transformed a torpid chrysalis into this living form of energy, beauty, and excellence.

After five years of continuous effort, he who now addresses you accomplished his heart's desire of securing the consent of the surviving relatives to the removal

to West Point of the body of General Thayer, which was here re-interred, Nov. 8, 1877, with the most solemn and imposing military honors. The pall-bearers were the eight senior graduates present, the eldest two having been cadets when the deceased took command of this institution, and the junior two being of the last class which graduated under him. They were as follows, viz. :—

Bvt. Brigadier-General Henry Brewerton, Class of 1819.

Brigadier-General Daniel Tyler, Class of 1819.

Benjamin H. Wright, Class of 1822.

Alexander J. Center, Class of 1827.

Professor Albert E. Church, Class of 1828.

Bvt. Major-Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys, Class of 1831.

Bvt. Major-Gen. John G. Barnard, Class of 1833.

Bvt. Major-Gen. George W. Cullum, Class of 1833.

The remains were placed upon a gun-carriage, tastefully draped with national flags; the engineer castle, surmounted with the letter T on either side; and the chapeau and sword upon the coffin. A led charger, clad in black, followed the gun-carriage.

The military escort, preceded by the band, was composed of the battalion of cadets, a battery of light artillery, and detachment of cavalry.

Following as mourners were a numerous body of graduates of the Academy, and a large concourse of citizens closed the procession. Among the graduates present were five of the seven surviving superintendents of the Academy, — Generals Brewerton, Barnard, Tower, Cullum, and Schofield.

After the remains were committed to the earth by the Chaplain of the Academy, according to the beautiful burial service of the Episcopal Church, General Tyler stepped to the open grave, and with deep emotion

pronounced a eulogy upon the virtues and eminent services of the deceased.

The Corps of Cadets then fired three volleys over the coffined dust, and the historic Highlands echoed back the last farewell to the great Superintendent, soldier, and scholar, who had hung his wreath of bays, fifty years before, beneath their rocky brows.

Upon the conclusion of the address, those present marched to the monument, situated in the southwest angle of the Plain of West Point, in the following order:—

1. Battalion of Cadets, preceded by the Military Academy Band.
2. Orator of the Day, and Superintendent of the Military Academy.
3. Relatives of the late General Thayer.
4. The Secretary of War, and General-in-Chief U. S. Army.
5. The Board of Visitors to the Military Academy, and General Terry.
6. Graduates of the Military Academy and Officers of the Army. (Graduates according to classes, — Officers of the Army, according to their entry into service.)
7. Invited guests, etc.

After music by the band at the monument, General Cullum presented the statue to the Military Academy in a brief address, as follows:—

To Colonel Thayer, who has achieved so much for military science and the glory of his country; who was always true to himself and to his trust; and who with pride could point to the graduates of this Academy as the jewels and adornments of his administration, as did the noble Cornelia to her Gracchi sons, — to him, the matchless Superintendent of this famous seminary, we come this day to offer *in memoriam* a similitude of his living self. The sculptor's skill has fashioned it out of the enduring granite of Thayer's own New England, the land he loved so well, and for which he denied himself

every luxury that he might leave rich legacies to educate¹ its youth to imitate his example of evolution from small beginnings to achievements which will live forever.

May this monument, reared in loving gratitude to the 'Father of the Military Academy,' on this historic Plain of West Point, ever stimulate the élèves here educated to win a like recognition for merit and patriotism! Where it stands oft stood the Father of his Country, and here, on the memorable morn of Sep. 25, 1780, his awakened suspicions first realized the preservation of this sacred spot from the traitor's grasp. With such mementos of the past, here in the future should ever germinate the soldierly virtues of a Washington and the earnest execrations of an Arnold.

Then, addressing the Superintendent of the Military Academy, General Cullum continued:—

After the lapse of a century since the germinal thought of the illustrious leader of our Revolutionary armies brought this institution into existence, and on this semi-centennial of the retirement from command of him who gave it such renown, it is now my agreeable duty, on behalf of the contributors to this monument, to present it to the Military Academy. I feel assured that its present and all of its future superintendents will guard it with care; and I trust they may never look upon this statue, the counterpart presentment of their distinguished predecessor, without a quickening impulse to follow in his footsteps.

The statue was then unveiled by the sculptor, Carl

¹ General Thayer, by his will and otherwise, gave *over four hundred thousand dollars* for educational purposes, viz.: about \$300,000 for the erection and endowment of an Academy at Braintree, Mass.; over \$70,000 to Dartmouth College, N. H., for endowing a School of Civil Engineering, a Mathematical Prize Fund, and towards providing a fire-proof Library; and \$32,000 for the building and book fund of the Braintree, Mass., Library.

Conrads, and, after music by the band, was saluted by the Corps of Cadets presenting arms and eleven guns fired from the battery. General Merritt, Superintendent of the Military Academy, then accepted the statue in the following words:—

GENERAL CULLUM:— It is my pleasing duty to accept, in behalf of the Military Academy, this magnificent statue of General Thayer. In the name of the Academy, I thank you most heartily. I need scarcely assure you, sir, for the authorities now here, or who are to come, that such care and respect shall be shown this monument as are due to the character and services of the illustrious soldier whom you have so justly styled ‘The Father of the Military Academy.’”

The exercises were then concluded by the Chaplain of the Military Academy, who pronounced the benediction.

AFTER HISTORY.

In the foregoing History we have sketched the struggles of the Military Academy through the first thirty-one years of its existence, during which, from a small beginning, it became a noted military and scientific seminary. At the end of this period (1833), General Thayer, its justly named “Father,” after an able administration of sixteen years, left it a perfected institution, which in tone and character has endured essentially the same up to this day. With the advance of science and military experience since 1833, learned professors have not only maintained but improved its course of instruction, to conform to the requirements of the present age. New apparatus has also been added; the library has been much enlarged; numerous capacious buildings have been erected; and many improvements have been made for the comfort and convenience of officers and cadets; while the general direction of the entire

affairs of the Military Academy and post of West Point has been efficiently conducted by the following Superintendents : —

Bvt. Lieut.-Colonel RENÉ E. DE RUSSY, Major Corps of Engineers ; Major RICHARD DELAFIELD, Corps of Engineers ; Captain HENRY BREWERTON, Corps of Engineers ; Bvt. Colonel ROBERT E. LEE, Captain Corps of Engineers ; Bvt. Major JOHN G. BARNARD, Captain Corps of Engineers ; Colonel RICHARD DELAFIELD,* Corps of Engineers ; Colonel ALEXANDER H. BOWMAN,* Corps of Engineers ; Colonel ZEALOUS B. TOWER,* Corps of Engineers ; Bvt. Maj.-Gen. GEORGE W. CULLUM,* Colonel Corps of Engineers ; Bvt. Brig.-Gen. THOMAS G. PITCHER, Colonel 44th Infantry ; Bvt. Brig.-Gen. THOMAS H. RUGER, Colonel 18th INFANTRY ; Maj.-Gen. JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, U. S. Army ; Bvt. Maj.-Gen. OLIVER O. HOWARD, Brig.-General U. S. Army ; Bvt. Maj.-Gen. WESLEY MERRITT, Brig.-General U. S. Army ; Bvt. Maj.-Gen. JOHN G. PARKE, Colonel Corps of Engineers ; and Colonel JOHN M. WILSON,* Corps of Engineers.

* The local rank of Colonel was conferred by the Law of June 12, 1858.

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Canfield, Augustus		298	Chapman, William W.		897
Cantwell, John T.		2030	Chase, George E.		516
Capron, Allyn		2188	Chase, George F.		2394

NAME.	C	No.	NAME.	C	No.
Chase, George N.		2700	Cole, James B.		2155
Chase, Leslie		961	Cole, Robert G.		1486
Chase, William H.		150	Colerick, Charles		466
Chase, William H.		2056	Collingsworth, John T.		610
Cherry, Samuel A.		2584	Collins, Charles L.		2967
Chester, Eliphalet N.		2213	Collins, Charles O.		512
Chiffelle, Thomas P.		886	Collins, Charles R.		1827
Childe, John		471	Collins, Francis		1242
Childs, Frederick L.		1685	Collins, Richard D. C.		345
Childs, Thomas		97	Comly, Clifton		1985
Chilton, Robert H.		938	Comstock, Cyrus B.		1677
Chittenden, Hiram M.		3023	Conant, Augustus		73
Chouteau, Auguste		14	Conant, Roswell		228
Chrisman, Edward R.		3261	Cone, Aurelius F.		1787
Church, Albert E.		508	Conklin, John		3028
Church, John R.		1692	Conkling, Barnabas		852
Churchill, Marlborough		854	Conkling, Solomon G.		47
Churchill, Richard C.		2127	Conline, John		2365
Churchill, William H.		1024	Conner, Edward J.		1792
Chynoweth, Edward		2668	Conrad, John		661
Claffin, Ira W.		1786	Conrad, Joseph S.		1791
Clark, Charles C.		3379	Converse, George L.		2854
Clark, Charles H.		2558	Cook, Anson J.		1346
Clark, Darius D.		1446	Cook, Augustus		1214
Clark, Dillard H.		2496	Cook, Frank A.		3078
Clark, Henry		325	Cook, William		291
Clark, James		574	Cooke, James H.		296
Clark, John D.		1146	Cooke, Philip St. George		492
Clark, Joseph C.		1377	Coombs, William H.		2272
Clark, Meriwether L.		609	Cooper, George		138
Clark, Michael M.		443	Cooper, James F.		766
Clark, Nelson N.		507	Cooper, Samuel		156
Clark, Satterlee		27	Coppée, Henry		1241
Clark, Wallis O.		2709	Corley, James L.		1489
Clark, William F.		3364	Cornish, George A.		2490
Clark, William P.		2244	Cornish, Lester W.		2915
Clarke, Alexander S.		2037	Cornman, Daniel		2494
Clarke, Francis N.		1027	Corprew, George W.		189
Clarke, Henry F.		1178	Corthell, Charles L.		3029
Clarke, Powhatan H.		3057	Cosby, George B.		1552
Clary, Robert E.		520	Cotton, Gilbert P.		2212
Clay, Henry		630	Cotton, John W.		357
Clay, Joseph		427	Couch, Darius N.		1284
Clayton, Bertram F.		3141	Counselman, Jacob H.		2011
Clendenin, John M.		627	Courtenay, Edward H.		262
Clitz, Henry B.		1266	Couts, Cave J.		1203
Cloman, Sydney A.		3321	Covington, Erasmus F.		651
Closson, Henry W.		1638	Cowles, Calvin D.		2492
Cobb, Edmund M.		2340	Cowles, Warren H.		2847
Cobb, James D.		58	Cox, John L.		2747
Cobb, Samuel K.		532	Coxe, Robert E.		2345
Coburn, Joseph L.		775	Cradlebaugh, George W.		2214
Cochran, Charles H.		3006	Craig, Isaac E.		104
Cochran, Robert M.		979	Craig, Louis A.		2541
Cochrane, Alexander F.		140	Craig, Robert		2134
Cocke, Philip St. George		667	Craig, William		1630
Coffin, William H.		2475	Craighill, William E.		3059
Cogswell, Milton		1417	Craighill, William P.		1580
Colburn, Albert V.		1693	Cram, Thomas Jefferson		432
Colcock, Richard W.		457	Crane, Charles J.		2684
Colcord, Austin N.		1479	Cranston, Arthur		2190
Cole, Edwin T.		3316	Crawford, Charles		3322
Cole, Haydn S.		3062	Crawford, Medorem		2202
Cole, James A.		3037	Craycroft, William T.		2290

