

historic structure report

historical and architectural data

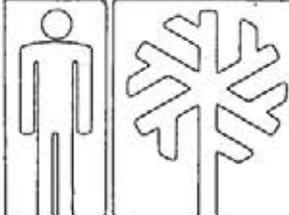
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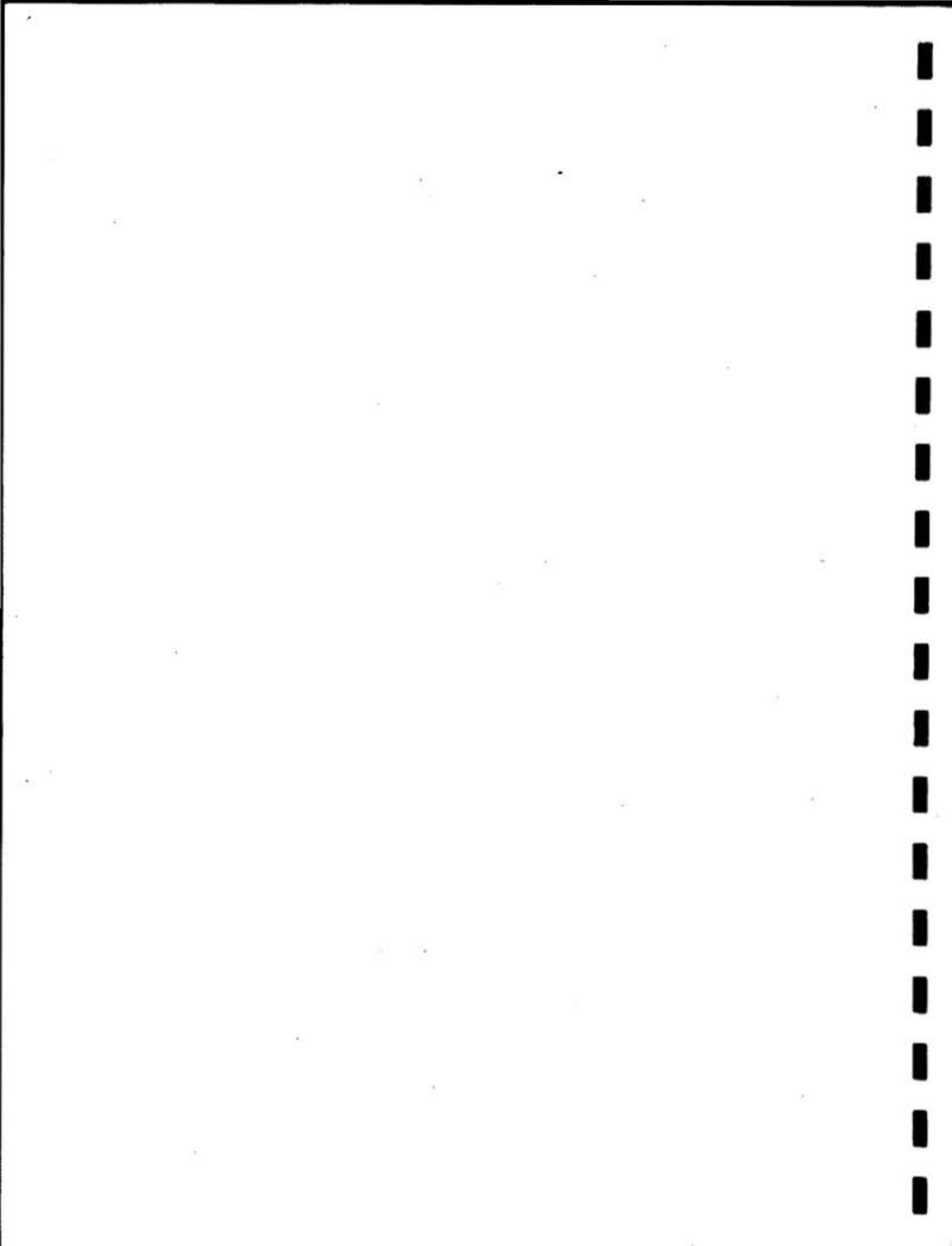
THE KOSCIUSZKO HOUSE