NAME.	C-D	No.	NAME.	D	No.
Cree, John K.		3076	Davidson, Levi P.		937
Creel, Heber M.		2704	Davidson, Lorenzo P.		3069
Cress, George O.		3047	Davidson, William B.		152
Cressey, Edward P.		1816	Davies, Charles.		157
Crilly, Francis J.		1839	Davies, Francis A.		1910
Crispin, Silas.		1452	Davies, Thomas A.		565
Critchlow, Benjamin D.		2098	Davies, William S.		2538
Crittenden, Alexander P.		862	Daviess, Camillus C.		618
Crittenden, George B.		687	Davis, Benjamin F.		1662
Crittenden, William L.		1271	Davis, Britton.		2922
Cronin, Marcus D.		3218	Davis, Charles E. L. B.		2117
CronkHITE, Adelbert.		2941	Davis, George B.		2379
Crook, George.		1573	Davis, George B.		3154
Crosby, Oscar T.		2933	Davis, Edward.		2203
Crosman, George H.		355	Davis, Henry C.		2973
Cross, Charles E.		1889	Davis, Jackman J.		107
Cross, Osborne.		417	Davis, James Lucius.		722
Crowder, Enoch H.		2909	Davis, Jefferson.		530
Croxton, Richard C.		3167	Davis, John M. K.		2172
Crozet, Alfred.		1194	Davis, John P.		577
Crozet, A. St. Amand.		1194	Davis, Matthew L.		1556
Crozier, William.		2597	Davis, Milton F.		3352
Cruger, Nicholas.		246	Davis, Nelson H.		1320
Cruse, Thomas.		2785	Davis, Richmond P.		3179
Culbertson, Jacob.		1456	Davis, Thomas F.		2585
Culbertson, Michael S.		991	Davis, William C.		3345
Cullum, George W.		709	Dawson, Samuel K.		1007
Cumming, Alfred.		1441	Day, Edward H.		1503
Cummings, Joseph F.		2638	Day, Hannibal.		348
Cummins, Albert S.		2477	Day, Matthias W.		2710
Cunningham, Arthur S.		1759	DeForest, William H.		820
Cunningham, George A.		1784	DeHart, Henry V.		1715
Curd, Thomas J.		1213	DeHart, William C.		236
Curtis, Arthur F.		3063	DeLaguel, Julius A.		285
Curtis, Edwin S.		2194	DeLano, Horace F.		1426
Curtis, Samuel R.		655	DeRussy, John.		1366
Curtiss, James.		1521	DeRussy, Lewis G.		96
Cushing, Alonzo H.		1944	DeRussy, René E.		89
Cushing, Samuel T.		1876	DeShon, George D.		3119
Custer, George A.		1936	DeTreville, Richard.		336
Cutbush, William.		87	DeVeuve, Henry.		1547
Cutts, Thomas.		525	DeWitt, David P.		855
Cuyler, James W.		2023	Deakyne, Herbert.		3333
			Dean, James T.		3225
Dade, Alexander L.		3219	Dearborn, Alexander H.		946
Dahlgren, Paul.		2238	Deas, Edward.		676
Daingerfield, Joseph F.		194	Deems, Clarence.		2521
Dalliba, James.		61	Delafield, Richard.		180
Damrell, Andrew N.		2031	Dempsey, Charles A.		2114
Dana, Nathaniel G.		93	Denison, David S.		2241
Dana, Napoleon J. T.		1139	Denman, Frederick J.		1137
Dancy, Francis L.		438	Dennison, James A.		2324
Danes, Henry C.		2199	Denny, St. Clair.		306
Daniel, Junius.		1526	Dent, Frederick T.		1199
Daniels, Charles B.		878	Dentler, Clarence E.		3044
D'Armit, Albert M.		3283	Derby, George H.		1278
Darne, Alexander C. H.		1103	Derby, George McC.		2717
Darr, Francis J. A.		2868	Derrick, Clarence.		1936
Darrow, Walter N. P.		3108	Deshler, George W.		2240
Dashiel, William R.		3275	Deshler, James.		1637
Davant, William M.		1667	Deshon, George.		1168
Davenport, Thomas C.		2465	Despinville, Charles.		166
Davidson, Henry B.		1611	Devore, Daniel B.		3086
Davidson, John W.		1257	Dick, George McG.		1710

NAME.	D	No.	NAME.	D-E	No.
Diekerson, John H.		1341	Dutton, Arthur H.		1935
Dickinson, Walter M.		2853	Dutton, George.		286
Diekman, Joseph T.		2905	Dutton, William.		1286
Dillahunt, John N.		367	Duvall, William P.		2279
Dilworth, Rankin.		1218	Dwyer, Charles G.		3164
Dimick, Justin.		213	Dye, William McE.		1610
Dimick, Justin E.		1958	Dyer, Alexander B.		896
Dimmock, Charles.		266	Dyer, Alexander B., Jr.		2480
Dimon, George D.		729	Dykman, William N.		2570
Dinkins, Simeon M.		2929			
Ditch, William T.		2259	Eakin, Constant M.		175
Dix, Roger S.		693	Early, Jubal A.		908
Dixon, Joseph.		1800	Easley, Thomas.		1319
Dixon, William P.		2135	Eastman, Elbridge G.		645
D'Lagnel, Julius A.		285	Eastman, Frank F.		2809
Dodd, George A.		2624	Eastman, James E.		2137
Dodds, Frank L.		2779	Eastman, Robert L.		1922
Dodge, Henry C.		2013	Eastman, Seth.		562
Dodge, Richard L.		1387	Easton, Langdon C.		962
Donaldson, Charles V.		3273	Eaton, Amos B.		464
Donaldson, James L.		856	Eaton, George O.		2493
Donaldson, Thomas Q.		3207	Eaton, Joseph H.		828
Donelson, Andrew J.		233	Eaton, Nathaniel J.		502
Donelson, Andrew J., Jr.		1370	Eaton, William W.		384
Donelson, Daniel S., Jr.		396	Echols, William H.		1801
Dorr, Gustavus.		423	Eckerson, Theodore H.		2547
Dorst, Joseph H.		2476	Eckhart, Charles G.		2174
Doubleday, Abner.		1134	Eddy, Asher R.		1210
Dougherty, John T.		2452	Edgerly, Winfield S.		2361
Douglas, Samuel R.		2604	Edgerton, Edward C.		2335
Douglass, Henry.		1566	Edgerton, Wright P.		2522
Dowd, Heman.		2594	Edie, John R.		1946
Dowdy, Robert W.		2806	Edmunds, Frank H.		2376
Drane, Anthony.		376	Edson, John H.		1606
Dravo, Edward E.		2611	Edson, Theodore.		1851
Drayton, Thomas.		535	Edwards, Albert G.		706
Drayton, Thomas F.		535	Edwards, Clarence R.		3020
Dresser, George W.		1906	Edwards, George.		1240
Drouillard, James P.		1959	Edwards, John.		1508
Druen, James L.		3149	Edwards, John M.		221
Drum, Simon H.		597	Egan, John.		1982
Duane, James C.		1371	Eggleston, Millard F.		2701
DuBarry, Beekman.		1413	Ehninger, Henry A.		1298
DuBois, John V. D.		1686	Elbert, Leroy S.		1960
DuBose, Benjamin E.		745	Elderkin, William A.		1909
DuPont, Henry.		727	Eliason, William A.		203
DuPont, Henry A.		1888	Elliot, George H.		1680
Ducat, Arthur C.		2822	Elliot, William G.		3171
Dudley, Edgar S.		2326	Elliott, Charles P.		2959
Duff, Robert J.		2977	Elliott, John.		2040
Dugan, Thomas B.		2962	Elliott, Stephen H.		3145
Dulany, Henry R.		128	Elliott, William J.		2753
Dumest, Jacob A.		226	Ellis, James N.		798
Duncan, George B.		3161	Ellis, Eugene A.		2608
Duncan, James.		755	Ellis, Wilmot E.		3291
Duncan, Johnson K.		1411	Elting, Norman.		1202
Dungan, Hugh E.		1458	Eltonhead, Francis E.		2583
Dunn, Beverly W.		2974	Elzey, Arnold.		923
Dunning, Samuel W.		2845	Embury, Peter.		159
Dunwoody, Henry H. C.		2133	Emery, Jonas A.		2918
Durfee, Lucius L.		3163	Emmet, Robert T.		2693
Durham, Cass.		2111	Emory, Campbell D.		1925
Duryea, Richard C.		1598	Emory, William H.		642
Dusenberry, Samuel B.		244	Engle, James.		426

NAME.	E-F	No.	NAME.	F	No.
English, Thomas C.....		1442	Fleming, Hugh B.....		1564
Ennis, William.....		2039	Fleming, Lawrence J.....		3375
Enos, Herbert M.....		1758	Fleming, William W.....		2151
Ernst, Oswald H.....		2025	Fletcher, John C.....		960
Ernst, Rudolph F.....		1108	Fletcher, Robert.....		2230
Erwin, James B.....		2848	Flewellen, James P.....		1463
Esterly, Calvin.....		2667	Flint, Franklin F.....		1093
Eustis, Henry L.....		1111	Flipper, Henry O.....		2690
Eustis, William.....		623	Floyd, Daniel H.....		2367
Evans, Andrew W.....		1561	Floyd-Jones, De-Lancey.....		1316
Evans, Ellwood W.....		3202	Flynn, William F.....		2976
Evans, Fredk. D.....		3229	Folger, George W.....		319
Evans, George F.....		1307	Follet, Frederick M.....		1492
Evans, George H.....		2459	Folsom, Joseph L.....		1052
Evans, N. George.....		1404	Foltz, Frederick S.....		2774
Evans, Robert K.....		2591	Foote, Stephen M.....		3030
Evans, William P.....		2726	Forbush William C.....		2254
Eveleth, William S.....		148	Fornance, James.....		2398
Everett, William.....		2237	Forney, John H.....		1557
Ewell, Benjamin S.....		664	Forse, Albert G.....		2074
Ewell, Richard S.....		1029	Forsyth, James W.....		1738
Ewing, Maskell C.....		444	Forsyth, Robert M.....		144
			Forsyth, William W.....		2953
Fahnestock, Simon S.....		1078	Forsythe, Benjamin D.....		1381
Fain, Richard G.....		681	Foster, Amos.....		534
Faison, Samson L.....		3009	Foster, Arthur B.....		3217
Fanning, Alexander C. W.....		86	Foster, Charles W.....		2612
Farley, John.....		339	Foster, Claiborne L.....		3255
Farley, Joseph P.....		1953	Foster, Fred. W.....		2658
Farnsworth, Charles S.....		3220	Foster, Herbert S.....		2613
Farquhar, Francis U.....		1934	Foster, John G.....		1275
Farragut, Loyall.....		2266	Foster, Sam A.....		1863
Farrally, Patrick A.....		1250	Fountain, Samuel W.....		2343
Farrand, Charles E.....		1795	Fowler, Frank B.....		3134
Farrow, Edward S.....		2617	Fowler, Joshua L.....		2247
Farry, Joseph F.....		1243	Fowler, William H.....		925
Fay, Heman A.....		36	Fox, Joseph C.....		3380
Fechét, Eugene O.....		2236	Frank, Royal T.....		1815
Feltus, Henry J.....		245	Franklin, William B.....		1167
Fenton, Charles W.....		3256	Fraser, William D.....		750
Ferguson, Henry T.....		3360	Frazer, John W.....		1440
Ferguson, Samuel W.....		1778	Frazer, William.....		875
Ferris, Samuel P.....		1963	Frederick, Daniel A.....		2708
Fessenden, John M.....		370	Freedley, Henry W.....		1705
Fetterman, George.....		479	Freeland, Harry.....		3117
Fiebegger, Gustav J.....		2764	Freeman, Constant.....		974
Field, Benjamin.....		70	Freeman, Jonathan.....		576
Field, Charles W.....		1433	Freeman, Samuel D.....		2975
Field, George P.....		763	Freeman, William G.....		764
Field, Horace B.....		1032	Fremont, Sewall L.....		1075
Field, Josiah H. V.....		2007	French, Charles G.....		3279
Findlay, John King.....		365	French, Edmund.....		514
Finley, Walter L.....		2804	French, Francis H.....		2771
Fish, Oliver H.....		1772	French, F. Halverson.....		2716
Fish, Sewall L.....		1075	French, J. Hansell.....		2549
Fish, Williston.....		2885	French, John T.....		2599
Fisk, Walter L.....		2642	French, Samuel G.....		1180
Fitch, Graham D.....		2935	French, William H.....		912
Fitzhugh, Henry W.....		106	Frier, James H.....		3151
Fitzpatrick, Patrick.....		2271	Frost, Daniel M.....		1209
Fitzsimmons, William C.....		2278	Fry, Cary H.....		769
Flagler, Clement A. F.....		3284	Fry, James B.....		1344
Flagler, Daniel W.....		1937	Fuller, Alfred M.....		2639
Flanagan, William.....		487	Fuller, Charles A.....		759

NAME.	F-G	No.	NAME.	G	No.
Fuller, Ezra B.		2479	Gibson, James.		41
Fuller, William D.		1957	Gibson, William W.		2765
Fulton, David W.		3173	Gifford, John H.		2218
Furman, John G.		483	Gilbert, Charles C.		1292
			Gilbert, Henry.		230
Gaillard, David DuB.		3025	Giles, Henry.		201
Gaillard, Peter C.		814	Gilham, William.		1021
Gaillard, William W.		277	Gill, Samuel.		1208
Gaither, Edgar B.		1013	Gill, William G.		1380
Galbraith, Jacob G.		2664	Gillem, Alvan C.		1504
Galbraith, William W.		2648	Gillespie, George L.		1968
Gale, George H. G.		2769	Gillette, Cassius E.		3024
Gale, Levin.		497	Gillmore, Quincy A.		1407
Gallagher, Hugh J.		3043	Gillmore, Quincy O'M.		2507
Gallup, Charles C.		3242	Gilman, Benjamin H.		2423
Gano, Aaron G.		143	Gilman, Edward R.		3091
Gantt, Levi.		1106	Gilman, Jeremiah H.		1734
Garber, Hezekiah H.		1578	Gilmer, Jeremy F.		989
Gardener, Cornelius.		2504	Gird, Henry H.		303
Gardenier, John R. B.		537	Gittings, Erskine.		1917
Gardiner, George W.		91	Givens, Newton C.		1260
Gardiner, John W. T.		1042	Glass, John N.		2739
Gardner, Franklin.		1183	Glenn, Edwin F.		2698
Gardner, George W.		117	Goddard, Vinton A.		2375
Gardner, John H.		2927	Godfrey, Edward S.		2208
Gardner, Thomas J.		154	Godfrey, George J.		3152
Gardner, William M.		1326	Godwin, Edward A.		2342
Garesché, Julius P.		1074	Goe, James B.		2586
Garey, George W.		425	Goethals, George W.		2828
Garland, William A.		2094	Goldman, Henry J.		2671
Garlington, Ernest A.		2622	Goode, George W.		2873
Garnett, Richard B.		1087	Goodin, James A.		2963
Garnett, Robert S.		1085	Gooding, Oliver P.		1821
Garrard, Joseph.		2478	Goodloe, Archibald H.		2110
Garrard, Kenner.		1501	Goodwin, Millard F.		2467
Garretson, George A.		2195	Gordon, George A.		1660
Garrett, Isaiah.		717	Gordon, George H.		1314
Garst, Charles E.		2631	Gordon, Walter H.		3148
Gaston, Joseph A.		2894	Gordon, William B.		2646
Gaston, William.		1737	Gordon, William W.		127
Gatchell, George W.		3186	Gorgas, Josiah.		1064
Gates, Collinson R.		883	Gorham, Benjamin.		252
Gates, Samuel.		6	Gose, Ernest B.		3378
Gates, William.		11	Gracie, Archibald.		1644
Gatewood, Charles B.		2663	Grafton, Henry D.		996
Gatley, George G.		3355	Graham, Campbell.		294
Gatlin, Richard C.		696	Graham, James D.		165
Gay, Ebenezer.		1682	Graham, James D.		2106
Gayle, Edward E.		2605	Graham, John.		783
Geary, William L.		2537	Graham, Richard H.		983
Geary, Woodbridge.		2965	Graham, William M.		164
Gentry, William T.		1746	Grandin, William G.		934
Gerhard, William.		2310	Granger, Gordon.		1265
Gerhardt, Charles.		3221	Granger, Robert S.		968
Getty, George W.		1031	Grant, Frederick D.		2406
Getty, Robert N.		2750	Grant, Ulysses S.		1187
Gibbes, Wade H.		1874	Gratnot, Charles.		16
Gibbon, John.		1350	Grattan, John L.		1614
Gibbs, Alfred.		1313	Graves, William S.		3323
Gibson, Archie.		2784	Gray, Alonzo.		3213
Gibson, Augustus A.		1008	Grayson, John B.		450
Gibson, Charles H.		1930	Greble, Edwin St. J.		2884
Gibson, David.		1131	Greble, John T.		1651
Gibson, Horatio G.		1347	Green, Duff C.		1435

NAME.	G-H	No.	NAME.	H	No.
Green, James O.		2966	Hall, Lyman		2917
Greene, Benjamin D.		2118	Hall, Norman J.		1837
Greene, Christopher A.		864	Hall, Robert H.		1878
Greene, Francis V.		2312	Hall, Thomas W.		3211
Greene, George S.		327	Hall, William P.		2246
Greene, Henry A.		2777	Halleck, Henry W.		988
Greene, James B.		1534	Hallonquist, James H.		1803
Greene, Lewis D.		2729	Hamilton, Charles S.		1192
Greene, Oliver D.		1656	Hamilton, Fowler		1035
Greenough, George G.		2105	Hamilton, Frank B.		1978
Greenough, Jonathan K.		504	Hamilton, James		3339
Greer, John E.		2163	Hamilton, John		1332
Gregg, David McM.		1684	Hamilton, Schuyler		1082
Gregg, John C.		3204	Hamilton, William J.		2229
Gregory, A. Park.		905	Hamilton, William R.		2606
Gregory, James F.		2062	Hammond, Andrew G.		2912
Grelaud, John H.		1170	Hammond, Charles L.		2632
Gresham, John C.		2626	Hammond, Harry T.		2685
Grier, James		273	Hammond, Marcus C. M.		884
Grier, William N.		839	Hammond, Richard P.		1079
Grierson, Charles H.		2792	Hammond, Thomas C.		1159
Griffin, Charles		1353	Hamtramck, John F.		217
Griffin, Eugene		2552	Hancock, David P.		1665
Griffin, George H.		698	Hancock, William F.		2972
Griffin, Henry J.		452	Hancock, Winfield S.		1223
Griffin, William H.		812	Handbury, Thomas H.		2057
Griffith, Emerson		2417	Handforth, Benjamin F.		2903
Griffith, Frederick L.		170	Handy, James O.		1166
Griffith, Joseph E.		2160	Hanley, John H.		811
Griffith, Thomas W.		3016	Hanna, Robert		2456
Griffiths, Albert J.		2911	Hanson, Thomas G.		3209
Grisard, John S.		3253	Hanson, Weightman K.		807
Griswold, Henry W.		130	Hardcastle, Edmund L. F.		1276
Grover, Cuvier		1453	Hardee, William J.		966
Guard, Alexander McC.		2404	Hardeman, Letcher		3139
Guenther, Francis L.		1833	Hardia, William		939
Guerrant, Charles		256	Hardie, James A.		1177
Guilfoyle, John F.		2680	Hardin, Edward E.		2542
Guion, Frederick L.		332	Hardin, James P.		691
Gunnison, John W.		892	Hardin, Martin D.		1835
Gustin, Joseph H.		2581	Harding, Chester		3285
Gwynn, Walter		293	Harding, Edward		191
			Hardy, Arthur S.		2282
Haan, William G.		3293	Hare, Luther R.		2533
Hackley, Charles W.		549	Harford, William H.		543
Haden, John J.		2650	Harker, Charles G.		1813
Hagadorn, Charles B.		3306	Harlow, Frank S.		2767
Hagner, Peter V.		866	Harman, John A.		3206
Haile, Joseph T.		1488	Harmon, Millard F.		2840
Haines, John T.		3109	Harrington, Henry M.		2429
Haines, Thomas J.		1410	Harris, Arnold		778
Hains, John P.		3303	Harris, David B.		713
Hains, Peter C.		1951	Harris, Floyd W.		3114
Hale, David E.		719	Harris, George M.		2263
Hale, Harry C.		3004	Harris, Henry L.		2281
Hale, Irving		3021	Harris, Joseph W.		404
Hall, Anson		50	Harris, N. Sayre		416
Hall, Charles S.		2620	Harris, Peter C.		3268
Hall, Christopher T.		2243	Harris, William H.		1940
Hall, Cyrus		1148	Harris, William L.		382
Hall, Herman		3215	Harrison, George F. E.		2487
Hall, J. Harrison		2069	Harrison, Joseph P.		746
Hall, Jonathan N.		1837	Harrison, Masillon		1061
Hall, Joseph		2457	Harrison, Matthew R. T.		405

NAME.	H	No.	NAME.	H	No.
Harrison, Montgomery P.		1362	Henry, Mathias W.		1931
Harrison, Ralph		3299	Henry, William S.		825
Hart, William H.		3270	Henshaw, James.		280
Hartman, John D. L.		3257	Hepburne, James S.		219
Harts, William W.		3286	Herbert, Alfred.		791
Hartsuff, George L.		1554	Herr, Hiero B.		2129
Hartz, Edward L.		1700	Herring, Daniel S.		441
Harvey, John G.		659	Hersey, Mark L.		3232
Harvie, John M.		920	Heth, Henry.		1368
Harwood, Franklin.		1905	Hetzel, Abner R.		494
Hasbrouck, Alfred.		3010	Heuer, William H.		2054
Hasbrouck, Henry C.		1908	Hewitt, Augustine F.		2797
Hascall, Herbert A.		1718	Hewitt, Charles E.		2849
Hascall, Milo S.		1549	Hewitt, Christian C.		2539
Haskin, Joseph A.		995	Heyward, William C.		612
Hatch, Everard E.		3035	Hezlep, John K.		2060
Hatch, John P.		1247	Hickey, James B.		2392
Hatfield, Charles A. P.		2437	Higgins, Silas P.		1618
Hatheway, John S.		873	Higgins, Thaddeus.		1037
Haupt, Herman.		816	Hight, George W.		82
Haupt, Lewis M.		2162	Hight, Thomas.		1587
Hawes, James M.		1259	Hildt, J. McLean.		1756
Hawkins, Edgar S.		258	Hill, Ambrose P.		1345
Hawkins, George W.		1230	Hill, Bennett H.		911
Hawkins, John P.		1575	Hill, Daniel H.		1138
Haxtun, Milton.		49	Hill, James H.		1699
Hay, William H.		3142	Hill, James M.		606
Hayden, John L.		3243	Hill, John H.		1016
Hayes, Edmund.		1282	Hill, Richard M.		1939
Hayman, Samuel B.		1161	Hill, Robert C.		1709
Haynes, Ira A.		2983	Hill, Rowland G.		2900
Haynes, James M.		1376	Hill, Thomas M.		692
Haynes, Milton A.		958	Hillhouse, John.		1130
Hays, Alexander.		1225	Hills, Elbridge R.		2141
Hays, William.		1034	Hills, Francis L.		2143
Hazen, William B.		1704	Hills, John.		124
Hazlett, Charles E.		1902	Hinds, Ernest.		3181
Hazlitt, Robert.		1189	Hinman, Frederick A.		2168
Hazzard, George W.		1335	Hirst, Robert L.		3104
Hazzard, R. Edward.		364	Hitchcock, Ethan A.		177
Heap, David P.		2026	Hitchcock, Samuel.		490
Heard, John W.		3001	Hoag, William R.		2408
Hearn, Clint C.		3344	Hobart, Henry A.		56
Heath, Frank.		2228	Hobart, William F.		80
Hébert, Louis.		1233	Hobbs, Frank E.		2719
Hébert, Paul O.		1017	Hoek, Ormentiz J. C.		2759
Hedekin, Charles A.		3251	Hodges, Harry F.		2882
Hegewald, John F. C.		2714	Hodges, Henry C.		1525
Heileman, Julius F.		12	Hodges, Henry C.		2901
Hein, Otto L.		2358	Hodgson, Benjamin H.		2356
Heintzelman, Charles S.		2171	Hodgson, Frederick G.		2913
Heintzelman, Samuel P.		445	Hoffman, Alexander W.		2095
Heistand, Henry O. S.		2745	Hoffman, William.		558
Helin, Ben Hardin.		1502	Holabird, Samuel B.		1437
Helmick, Eli A.		3276	Holbrook, Willard A.		3074
Hendershott, Henry B.		1355	Holden, Edward S.		2314
Henderson, Bennett H.		435	Holgate, Asa H.		2002
Henderson, John E.		762	Holland, John C.		267
Henderson, Richard.		797	Holley, Dwight E.		3170
Henely, Austin.		2444	Holley, Samuel H.		45
Henry, Addis M.		2434	Holliday, Jonas P.		1473
Henry, Guy V.		1914	Hollis, Magnus O.		2955
Henry, James M.		1224	Hollister, George S.		1884
Henry, James M. Lake.		1224	Holloway, Edmunds B.		1185