NATIONAL MEMORIAL / PENNSYLVANIA

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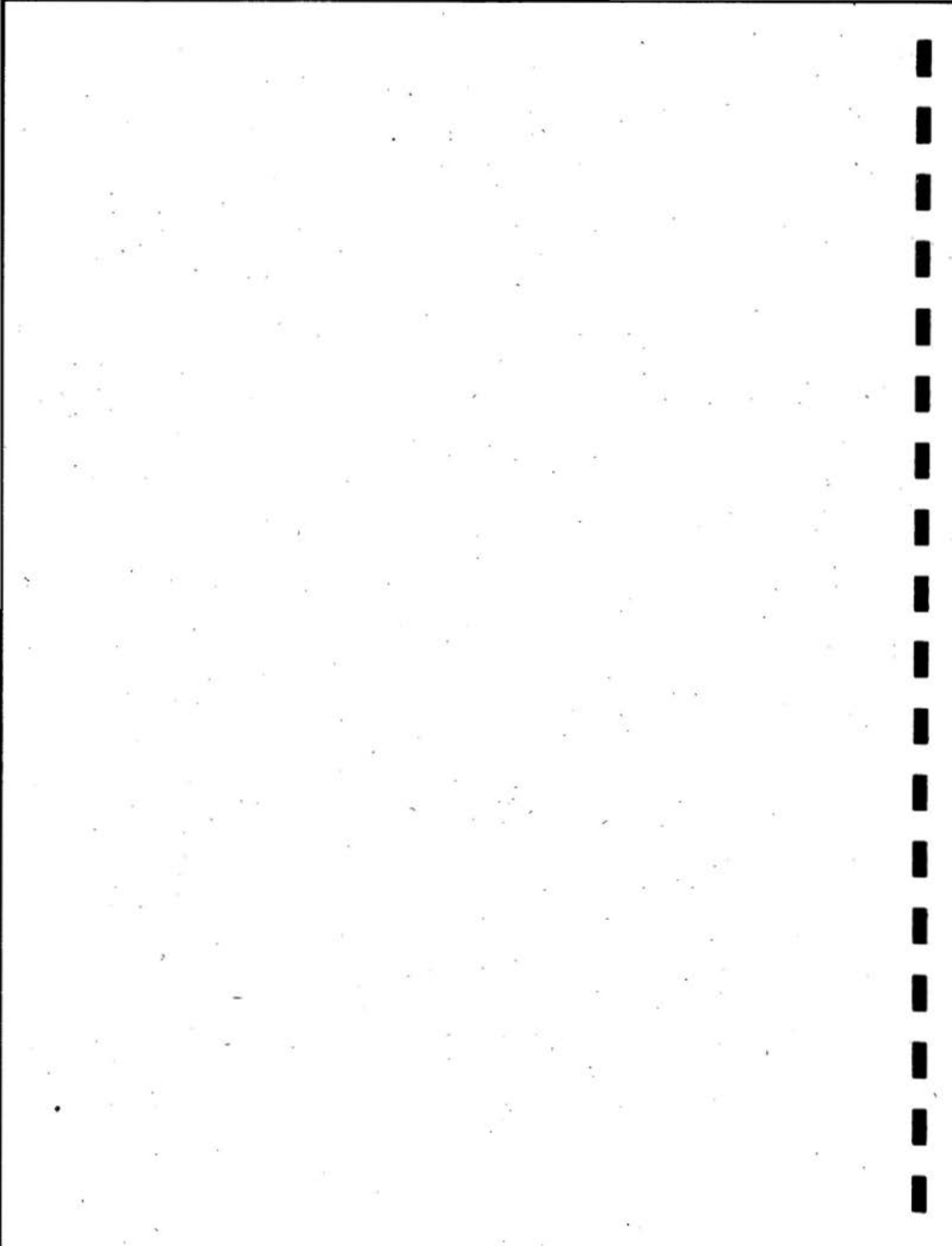
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
THE KOSCIUSZKO HOUSE
HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DATA
THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO NATIONAL MEMORIAL
PENNSYLVANIA