NAME.	H	No.	NAME.	H-I-J	No.
Holmes, James		1383	Hun, Leonard G.		2274
Holmes, Reuben		329	Hunt, Edward B.		1232
Holmes, Samuel N.		2500	Hunt, Franklin E.		560
Holmes, Theophilus H.		584	Hunt, Henry J.		1004
Holt, Charles		356	Hunt, Levi P.		2369
Holt, George W.		1790	Hunt, Lewis C.		1363
Holton, Frederick D.		2855	Hunter, Alfred M.		3189
Homer, William B.		2322	Hunter, Charles H.		2841
Honeycutt, John T.		2515	Hunter, David		310
Hood, John B.		1622	Hunter, Edward		2093
Hood, Washington		500	Hunter, George K.		2707
Hooe, Alexander S.		486	Hunter, Nathaniel W.		749
Hook, Cornelius		1856	Hunter, Robert F.		1624
Hooker, Joseph		919	Huntington, Henry D.		2575
Hooper, John L.		732	Huntington, Minor		38
Hopkins, Edward R.		1861	Huntington, Thomas		1012
Hopkins, William Fenn		402	Huse, Caleb		1500
Hoppin, Curtis B.		2675	Huse, Guy E.		2780
Hopson, John D.		315	Huston, Daniel		1403
Hopson, Nevil		935	Huston, Joseph F.		2508
Hornbrook, James J.		3363	Hutcheson, Grote		3045
Horne, William J. D.		3259	Hutton, James A.		2636
Hoskins, Charles		881	Hyer, Joseph K.		2104
Hoskins, John D. C.		2255			
Hosmer, John E.		2100	Ingalls, Rufus		1198
Houston, David C.		1712	Ingalls, Thomas R.		289
Howard, Clarence O.		2232	Inge, Zebulon M. P.		985
Howard, Douglas A.		2723	Ingraham, Charles H.		1806
Howard, Edwin T.		2491	Irons, James A.		2808
Howard, Oliver O.		1634	Irons, Joseph F.		1070
Howard, William T.		2603	Irvin, William		1005
Howe, Albion P.		1066	Irvine, Armstrong		59
Howe, Chileab S.		567	Irwin, Douglass S.		1056
Howe, Edgar W.		2727	Irwin, George Le R.		3305
Howe, Edwin		1190	Irwin, Francis G.		2958
Howe, Myron W.		2564	Irwin, James R.		408
Howe, Walter		2200	Isham, Pierrepont		3216
Howell, Charles W.		2001	Ives, Brayton C.		1757
Howell, Daniel L.		2812	Ives, Edward B.		2731
Howell, Lewis		673	Ives, Joseph C.		1540
Howell, Rezin G.		2043	Ives, Rollin A.		2323
Howes, Leander T.		2198	Izard, J. Allen Smith		544
Howland, Carver		2616	Izard, James F.		524
Howland, George W.		1406			
Howze, Robert L.		3260	Jackson, Alfred B.		2980
Hoxie, Richard L.		2221	Jackson, Andrew		1812
Hoxton, Llewellyn G.		1893	Jackson, George		1740
Hoyle, Eli D.		2567	Jackson, Henry B.		4
Hoyle, George S.		2482	Jackson, James B.		2705
Hoyt, Ralph W.		2441	Jackson, John J.		190
Hubbard, Elmer W.		3070	Jackson, Thomas J.		1288
Hubert, Edgar		2843	Jackson, Thomas K.		1393
Hudson, Edward McK.		1428	Jackson, William H.		1748
Huger, Benjamin		399	Jadwin, Edgar		3331
Huger, Frank		1877	Jamar, Mitchell F.		2433
Hughes, Charles J.		977	James, Frederick J.		1993
Hughes, James B.		3056	James, William H. W.		2463
Hughes, Martin B.		2309	Jamison, Louis T.		377
Hughes, William B.		1753	James, Leroy L.		1924
Hulbert, William		978	Jarvis, Charles E.		1195
Humber, Charles H.		1040	Jefferson, John P.		2559
Humphrey, Evans		109	Jenkins, John M.		3183
Humphreys, Andrew A.		641	Jenkins, Leonidas		1071
Humphreys, George S.		1323	Jenkins, Micah J.		2790

NAME.	J-K	No.	NAME.	K	No.
Jenkins, Walworth		1601	Keais, John L.		799
Jennings, Rowley S.		964	Keech, Frank B.		3382
Jerome, Lovell H.		2368	Keene, Henry C.		3153
Jervoy, Henry		3238	Keller, Charles		2097
Jesup, Charles E.		1824	Keller, Charles		3332
Johns, Thomas		744	Kello, William O.		700
Johns, Thomas D.		1400	Kellogg, John		1422
Johns, William B.		1055	Kellogg, Josiah H.		1859
Johnson, Arthur		3157	Kellogg, Lyman M.		1572
Johnson, Ben.		3297	Kelton, John C.		1519
Johnson, Bushrod R.		1039	Kemp, Ulysses G.		3314
Johnson, David D.		2233	Kendall, Henry F.		2758
Johnson, Edward		972	Kendrick, Henry L.		801
Johnson, Franklin O.		2902	Kenly, William L.		3292
Johnson, John M.		2179	Kennedy, Chase W.		2986
Johnson, Milo		142	Kennedy, John F.		554
Johnson, Richard W.		1436	Kennon, Lyman W. V.		2928
Johnson, William O.		3336	Kensel, George A.		1769
Johnston, Abraham R.		813	Kent, J. Ford		1918
Johnston, Albert S.		436	Kernan, Francis J.		2896
Johnston, Alexander		381	Kerr, James T.		2906
Johnston, John A.		2782	Kerr, John B.		2362
Johnston, Joseph E.		553	Kerr, John M.		1865
Johnston, Richard W.		1129	Ketcham, Daniel W.		3351
Johnston, Robert		1477	Ketchum, James M.		953
Johnston, Thomas		318	Ketchum, Thomas		57
Johnstone, John P.		1175	Ketchum, William Scott		781
Jones, Arnold E.		923	Keyes, Erasmus D.		671
Jones, David R.		1312	Kibby, Epaphras		756
Jones, DeLancey F.		1316	Kilbourne, Charles E.		2131
Jones, Edmund C.		1620	Kilburn, Charles L.		1132
Jones, Edward N.		3168	Kilpatrick, Judson		1904
Jones, Frank B.		2818	Kimball, Frederick C.		3155
Jones, Francis L.		368	Kimmel, Manuing M.		1781
Jones, Horatio M.		2207	King, Charles		2136
Jones, James H.		2250	King, Rufus		710
Jones, James M.		2566	King, William R.		1999
Jones, John M.		1097	Kingman, Dan C.		2551
Jones, Robert T.		903	Kingsbury, Charles P.		1018
Jones, Roger		1527	Kingsbury, Frederick W.		2352
Jones, Samuel		1077	Kingsbury, Gaines P.		702
Jones, Samuel G.		3365	Kingsbury, Henry P.		2387
Jones, Samuel R.		2133	Kingsbury, Henry W.		1891
Jones, Thaddeus W.		2454	Kingsbury, Julius J. B.		343
Jones, Thomas M.		1625	Kinnard, Andrew		337
Jones, William A.		2029	Kinney, Samuel		607
Jones, William E.		1378	Kinney, Samuel H.		2046
Jones, William G.		1871	Kinsey, Samuel		1654
Jones, William K.		3227	Kinsley, Zebina J. D.		210
Jones, William P.		1020	Kinsman, Benjamin W.		529
Jordan, Allen R.		2788	Kirby, Edmund		1897
Jordan, Charles D.		1154	Kirby, Henry		2678
Jordan, Sidney E.		3294	Kirk, John C.		167
Jordan, Thomas		1057	Kirkham, Ralph W.		1147
Jordan, William H.		1831	Kirkman, George W.		3319
Judah, Henry M.		1201	Knapp, Joshua L.		2481
Judd, Henry B.		999	Knight, John G. D.		2220
Judson, John W.		870	Knight, John T.		3055
Judson, William V.		3240	Knowlton, Miner		550
Kalk, Frank G.		3122	Knox, Thomas T.		2396
Kane, Delancey A.		2269	Koehler, Lewis M.		3081
Kane, Elias K.		1105	Koester, Francis J.		3252
Kautz, August V.		1570	Korn, William H.		1014
			Krause, William		2088

NAME.	K-L	No.	NAME.	L	No.
Krayenbuhl, Maurice G.		3342	Lendrum, Thomas W.		145
Kreps, Jacob F.		3011	L'Engle, John		220
Kuhn, Joseph E.		3058	Lenihan, Michael J.		3230
Kurtz, John D.		1114	Leonard, Luther		44
Kyle, John G.		2353	Leonhaeuser, Harry A.		2924
Lacey, Edgar M.		496	Leoser, Charles McK.		1907
Lacey, Francis E.		3320	Leslie, Thomas J.		147
Lacey, Westwood.		307	Lester, Charles H.		2016
Ladd, Eugene F.		3032	Levy, Simon M.		2
Lagnel, Julius A. D.		285	Lewis, Edson A.		3191
Laidley, Theodore T. S.		1116	Lewis, Edward M.		3166
Lambert, Edward J.		171	Lewis, Fisher A.		848
Lamoureux, Thomas B.		3356	Lewis, Isaac N.		3031
La Motte, Joseph H.		495	Lewis, Martin V. B.		1872
Lancaster, James M.		1981	Lewis, Thomas J.		2802
Lancaster, Job R. H.		1023	Lewis, William H.		1421
Landers, George F.		3185	Leyden, James A.		2791
Landis, J. F. Reynolds.		2737	Liggett, Hunter.		2800
Landon, Henry H.		2464	Lincoln, Abram B.		1251
Lane, John F.		517	Lincoln, Albert.		312
Langdon, Loomis L.		1650	Linden, H. St. James.		420
Langfitt, William C.		2970	Lindsay, George F.		250
Lafghorne, George T.		3313	Lindsay, James R.		3346
Lansing, Arthur B.		877	Lindsey, Remembrance H.		2286
La Point, Henry C.		2495	Linnard, Thomas B.		595
Larnard, Charles H.		644	Lissak, Ormond M.		2939
Larned, Charles H.		644	Littebrant, William T.		3278
Larned, Charles W.		2339	Littell, Isaac W.		2996
Larrabee, Adam		55	Little, John		3080
Lasseigne, Armand I.		3150	Livermore, William R.		2052
Lassiter, William		3304	Livingston, John		5
Latimer, Alfred E.		1616	Livingston, LaRhett L.		1597
Lawson, George W.		592	Lloyd, Charles F.		2546
Lawton, Alexander R.		998	Lloyd, Thomas J.		2091
Lawton, Edward P.		3096	Lochridge, P. D.		3194
Lay, George W.		1151	Locke, Joseph L.		515
Lazelle, Henry M.		1706	Lockett, James		2798
Lea, Albert Miller.		633	Lockett, Samuel H.		1826
Leach, Smith S.		2550	Lockwood, Daniel W.		2123
Leadbetter, Danville		844	Lockwood, Henry H.		863
Learnard, Henry G.		3362	Loder, Samuel H.		2711
Leavell, Benjamin W.		2814	Loder, Richard		1732
Leavenworth, Jesse H.		608	Looser, Lucien		1136
Ledyard, Henry B.		2064	Lomax, Lunsford L.		1731
Lee, A. Nisbet		2061	Lomia, Luigi		2175
Lee, A. Tracy		2204	London, Robert		2485
Lee, Charles C.		1714	Long, Armistead L.		1466
Lee, Fitzhugh		1755	Long, Edwin R.		579
Lee, Francis		313	Long, George W.		369
Lee, G. W. Custis		1631	Long, John O.		1661
Lee, Harry R.		3308	Long, Oscar F.		2614
Lee, John F.		758	Long, Richard H.		1349
Lee, Richard B.		169	Longstreet, James		1164
Lee, Robert E.		542	Loomis, Gustavus		62
Lee, Roswell W.		714	Lorain, Lorenzo		1724
Lee, Stephen D.		1647	Loramier, Louis		25
Lee, Thomas J.		593	Lord, James H.		1992
Lee, Thomas J.		1796	Lord, Richard S. C.		1750
Legate, George M.		790	Loring, Henry H.		193
Legate, Stephen B.		628	Loucks, Melville R.		2041
Leggett, Wells W.		2299	Loughborough, Harrison		752
Leitch, Joseph D.		3325	Love, John		1072
Lemly, Henry R.		2421	Loveil, Mansfield		1119
			Loveridge, Eugene L.		3224

NAME.	L-M	No.	NAME.	M	No.
Loveridge, Wilbur		2838	McClellan, John		434
Lovering, Leonard A		2602	McClellan, John, Jr		2180
Low, Ephraim W		379	McClelland, George C		1205
Low, William H		2461	McClernand, Edward J		2347
Lowe, Bradley S. A		118	McClure, Charles		2810
Lowe, William W		1608	McClure, Daniel		1427
Lowndes, Rawlins		247	McClure, Daniel W		1427
Lucas, Eugene W. Van C		3176	McClure, George W		625
Lucas, Robert		23	McClure, James		742
Ludlow, Henry H		2598	McClure, Nathaniel F		3196
Ludlow, William		2027	McConnell, Thomas R		1321
Lugenbeel, Pinkney		1044	McCook, Alexander McD		1565
Lundeen, John A		2472	McCormick, Loyd S		2630
Lupton, Lancaster P		561	McCown, John P		1026
Lusk, James L		2718	McCrabb, John W		734
Luther, Roland A		858	McCrate, Thomas		888
Lydecker, Garrett J		2020	McCrea, Tully		1980
Lyford, Stephen C		1943	McCreery, William W		1857
Lyle, David A		2284	McCrimmon, Ariosto		2715
Lyman, Charles G		3156	McDonald, Angus W		173
Lynde, Isaac		501	McDonald, David N		2712
Lynn, Daniel D		1862	McDonald, Isaiah H		2364
Lyon, Henry G		3372	McDonald, John B		2930
Lyon, Hylan B		1729	McDonald, Philip W		1067
Lyon, Marcus W		2414	McDowell, Irvin		963
Lyon, Nathaniel		1069	McDuffee, Franklin		672
Macdonald, Godfrey H		2990	McElvain, Joseph		1269
Macfeely, Robert		1480	McFarland, Munroe		3269
Mack, Oscar A		1457	McFarland, Walter		1847
Mackall, James B		2223	McFarland, William E		2445
Mackall, William W		898	McFerran, John C		1200
Mackay, Alexander D		407	McGinness, John R		2003
Mackay, James O		2778	McGlachlin, Edward F		3301
Mackay, John		548	McGrath, Hugh J		2850
Mackenzie, Alexander		2024	McGregor, Robert		3287
Mackenzie, John		224	McIntire, Samuel B		1989
Mackenzie, Ranald S		1967	McIntosh, James		1449
Mackenzie, Samuel		187	McIntyre, Frank		3106
Maclay, Isaac W		2042	McIntyre, James B		1627
Maclay, Robert P		1048	McIver, George W		2950
Mac Nutt, Ira		2329	McKavett, Henry		773
Macomb, Alexander S		810	McKean, Thomas J		647
Macomb, John N		675	McKee, George W		2004
Macomb, Montgomery M		2512	McKee, Samuel		1810
Macrae, Nathaniel C		461	McKee, William R		552
McAlester, Miles D		1713	McKeever, Chauncey		1420
McAlexander, Ullyses G		3226	McKinney, John A		2390
McAllister, Julian		1334	McKinstry, Justus		980
McAndrew, James W		3249	McKintrey, Charles H		3239
McArthur, Joseph H		1443	McKissack, William M. D		822
McArthur, Malcolm		2099	McLane, Robert M		927
McArthur, Thomas		255	McLaughlin, William H		2075
McAuliffe, James R		2565	McLaws, Lafayette		1158
McCain, Henry P		3077	McLean, Eugene E		1157
McCaleb, Thomas S		2590	McLean, Nathaniel H		1395
McCall, George A		311	McLemore, Owen K		1749
McCallum, William B		2215	McLeod, Hugh		841
McCalmont, John S		1142	McMahon, John E		3107
McCarthy, Daniel E		2908	McMartin, Peter		393
McCaskey, Edward W		3130	McMartin, John		2695
McCanley, Charles A. H		2333	McMillan, James		1752
McCleary, John		1676	McNair, William S		3353
McClellan, George B		1273	McNamara, Thomas		320
			McNeill, Edwin		2720

NAME.	M	No.	NAME.	M	No.
McNeill, Henry C.		1785	Massey, Solon F.		2649
McNeill, William Gibbs		172	Mather, William W.		522
McNutt, Albert S.		2899	Mathews, John H.		970
McNutt, John		1019	Mauck, Edwin		2082
McPherson, James B.		1579	Mauldin, Frank G.		3350
McQuesten, James F.		1926	Maury, Dabney H.		1308
McQuiston, Charles		3015	Maus, Marion P.		2545
McRae, Alexander		1516	Maxey, Samuel B.		1329
McRae, James H.		3144	Maxon, Mason M.		2311
McRee, Samuel		253	Maxwell, J. Edward		1491
McRee, William		9	Maxwell, Marcus		3172
Madison, Ambrose		179	May, Charles O.		583
Magee, Augustus W.		48	May, Will T.		2816
Magilton, Albert L.		1289	Maynadier, Henry E.		1510
Magruder, John B.		601	Maynadier, William		472
Magruder, John T.		1783	Meade, George G.		804
Magruder, William B.		484	Meade, Richard K.		1761
Magruder, William T.		1460	Mebane, John A.		1465
Maguire, Edward		2164	Mechling, William T.		1401
Mahan, Dennis H.		361	Medcalfe, William M.		2600
Mahan, Frederick A.		2166	Meigs, John R.		1995
Maitland, William S.		259	Meigs, Montgomery C.		846
Major, James P.		1733	Mellen, Albert H.		2520
Malcolm, William		223	Mendell, George H.		1538
Mallery, John C.		2157	Mendenhall, John		1513
Mallory, John S.		2815	Menoher, Charles T.		3112
Maney, James A.		2713	Mercer, Hugh W.		510
Mann, James D.		2676	Mercer, John T.		1670
Mann, William A.		2574	Merchant, Charles G.		1204
Manning, David A.		624	Merchant, Charles S.		92
Mansfield, Edward D.		206	Mercur, James		2116
Mansfield, Francis W.		2397	Merillat, Alfred C.		3341
Mansfield, Joseph K. F.		287	Merrill, Abner H.		2132
Mansfield, Samuel M.		1972	Merrill, Elijah H.		2749
March, Peyton C.		3247	Merrill, Hamilton W.		967
March, Thomas J.		2264	Merrill, Henry		1249
Marcy, Randolph B.		690	Merrill, Lewis		1696
Marmaduke, John S.		1789	Merrill, Moses E.		465
Marsh, Frederick		2654	Merrill, William E.		1825
Marsh, Ormond		68	Merriman, Edward M.		2193
Marsh, Salem S.		1873	Merritt, Wesley		1868
Marshall, Elisha G.		1474	Metcalfe, Henry		2227
Marshall, Francis C.		3349	Metcalfe, John T.		947
Marshall, Humphrey		703	Meyer, Oren B.		3381
Marshall, James M.		2086	Meyler, James J.		3175
Marshall, Louis H.		1447	Michie, Peter S.		1996
Marshall, William L.		2225	Michie, Robert E. L.		3083
Martin, Chancellor		2258	Michler, Frank		2355
Martin, Charles H.		3192	Michler, Nathaniel		1375
Martin, James G.		1030	Middleton, Henry		121
Martin, James P.		1869	Miles, Dixon S.		387
Martin, John T.		3289	Miley, John D.		3193
Martin, Leonard		1920	Millar, Edward A.		2945
Martin, Medad C.		2661	Miller, A. Galbraith		1396
Martin, William F.		3094	Miller, Albert S.		359
Martin, William T.		907	Miller, A. Macomb		2049
Martindale, John H.		788	Miller, Crosby P.		2173
Marye, William A.		1977	Miller, John H.		718
Mason, Charles		541	Miller, Marcus P.		1805
Mason, George T.		1153	Miller, Morris S.		763
Mason, James L.		843	Miller, Samuel H.		638
Mason, John S.		1339	Miller, Samuel W.		2817
Mason, Milo		39	Miller, Thomas E.		1735
Mason, Stanton A.		2572	Miller, Wentz C.		2305

NAME.	M	No.	NAME.	M-N	No.
Miller, William H.		2450	Mott, Seward		3169
Millis, John		2879	Mott, Wallace		2382
Mills, Albert L.		2796	Mouton, John J. A. A.		1487
Mills, Samuel M.		2101	Mowry, Sylvester		1551
Mills, Stephen C.		2699	Mudge, Robert R.		720
Miner, Christopher C.		2807	Muir, Charles H.		3065
Minor, Charles L. C.		458	Mullan, John		1550
Minor, Colville J.		1291	Mullins, John		1673
Mishler, Lyman		1883	Mumford, Ferdinand S.		981
Mitcham, Orin B.		2519	Mumford, Thomas S.		2405
Mitchel, O. McKnight		555	Munroe, John		94
Mitchel, Ormsby M.		2067	Murdock, Francis B.		77
Mitchell, Alexander M.		818	Murphy, Eugene P.		2182
Mitchell, Enos G.		523	Murray, Albert M.		1990
Mizner, John K.		1743	Murray, Arthur		2510
Moberly, William J.		2153	Murray, Cunliffe H.		2665
Mock, William		879	Murray, Edward		1099
Molinard, Albert J. S.		1509	Murray, John W.		604
Moniac, David		324	Murray, Peter		3370
Monroe, James		131	Myers, Abraham C.		738
Montgomery, Alexander		785	Myers, Frederic		1315
Montgomery, George		3343	Myers, Jasper		1976
Montgomery, Thomas J.		1256	Myers, John E.		2488
Montgomery, William R.		419	Myers, William		1567
Moon, Henry B.		2863			
Moore, Charles E.		2103	Naglee, Henry M.		808
Moore, George D.		3373	Nance, John T.		3116
Moore, Harry DeW.		2420	Napier, Leroy		1807
Moore, Isaiah N.		1507	Nauman, George		333
Moore, James S.		582	Nave, Andrew H.		2388
Moore, John C.		1423	Neall, John M.		2994
Moore, Samuel D. J.		931	Neff, Albert J.		2150
Moore, Stephen W.		503	Neill, Lewis		1186
Moore, Tredwell		1356	Neill, Thomas H.		1357
Moorhead, Henry C.		889	Nelson, Anderson D.		1101
Mordecai, Alfred		326	Newcomb, Francis D.		386
Mordecai, Alfred, Jr.		1941	Newcomb, Warren P.		2937
Morell, George W.		786	Newcomer, Henry C.		3097
Morgan, Charles H.		1771	Newell, John E.		353
Morgan, Edwin W.		893	Newman, Samuel		42
Morgan, George H.		2858	Newton, John		1112
Morgan, James M.		795	Newton, William S.		199
Morgan, Michael R.		1646	Nicholls, Francis R. T.		1688
Moriarty, Ambrose I.		3212	Nicholls, John		354
Morley, George		85	Nichols, Thomas B.		2451
Morris, Charles		2108	Nichols, William A.		959
Morris, Charles F.		1110	Nicodemus, William J. L.		1820
Morris, Lewis N.		248	Niles, Lotns		2554
Morris, Thomas A.		753	Nimmo, William A.		1416
Morris, Thompson		316	Niskern, Albert D.		3121
Morris, William H.		1520	Noah, Samuel		30
Morris, William W.		261	Noble, Henry B.		1923
Morrison, Charles C.		2378	Noble, Patrick		1143
Morrison, James C.		2234	Noble, Robert H.		3052
Morrison, John F.		2904	Noel, Thomas		254
Morrison, William L. E.		531	Nolan, James E.		3143
Morse, Benjamin C.		3054	Norcom, Frederick		413
Morton, Alexander H.		276	Normoyle, James E.		3327
Morton, Alexander L.		2242	Norris, Charles E.		1517
Morton, Charles		2297	Norris, William F.		2446
Morton, Charles G.		2988	Northrop, Lucius B.		650
Morton, James St. C.		1495	Norton, Allen H.		1140
Moss, Henry N.		2205	Norton, Charles C.		2531
Mott, Thomas B.		3128	Norton, Seneca H.		2677

NAME.	N-O-P	No.	NAME.	P	No.
Norton, William A.		635	Parker, Dexter W.		2350
Noyes, Charles R.		2787	Parker, Francis H.		1952
Noyes, Henry E.		1955	Parker, James		2623
Nugen, John		1563	Parker, Percy		2821
Nute, Levi M.		340	Parker, Robert B.		1086
Nye, Frank E.		2289	Parker, Theophilus		2659
Oakes, James		1305	Parkhurst, Charles D.		2422
O'Brien, Alonzo L.		2789	Parkhurst, Jabez		114
O'Brien, John P. J.		857	Parks, Martin P.		449
O'Brien, Michael J.		3060	Parks, Martin P., Jr.		1514
O'Connell, John D.		1562	Parmeter, Almon L.		3073
O'Connor, Charles M.		2499	Parrott, Robert P.		363
O'Connor, Edgar		1672	Parsons, Charles C.		1945
O'Hara, James		2130	Partridge, Alden		15
O'Rourke, Patrick H.		1933	Partridge, William		18
O'Toole, William D.		2102	Patch, Alexander M.		2706
Ogden, Cornelius A.		205	Patrick, Marsena R.		833
Ogden, Edmund A.		649	Patrick, Mason M.		3098
Ogle, Alfred McC.		2786	Patten, Francis J.		2669
Ogle, Alexander		2455	Patten, George		1340
Ogle, Charles H.		1397	Patten, George H.		2954
Olmsted, George T.		2081	Patten, George W.		622
Olmsted, Jerauld A.		2354	Patterson, Charles E.		1903
Ord, Edward O. C.		1002	Patterson, George T. T.		2447
Orr, John D.		176	Patterson, Robert E.		1522
Orr, Solon		2140	Patterson, Thomas C.		2644
Osgood, Charles H.		3003	Paul, Gabriel R.		767
Osgood, Henry B.		2185	Pawling, Joseph H.		571
Osgood, Nathaniel W.		84	Paxton, Robert G.		3203
Osgood, Worth		2285	Payne, David W.		2053
Ostheim, Lewis		2987	Payne, J. Scott		2146
Otis, Elmer		1615	Payson, Albert H.		2219
Otis, Harrison G.		2527	Pearce, N. Bartlett		1475
Overman, Lewis C.		2048	Pearce, Thomas H.		468
Overton, Clough		3258	Pearson, Daniel C.		2336
Owens, Wesley		1726	Pease, William R.		1707
Oyster, Joseph S.		2518	Peck, Frank H.		2835
Paddock, George H.		2484	Peck, Fremont P.		3190
Paddock, James V. S.		2674	Peck, John J.		1174
Page, Francis N.		1100	Peck, Lafayette		1797
Pague, Samuel S.		2635	Peck, William G.		1206
Paige, George H.		1394	Pegram, George H.		737
Paige, Timothy		385	Pegram, John		1640
Paine, Eleazer		1009	Peirce, Austin L.		2341
Paine, Eleazer A.		1009	Peirce, William S.		3245
Paine, Ferdinand		1399	Pelouze, Louis H.		1595
Paine, William C.		1798	Pemberton, John C.		917
Palfrey, Carl F.		2315	Pender, William D.		1649
Palfrey, Edward A.		1530	Pendleton, Edwin P.		2781
Palfrey, John C.		1760	Pendleton, William N.		591
Palmer, Appleton D.		2070	Penn, Julius A.		3165
Palmer, Charles D.		3244	Pennington, Alex. C. M.		1864
Palmer, Frederick L.		3036	Penrose, James W.		539
Palmer, George		2637	Pentland, Joseph		275
Palmer, Innis N.		1309	Perkins, David		489
Palmer, Waterman		1664	Perkins, Delavan D.		1414
Palmer, William		518	Perkins, Frederick		3017
Pardee, Julius H.		2410	Perrine, Henry P.		2303
Park, Roswell		629	Perry, Alexander J.		1506
Parke, John G.		1408	Perry, Alexander W.		3277
Parke, John S.		2801	Perry, Christopher R.		1163
Parker, Charles F.		3067	Pershing, John J.		3126
			Peters, George P.		40
			Peterson, Matt R.		3315

NAME.	P	No.	NAME.	P-Q-R	No.
Petigru, Charles		559	Powell, Charles F.		2167
Petrikon, Reuben W.		2058	Powell, Hiram McL.		3347
Pettes, William H.		684	Powers, Clinton J.		2076
Pettit, Colville M.		3120	Pratt, Henry C.		910
Pettit, James S.		2722	Pratt, John T.		202
Peyton, Richard H.		634	Pratt, Sedgwick		2187
Phelps, Frederick E.		2348	Prentiss, George H.		488
Phelps, John W.		865	Prentiss, Henry E.		632
Philbrick, John H.		2670	Prentiss, James H.		598
Phillips, Charles B.		2028	Prescott, Jonathan		264
Phillips, Charles L.		2891	Preston, Guy H.		3262
Phillips, Edwin D.		1576	Price, David		2655
Phillips, Elias		350	Price, Philip M.		2276
Phillips, Joseph A.		351	Price, Robert N.		2366
Phillips, William A.		3317	Price, William H.		784
Phipps, Frank H.		2005	Prime, Frederick E.		1450
Phister, Nat. P.		2751	Prince, Henry		815
Pickell, John		301	Proctor, Robert G.		3118
Pickering, Abner		2735	Proveaux, Joseph		20
Pickett, George E.		1330	Pullman, John W.		2293
Picton, John M. W.		372	Putnam, George I.		3090
Piper, Alexander		1498	Putnam, Haldimand S.		1767
Piper, Alexander R.		3310	Pyle, George W.		2260
Pitcher, John		2634			
Pitcher, Thomas G.		1270	Quattlebaum, Paul J.		1788
Pitkin, Lucius		955	Quay, Andrew G. C.		3264
Pitman, John		2165	Quinan, William R.		2319
Platt, Edward R.		1419	Quinby, Isaac F.		1172
Pleasanton, Alfred		1212	Quinn, James B.		2122
Pleasanton, Augustus J.		448			
Plummer, Augustus H.		1626	Rabb, James D.		1997
Plummer, Edward H.		2660	Radford, Richard C. W.		1261
Plummer, Joseph B.		1080	Rafferty, William A.		2072
Plummer, Samuel M.		817	Rafferty, William C.		2830
Plummer, Satterlee C.		2109	Rains, Gabriel J.		482
Plympton, Peter W. L.		1365	Rains, George W.		1113
Poe, Orlando M.		1716	Rains, Sevier M.		2610
Poillon, Richard H.		2386	Ramsay, George D.		257
Poland, John S.		1921	Ramsay, George D., Jr.		2012
Poland, Martin L.		2036	Ramseur, Stephen D.		1860
Polk, Leonidas		477	Ramsey, Frank DeW.		3075
Polk, Marshall T.		1558	Randal, Horace		1675
Pond, George E.		2432	Randell, Theodore		52
Poole, Benjamin		596	Randol, Alanson M.		1855
Pooler, Robert W.		149	Randolph, Benjamin H.		2332
Poore, Benjamin A.		3129	Randolph, Thomas B.		79
Pope, Curran		760	Rankin, James L.		997
Pope, James W.		2257	Ransom, Hyatt C.		1515
Pope, John		1127	Ransom, Owen P.		969
Pope, John, Jr.		2248	Ransom, Robert		1467
Porter, A. Parker		1719	Rathbone, Jared L.		2090
Porter, David M.		284	Rathbone, Samuel B.		34
Porter, David R.		2068	Rawles, Jacob B.		1916
Porter, Fitz-John		1238	Rawson, William		2306
Porter, Giles		188	Raymond, Charles W.		2047
Porter, Horace		1849	Raynolds, William F.		1171
Porter, James E.		2288	Rea, Charles H.		2287
Porter, John M.		2772	Read, George W.		3008
Post, James C.		2059	Read, Robert D.		2696
Post, Justus		26	Read, William		1221
Postley, Clarence A.		2327	Reap, Frank P.		2466
Potter, Charles L.		3101	Reber, Samuel		3113
Potter, Joseph H.		1188	Reed, Henry A.		2321
Powell, Albert M.		1866	Reed, Hugh T.		2503

NAME.	R	No.	NAME.	R	No.
Reed, James G.		776	Robbins, Kenelm		2017
Reed, Sardine P.		1814	Robert, Henry M.		1763
Rees, Thomas H.		3100	Roberts, Alphus		43
Reese, Chauncey B.		1828	Roberts, Benjamin S.		838
Reese, William I.		2296	Roberts, Harris L.		2864
Reeve, Isaac V. D.		830	Roberts, Joseph		793
Reeves, Isaac S. K.		949	Robertson, Beverly H.		1431
Reid, Charles M.		2078	Robertson, Edgar B.		2523
Reid, James R.		2019	Robertson, Samuel C.		2795
Reid, J. Chester		743	Robertson, William		1046
Reilly, James W.		2006	Robins, Ernest S.		3048
Remak, Stanislaus		2206	Robinson, Augustus G.		1777
Remington, Philip H.		1956	Robinson, Eustace		780
Rennard, John C.		3338	Robinson, Henry E.		2399
Reno, Jesse L.		1279	Robinson, James W.		1548
Reno, Marcus A.		1779	Robinson, William G.		1822
Renick, Robert M.		796	Robinson, William W.		2304
Reynolds, Alexander W.		975	Robinson, Wirt		3182
Reynolds, Alfred		2536	Rockwell, Charles F.		2008
Reynolds, Bainbridge		2486	Rockwell, Charles H.		2298
Reynolds, Frank A.		1965	Rockwell, James		2316
Reynolds, John F.		1084	Rodgers, Alexander		2579
Reynolds, Joseph J.		1176	Rodgers, Alexander P.		1301
Reynolds, Samuel H.		1448	Rodgers, John I.		1898
Reynolds, William		346	Rodman, John B.		2252
Reynolds, William B.		2805	Rodman, Samuel		2947
Reynolds, William F.		2169	Rodman, Thomas J.		1065
Rhea, William		1264	Rodney, George C.		916
Rhett, Thomas G.		1236	Roe, Charles F.		2268
Rhett, Thomas S.		1382	Roe, Fayette W.		2409
Rhodes, Charles D.		3307	Roe, William J.		2209
Ribbel, Charles H.		2393	Roessler, Solomon W.		2643
Riblett, Jacob R.		2431	Rogers, Alfred H.		2453
Rice, Frank S.		2514	Rogers, Charles G.		1641
Rice, Olin F.		1928	Rogers, Daniel G.		1054
Rieh, Lucius L.		1628	Rogers, James S.		2862
Richards, George C.		328	Rogers, Jason		283
Richards, James R.		2746	Rogers, Robert M.		2177
Richards, Melzar C.		2889	Rogers, William E.		2161
Richardson, Asa		352	Roland, John F.		860
Richardson, Israel B.		1096	Rollins, James H.		1991
Richardson, Wilds P.		3042	Ronan, George		69
Riche, Charles S.		3099	Root, DeWitt N.		1505
Richey, John A.		1248	Root, Edwin A.		2993
Richmond, Ephraim T. C.		2184	Rose, Edwin		600
Ricketts, James B.		1001	Rose, George W.		1539
Ridgely, Charles G.		433	Rose, William		292
Ridgely, Randolph		932	Rosecrans, William S.		1115
Ridgely, Samuel C.		637	Rosecrans, Mortimer		1107
Ridgely, Samuel H.		454	Ross, Edward C.		268
Ridgway, Thomas		2978	Ross, Francis H.		2092
Rigal, William F.		122	Ross, Reuben R.		1629
Riggs, Joel		733	Ross, Richard H.		626
Riley, Edward B. D.		1880	Rossell, William T.		2470
Ringgold, George H.		739	Roumfort, Augustus L.		161
Ringgold, Samuel		184	Rousseau, Gustave S.		528
Ringgold, Thomas Lee		952	Rowan, Andrew S.		2920
Ripley, James W.		102	Rowan, Hamilton		2640
Ripley, Roswell S.		1173	Rowell, Charles W.		2529
Ritner, Joseph		613	Rowell, Melvin W.		3367
Ritter, John F.		1742	Roy, James P.		1444
Rivers, Tyree R.		2999	Roys, Rufus A.		1374
Rivers, William C.		3197	Royster, Thomas J.		620
Rives, Wright		1929	Ruckman, John W.		2979

NAME.	R-S	No.	NAME.	S	No.
Ruff, Charles F.		984	Schuler, John J.		300
Ruffner, Ernest H.		2156	Schumm, Herman C.		3198
Ruger, Thomas H.		1633	Schureman, James W.		1152
Ruggles, Colden P.H.		3335	Schuyler, Walter S.		2331
Ruggles, Daniel.		740	Schwatka, Frederick.		2389
Ruggles, George D.		1695	Scott, Albert B.		2359
Ruhlen, George.		2426	Scott, George L.		2582
Rumbough, David J.		2839	Scott, Henry L.		747
Runcie, James E.		2768	Scott, Hugh L.		2628
Rundell, Charles H.		1560	Scott, John B.		274
Rupp, Joseph D.		225	Scott, John F.		272
Rush, Richard H.		1297	Scott, John M.		326
Russ, Charles P.		3254	Scott, John W.		331
Russell, Albert J.		2633	Scott, Moses.		646
Russell, Andrew H.		2373	Scott, Robert J.		135
Russell, David A.		1268	Scott, William S.		2852
Russell, Edgar.		3184	Screven, Richard B.		586
Russell, Edmund.		1327	Scriven, George P.		2721
Russell, Frank W.		2262	Searight, Joseph D.		439
Russell, John B. F.		196	Searle, Frederic.		335
Russell, John C.		196	Searle, Zetus S.		1490
Russell, Robert M.		1390	Sears, Claudius W.		1089
Rust, Armistead T. M.		1141	Sears, Clinton B.		2158
Rutledge, Arthur M.		922	Sears, Henry B.		1285
Ryan, George.		1793	Seaton, Augustine F.		748
Ryan, James A.		3358	Seawell, Washington.		411
Ryan, John P.		3265	Seay, Samuel.		3222
Ryan, Stephen V. R.		397	Sedgwick, John.		914
Sacket, Delos B.		1262	Selden, Henry R.		1197
Saffold, Marion B.		2820	Sevier, Robert.		521
Safford, Robert E.		2683	Seward, Augustus H.		1364
Sage, William H.		2952	Seymour, Truman.		1290
Sample, William R.		3266	Shaaff, John T.		1531
Sanders, John.		751	Shackleford, Muscoe L.		867
Sanders, William P.		1751	Shaler, Charles.		2170
Sanderson, James A.		1984	Shanks, David C.		3053
Sands, Abraham L.		51	Sharpe, Henry G.		2872
Sands, George H.		2871	Shattuck, Amos B.		3146
Sanford, James C.		3022	Shaw, George W.		827
Sanno, James M. J.		2018	Shelton, Edwin H.		2357
Sargent, Alden.		1485	Shepherd, Oliver L.		1049
Sargent, Herbert H.		2991	Shepperd, Samuel T.		1666
Sartle, William J.		2197	Sheridan, Philip H.		1612
Satterlee, Charles B.		2601	Sherman, James L.		2071
Saunders, Franklin.		940	Sherman, Thomas W.		859
Saunders, John S.		1802	Sherman, William T.		1022
Savage, Richard H.		2224	Sherwood, Walter.		928
Sawtelle, Charles G.		1668	Shields, Hamilton L.		1295
Saxton, Rufus.		1424	Shian, John B.		1728
Sayre, Farrand.		3041	Shipp, William E.		2982
Scammon, E. Parker.		899	Shiras, Alexander E.		726
Scarritt, Jeremiah M.		945	Shoemaker, Frank L.		2256
Schaeffer, Charles M.		2734	Shollenberger, John H.		3002
Schaff, Morris.		1975	Shoup, Francis A.		1691
Schenck, Alexander D.		2191	Shover, William H.		956
Schenck, Bard P.		3234	Shunk, Francis J.		1583
Schenck, Edwin.		476	Shunk, Francis R.		3174
Schofield, Charles B.		2351	Shunk, William A.		2770
Schofield, John M.		1585	Sibert, William L.		3027
Schofner, James C.		2657	Sibley, Caleb.		568
Schrivver, Edmund.		723	Sibley, Caleb C.		568
Schroeder, Henry A.		2833	Sibley, Ebenezer S.		470
Schroeder, Henry B.		1227	Sibley, Frederick W.		2530
			Sibley, Henry H.		971

NAME.	S	No.	NAME.	S	No.
Sickel, Horatio G.		2629	Smith, Joseph P.		1228
Siekles, Ethan C.		218	Smith, Joseph R.		347
Sidell, William H.		712	Smith, Larkin		832
Sill, Henry G.		668	Smith, Martin L.		1126
Sill, Joshua W.		1581	Smith, Melancthon.		1529
Silvey, William		1412	Smith, Richard S.		779
Simmons, Seneca G.		771	Smith, Robert Percy		663
Simonson, James		123	Smith, Sebree		2359
Simonton, Isaac P.		498	Smith, S. Stanhope		182
Simpson, James H.		679	Smith, William		750
Simpson, Marcus D. L.		1293	Smith, William D.		1306
Simpson, Wendell L.		3034	Smith, William F.		1234
Simpson, William A.		2555	Smith, William F.		2301
Sims, William H.		459	Smith, William H.		2995
Sinclair, William		1776	Smith, William P.		1768
Sing, Charles B.		861	Smith, William S.		1006
Sitgreaves, Lorenzo		686	Smith, William S.		1584
Skerrrett, Delamare		3300	Smith, William W.		88
Skinner, Aaron B.		260	Smoke, Samuel A.		3236
Sladen, Frederick W.		3357	Smyser, Jacob H.		1915
Slaker, Adam		2652	Snelling, James G. S.		1254
Slaughter, William A.		1389	Snow, William J.		3354
Slavens, Thomas H.		3195	Snyder, Antes		572
Slemmer, Adam J.		1461	Snyder, George W.		1711
Sloan, Benjamin		1853	Sokalski, George O.		1927
Sloan, Benjamin F.		1853	Soley, James R.		930
Sloan, P. Elmendorf		2113	Solomon, Owen F.		1596
Slocum, Henry W.		1542	Soulé, Frank		2125
Sloo, John R.		129	Southerland, Samuel M.		330
Small, Michael P.		1687	Sparrow, Solomon E.		2728
Smalley, Henry A.		1653	Spencer, Eugene J.		2936
Smallwood, Jenifer H.		2300	Spencer, James M.		162
Smead, Abner		1655	Spilman, Baldwin D.		2744
Smead, John R.		1645	Spoor, Charles H. E.		890
Smead, Raphael C.		398	Springett, Howard A.		2647
Smiley, Samuel E.		3085	Sprole, Henry W.		2308
Smith, Abiel L.		2756	Squier, George O.		3180
Smith, Alfred T.		1867	Stanley, David S.		1544
Smith, Andrew J.		976	Stansbury, Smith		1062
Smith, Benjamin F.		1617	Stanton, Henry W.		1155
Smith, Charles F.		410	Stanton, William S.		2055
Smith, Charles G.		288	Starr, Charles G.		2742
Smith, Charles P.		2089	Starring, William S.		2087
Smith, Charles S.		2128	Stedman, Clarence A.		2363
Smith, Edmund D.		2773	Steele, Charles L.		2811
Smith, Edmund K.		1255	Steele, Frederick		1196
Smith, E. Kirby		469	Steele, Matthew F.		2992
Smith, Erneste V.		3160	Steele, William		1047
Smith, Ezra		63	Steever, Edgar Z.		2371
Smith, Francis H.		711	Stephenson, James R.		314
Smith, Frederic A.		707	Stephenson, Thomas T.		108
Smith, Frederick A.		2489	Steptoe, Edward J.		924
Smith, Fred E.		2619	Sterling, George A.		570
Smith, George R.		2580	Sterrett, Essex		478
Smith, Gustavus W.		1118	Steuart, George H.		1405
Smith, Henry		139	Stevens, Charles J.		2960
Smith, Henry L.		990	Stevens, Edward G.		2325
Smith, Horace		409	Stevens, George		1184
Smith, James A.		1623	Stevens, Gustave W. S.		3131
Smith, Jared A.		1971	Stevens, Isaac I.		986
Smith, J. Allen		544	Stevens, Robert R.		2677
Smith, J. L. Kirby		1765	Stevens, Walter H.		1372
Smith, John W. A.		362	Stevenson, Carter L.		982
Smith, Joseph Brice		547	Stevenson, Matthew R.		1322

NAME.	S	No.	NAME.	S-T	No.
Stewart, Alexander P		1122	Sweitzer, N. Bowman		1602
Stewart, Cecil		3111	Swift, Alexander J		587
Stewart, Charles		2875	Swift, Eben		2621
Stewart, C. Seaforth		1272	Swift, Joseph G.		1
Stewart, Henry R.		349	Swift, Joseph G.		2142
Stewart, Joseph		1128	Swift, William H.		231
Stewart, Reid T.		2377	Swigert, Samuel M.		2245
Stickney, Amos		2022	Swords, Thomas		563
Stilwell, William S.		505	Sydenham, Alvin H.		3296
Stith, Donald C.		1493	Sykes, George		1149
Stivers, Charles B.		1736	Symington, John		126
Stivers, Charles P.		2799	Symmes, John C.		1331
Stockle, George E.		3274	Symmonds, Charles J.		3377
Stockham, Edward V.		3328	Symonds, Henry C.		1590
Stockton, Edward D.		1418	Symons, Thomas W.		2509
Stockton, Philip		1568			
Stockton, Richard G.		885	Taber, Henry S.		2469
Stockton, Thomas		654	Taggart, Elmore F.		3007
Stockton, Thomas B. W.		495	Talcott, Andrew		181
Stockton, William T.		757	Talcott, George H.		639
Stoddard, John S.		603	Tallmadge, Grier		1388
Stokes, James H.		802	Tannatt, Thomas R.		1804
Stoll, Walter R.		2925	Tappan, Alexander H.		819
Stone, Charles P.		1237	Tardy, John A.		1848
Stone, Roderick		1838	Tate, Daniel L.		2856
Stone, William P.		2981	Taylor, Charles W.		2819
Stoneman, George		1304	Taylor, Daniel M.		2277
Storer, William H.		697	Taylor, Francis		400
Story, Henry C.		1144	Taylor, George		913
Story, John P.		2066	Taylor, Harry		3026
Stotsenburg, John M.		2919	Taylor, James H.		616
Stottler, Victor E.		2949	Taylor, John R. M.		3318
Stoughton, Edwin H.		1841	Taylor, Joseph H.		1741
Straub, Oscar I.		3188	Taylor, Oliver H. P.		1302
Street, Nathaniel H.		414	Taylor, Walter L.		3233
Street, Washington P.		1361	Tear, Charles C.		3013
Stretch, John F.		2149	Tebbetts, Clinton H.		2337
Strong, Erastus B.		1219	Temple, Robert E.		511
Strong, Frederick S.		2837	Templeman, George		78
Strong, George C.		1764	Terrill, William R.		1594
Strong, Jasper		229	Tevis, Washington C.		1430
Strong, Joseph		195	Thayer, Arthur		3103
Stuart, James		1310	Thayer, Russell		2525
Stuart, James E. B.		1643	Thayer, Sylvanus		33
Stuart, Sidney E.		2829	Thom, George		992
Stubbs, James R.		158	Thomas, Bryan M.		1819
Sturgeon, Sheldon		1932	Thomas, Charles W.		1698
Sturgis, James G.		2578	Thomas, Earl D.		2295
Sturgis, Samuel D.		1303	Thomas, Francis J.		1211
Sturgis, Samuel D., Jr.		3033	Thomas, Frederick		424
Styer, Henry D.		3049	Thomas, George C.		876
Sudler, Thomas E.		234	Thomas, George H.		1028
Sullivan, George R.		578	Thomas, John A.		721
Sullivan, Thomas C.		1722	Thomas, Lorenzo		342
Sully, Alfred		1092	Thomas, Robert B.		1553
Sumter, William		81	Thompson, Alexander R.		75
Suplee, Edwin M.		3263	Thompson, Henry A.		209
Suter, Charles R.		1970	Thompson, James		1499
Swain, Hugh		3376	Thompson, James K.		3046
Swaine, Peter T.		1559	Thompson, James L.		527
Swaine, William M.		3147	Thompson, James S.		420
Swartwout, Henry		701	Thompson, John C.		2154
Swearingen, Joseph V.		390	Thompson, John T.		2942
Sweet, John J.		1882	Thompson, Philip R.		821

NAME.	T	No.	NAME.	T-U-V	No.
Thompson, Richard E.		2251	Turnbull, Charles N.		1636
Thompson, W. Beverhout.		391	Turnbull, William.		211
Thorington, Monroe P.		2673	Turner, Daniel.		103
Thornburg, Thomas T.		2181	Turner, George L.		2535
Thornton, William A.		403	Turner, George W.		636
Thurston, Charles M.		105	Turner, Henry S.		770
Thurston, Walter A.		2825	Turner, John W.		1690
Tibbatts, S. Theodore.		823	Turner, Reuben B.		2897
Tidball, John C.		1379	Turnley, Parmenas T.		1311
Tidball, Joseph L.		1432	Turtle, Thomas.		2159
Tilden, Bryant P.		1036	Tutherly, Herbert E.		2460
Tilford, Joseph G.		1533	Tuttle, Stephen.		232
Tilghman, Lloyd.		887	Twining, William J.		1998
Tilghman, Richard C.		509	Twiss, Thomas S.		430
Tilghman, Tench.		683	Tyler, Augustus C.		2498
Tillinghast, Nicholas.		374	Tyler, Charles H.		1391
Tillinghast, Otis H.		1343	Tyler, Charles R.		2543
Tillman, Samuel E.		2275	Tyler, Daniel.		216
Tilson, John C. F.		2736	Tyler, Robert O.		1600
Tingle, Charles A.		2556	Tyler, William H.		1324
Tipton, John.		1717	Tyson, Laurence D.		3019
Todd, Albert.		2645			
Todd, Henry D.		3337	Uline, Willis.		3374
Todd, John B. S.		929	Umbstaetter, Charles L.		2152
Todd, John W.		1541	Underhill, Frederick A.		204
Tolman, Thomas M.		2065	Upham, John J.		1844
Tompkins, Christopher Q.		868	Upham, William H.		2139
Tompkins, Daniel D.		241	Upton, Emory.		1895
Torbert, Alfred T. A.		1697	Ury, Asbury.		705
Torrence, Samuel.		533			
Torrey, William G.		1053	Vail, Jefferson.		279
Torrey, Zerah W.		2874	Vallé, Louis.		35
Totten, Charles A. L.		2473	Van Bokkelen, William K.		1193
Totten, Edward H.		2079	Van Buren, Abraham.		506
Totten, James.		1083	Van Buren, Daniel T.		1336
Totten, John R.		2725	Van Camp, Cornelius.		1679
Totten, Joseph G.		10	Vance, Capers D.		3280
Toney, Timothy A.		2576	Vance, Joseph C.		669
Tower, Zealous B.		1059	Van Cleve, Horatio P.		652
Towers, John A.		3102	Vanderbilt, George W.		1885
Townsend, Curtis McD.		2763	Vanderveer, John S.		619
Townsend, Edward D.		906	Van Deusen, George W.		2842
Townsend, E. Franklin.		1658	Van DeVenter, Christopher.		46
Townsend, Joel C.		440	Van DeVenter, Michael F.		141
Townsend, Thomas G.		2407	Van Dorn, Earl.		1162
Townsley, Clarence P.		2892	Van Horn, James J.		1811
Towsley, Charles D.		3092	Van Horne, Jefferson.		499
Trapier, James H.		943	Van Liew, Frederick T.		2931
Trask, Thomas S.		493	Van Orsdale, John T.		2425
Traub, Peter E.		3127	Van Rensselaer, Henry.		648
Travis, Pierce M. B.		2857	Van Swearingen, Joseph.		390
Treadwell, Thomas J.		1635	Van Vliet, Stewart.		1025
Treat, Charles G.		2944	Van Voast, James.		1543
Trenor, Eustace.		308	Van Wyck, Philip R.		540
Trescot, George.		90	Varnum, Charles A.		2427
Trevitt, John.		1217	Vestal, Solomon P.		3250
Trimble, Isaac R.		302	Veuve, Henry de.		1547
Tripp, Frederick A.		3201	Viele, Egbert L.		1360
Tripp, Percy E.		2878	Villard, Hippolyte H.		65
Trout, Harry G.		3135	Villepigue, John B.		1652
Trowbridge, William P.		1360	Vincent, Thomas M.		1589
Truitt, Charles M.		2794	Vining, Benjamin C.		192
Tufts, Danforth H.		447	Vinton, David H.		299
Tufts, John M.		251	Vinton, Francis.		590

NAME.	V-W	No.	NAME.	W	No.
Vinton, Francis L.		1720	Waters, James H.		2907
Vinton, John R.		168	Watson, George		670
Vogdes, Charles B.		2870	Watson, James W.		2877
Vogdes, Israel		901	Watson, Malbone F.		1912
Volkmar, William J.		2249	Watts, Charles H.		2442
Vose, William P.		2044	Watts, George O.		1964
Wade, Levi L.		1669	Wayman, Samuel P.		2697
Wade, Robert B.		2112	Wayne, Henry C.		954
Wager, Barnet		2201	Weaver, Erasmus M.		2563
Waggaman, George G.		806	Webb, Alexander S.		1689
Wagner, Arthur L.		2589	Webb, George		197
Wagner, Orlando G.		1829	Webb, William A.		1613
Wainwright, George		1226	Webber, John A.		153
Wainwright, Robert A.		837	Webster, Edmund K.		2524
Wainwright, Robert P. P.		2573	Webster, Frank D.		3324
Waite, Henry DeH.		2803	Webster, George O.		2144
Walbach, Louis A. B.		765	Webster, Horace		183
Walbridge, Truman K.		1385	Webster, Isaac T.		2138
Walcutt, Charles C.		3123	Webster, John McA.		2402
Walke, Willoughby		2984	Webster, Lucien B.		331
Walker, Benjamin		215	Weed, Stephen H.		1657
Walker, Charles J.		1774	Weeden, John H.		2119
Walker, Edgar S.		3014	Weeks, George H.		1782
Walker, George B.		2435	Weeks, Harrison S.		2265
Walker, Henry H.		1619	Weigel, William		3200
Walker, Henry P.		2540	Weir, William B.		2318
Walker, John P.		2147	Weitzel, Godfrey		1678
Walker, Leverett H.		2385	Welborn, Luther S.		2775
Walker, Lucius M.		1464	Welch, Louis D.		1244
Walker, Thomas W.		1739	Welcker, George L.		842
Walker, William H. T.		936	Welcker, William T.		1497
Wall, William		674	Weld, Thomas B. J.		1246
Wallace, David		270	Wells, James M.		824
Wallace, George D.		2419	Wells, William		111
Wallace, Robert B.		3348	Wells, William W.		265
Wallace, William B.		853	Welsh, Blanton C.		2961
Wallen, Henry D.		1050	Wendell, Abraham		133
Wallen, Henry D., Jr.		2189	Wessells, Henry W.		735
Waller, Henry		724	West, Barrington K.		2956
Walsh, Robert D.		3005	West, Frank		2428
Waltz, Millard F.		2743	West, James		605
Ward, Charles R.		2403	West, Parker W.		2921
Ward, Frederick K.		2344	Westmore, Stephen M.		503
Ward, George W.		662	Wetmore, Samuel W.		110
Ward, James N.		1258	Wetmore, William B.		2448
Ward, Thomas		2010	Wever, Benjamin S.		2861
Wardwell, Henry		1045	Wharton, Henry C.		1973
Warfield, William H.		573	Whedbee, Thomas M.		1281
Warner, Charles N.		1994	Wheeler, Charles B.		3177
Warner, Edward R.		1780	Wheeler, Edward D.		2045
Warner, James M.		1886	Wheeler, Elbert		2562
Warner, William H.		851	Wheeler, Fred		2752
Warren, Gouverneur K.		1451	Wheeler, George M.		2120
Warren, James G.		2883	Wheeler, James		1694
Washington, George A.		134	Wheeler, Joseph		1843
Washington, John M.		178	Wheeler, Junius B.		1681
Washington, Thornton A.		1439	Wheeler, Otis		281
Wassell, William H.		3231	Wheeler, William B.		2400
Wasson, James R.		2370	Wheeler, William H.		2548
Waterman, C. Douglas		2032	Wheelock, Joseph H.		1455
Waterman, Henry E.		2971	Wheelock, Thompson B.		295
Waterman, John C.		2916	Wheelwright, Washington		269
Waters, George W.		338	Whipple, Amiel W.		1063
			Whipple, Charles W.		2230

NAME.	W	No.	NAME.	W	No.
Whipple, Herbert S.		3095	Williams, Wolvert E.		151
Whipple, Joseph H.		835	Williamson, Andrew J.		1156
Whipple, William D.		1524	Williamson, George McK.		3208
Whistler, George W.		214	Williamson, John.		451
Whistler, Joseph N. G.		1318	Williamson, Robert S.		1373
White, Edward B.		437	Wills, John H.		2926
White, James L.		1603	Wilson, Clarendon J. L.		1280
White, John V.		2653	Wilson, Eugene T.		3248
White, Moses J.		1799	Wilson, George.		621
White, Richard M.		160	Wilson, Horatio A.		373
White, Ulysses G.		2395	Wilson, James H.		1483
Whitehead, Nathaniel J.		2824	Wilson, James H.		1852
Whitehome, Samuel.		882	Wilson, James L.		2513
Whitely, Robert H. K.		599	Wilson, J. Eveleth.		1987
Whiting, Charles J.		789	Wilson, John M.		1858
Whiting, Daniel P.		689	Wilson, Richard H.		2666
Whiting, Henry.		1033	Wilson, Thomas.		1607
Whiting, Henry M.		1124	Winder, Charles S.		1471
Whiting, William H. C.		1231	Winder, John H.		242
Whittemore, James M.		1854	Winn, Frank L.		3158
Whittlesey, Charles.		660	Winn, John S.		3246
Whittlesey, Joseph H.		1207	Winship, Oscar F.		1038
Wholley, John W.		3366	Winslow, Eben E.		3282
Wickliffe, Charles.		1011	Winston, Donald.		2740
Wieting, Orlando L.		2360	Winston, Eddie T.		3311
Wilcox, Cadmus M.		1325	Winston, Thomas W.		3340
Wilcox, James H. G.		2867	Wisser, John P.		2517
Wilcox, John R.		317	Withers, John.		1429
Wilcox, Joseph M.		72	Withers, Jones M.		829
Wilder, Wilber E.		2672	Wittenmyer, Edmund.		3228
Wilder, William T.		3271	Witter, Henry F.		1532
Wildrick, Abram C.		1773	Wittich, Willis.		2534
Wilhelm, William H.		3272	Woleott, Christopher C.		2210
Wilkins, Harry E.		3187	Wolf, Paul A.		3371
Wilkins, John D.		1317	Wolf, Silas A.		2757
Wilkinson, Frederick.		658	Wood, Abram E.		2424
Wilkinson, John W.		2440	Wood, Charles E. S.		2532
Wilkinson, Theophilus F. J.		685	Wood, Edward E.		2317
Willard, Joseph H.		2226	Wood, Eleazer D.		17
Willard, Prentiss.		19	Wood, Ingham.		657
Willard, Simon.		125	Wood, Lafayette B.		1191
Willcox, Cornelis DeW.		3061	Wood, Oliver E.		2192
Willcox, E. Farnsworth.		2755	Wood, Thomas J.		1235
Willcox, Francis W.		3290	Wood, William T.		2682
Willcox, Orlando B.		1338	Wood, William H.		1267
Willey, Thomas M.		2267	Wood, Winthrop S.		3312
Williams, Alexander J.		53	Woodbridge, Francis.		904
Williams, Charles A.		2544	Woodbridge, George.		442
Williams, Charles W.		2592	Woodbury, Daniel P.		847
Williams, Edward R.		585	Woodbury, Thomas C.		2436
Williams, George A.		1569	Woodruff, Charles A.		2380
Williams, James S.		656	Woodruff, Eugene A.		2121
Williams, John B.		1913	Woodruff, George A.		1948
Williams, John R.		2593	Woodruff, I. Carle.		871
Williams, Lawrence A.		1571	Woodruff, Thomas M.		2384
Williams, Matthew J.		405	Woods, Charles R.		1555
Williams, Richard A.		2334	Woods, James S.		1222
Williams, Robert.		1512	Woods, Joseph J.		1333
Williams, Robert C.		3162	Woods, Samuel.		926
Williams, Seth.		1133	Woodward, Charles G.		2651
Williams, Solomon.		1808	Wooley, Frederick.		2724
Williams, Thomas.		902	Wooster, Charles F.		921
Williams, Thomas G.		1438	Worden, Charles A.		2449
Williams, William G.		375	Worth, Henry A. F.		1846

NAME.	W	No.	NAME.	W-Y-Z	No.
Worth, Joseph S.....		415	Wright, William H.....		941
Worthington, Thomas.....		481	Wyatt, Walter S.....		2381
Wragg, Samuel.....		323	Wygant, Henry.....		2462
Wright, Aaron M.....		321	Wyman, Powell T.....		1454
Wright, Benjamin H.....		304	Wyndham, John D.....		24
Wright, Crafts J.....		538	Wyse, Francis O.....		933
Wright, Edmund S.....		3140			
Wright, Edward M.....		2126	Yeatman, Richard T.....		2430
Wright, George.....		309	Yeaton, Franklin.....		2294
Wright, Horatio G.....		1060	Yoakum, Henderson K.....		682
Wright, James.....		1663	Young, Charles.....		3330
Wright, James H.....		569	Young, Edward C.....		3178
Wright, John.....		99	Young, Richard W.....		2946
Wright, Moses H.....		1831	Young, William C.....		297
Wright, Thomas.....		1425	Young, Willard.....		2553
Wright, Thomas J.....		1642			
Wright, Walter K.....		2998	Zinn, George A.....		2969