by

James D. Mote
David G. Henderson

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

October 1974



PREFACE

Tadeusz (Thaddeus) Kosciuszko was one of the first foreign volunteers to come to the aid of the American Revolutionary Army. Arriving in Philadelphia in August 1776, he won a commission as colonel of engineers for his aid in the planning of defense works on the Delaware River. Kosciuszko joined the northern army under General Gates in the spring of 1777; his engineering works were instrumental in the important victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga. From March 1778 to June 1780, Kosciuszko was in charge of constructing defense works at West Point. Kosciuszko spent the closing years of the war in the southern campaign under General Greene, taking part in action at Charleston and in the exploration of the Catawba River. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Kosciuszko was elected one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Kosciuszko's international fame came after he returned to his native Poland, where in 1794 he led an unsuccessful insurrection against Russian domination of eastern Poland. Released from Russian imprisonment in 1796, Kosciuszko returned to America in August 1797 amidst universal admiration, both for his services to the new American nation and for his courage in defending the rights of his own Poland. Kosciuszko's visit to Philadelphia in 1797-98 was notable for the friendships that he resumed with famous American contemporaries, foremost among whom was Thomas Jefferson. Kosciuszko hastily returned to Europe in May 1798 to aid in the liberation of Poland. Although his efforts to free Poland never had the same success as his actions on behalf of America, Kosciuszko remains a symbol to those who desire the freedom of nations and liberty of man.

The house at 301 Pine Street (the historic 172 South Third) was the residence of Kosciuszko during his second visit to America in 1797-98. As the famous Revolutionary hero's only known private residence in America, the house at Third and Pine is a fitting shrine both to the memory of Kosciuszko and to the contributions of all Poles toward the development of the United States.

The authors of this report wish to thank Superintendent Hobart Cawood and his staff, in particular Maintenance Chief Edmund Whitlock and Maintenceman William Hundzynski, for their assistance during the architectural investigation underlying this report. We are also most grateful to Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler and to her assistant, Frank Welsh, for their valuable help in unraveling some of the knottier architectural puzzles.

We also wish to thank the following persons and institutions for their valuable aid in the historical research relating to Thaddeus Kosciuszko and the Kosciuszko House. The staff at Independence National Historical Park was most helpful: Martin I. Yoelson, Supervisory Interpretive Specialist; David Dutcher, Park Historian; and Mrs. Doris Bean, Secretary to the Park Superintendent. Thanks also go to Dr. John D. R. Platt and to John Luzader, historians of the Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Team, for their many helpful suggestions. Lawrence B. Coryell, Bicentennial Coordinator of the Northeast Region, gave good advice in the approaches to researching historic Philadelphia. Dr. Margaret Tinkom and the staff of the Philadelphia Historical Commission were always most generous with their time and expertise during the researching of Philadelphia's past. Many thanks are also due the friendly staff of the Philadelphia City Archives, but especially to Ward Childs and John Daly. Mrs. Elizabeth Ruwell, Archivist, of the INA Corporation was also very helpful. We wish also to thank the staff of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and Director Nicholas Wainwright.

Numerous hours were saved by the very friendly responses from various archivists, including Mr. Michael Plunkett of the University of Virginia Library; Ms. Mary Janzen Wilson of the University of Chicago Library; Ms. Elfrieda Lang of the Indiana University libraries; the Reverend Donald Belinski, O.F.M., Curator of the Polish Museum of America, Chicago, Illinois; and Mrs. Marilyn Parr and the staff of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Special thanks must go to Historian Edward Pinkowski, a member of the Philadelphia Historical Commission. Mr. Pinkowski's interest in the Polish contribution to America and, especially, his interest in Tadeusz Kosciuszko formed in a very real sense the motivating force that made the Kosciuszko House a reality. Mr. Pinkowski's patient researches led to the discovery of the Kosciuszko House location; his generous sharing of research materials and his hints on the study of Kosciuszko in America have greatly aided the historical research of this report.

James D. Mote
David G. Henderson

October 1974

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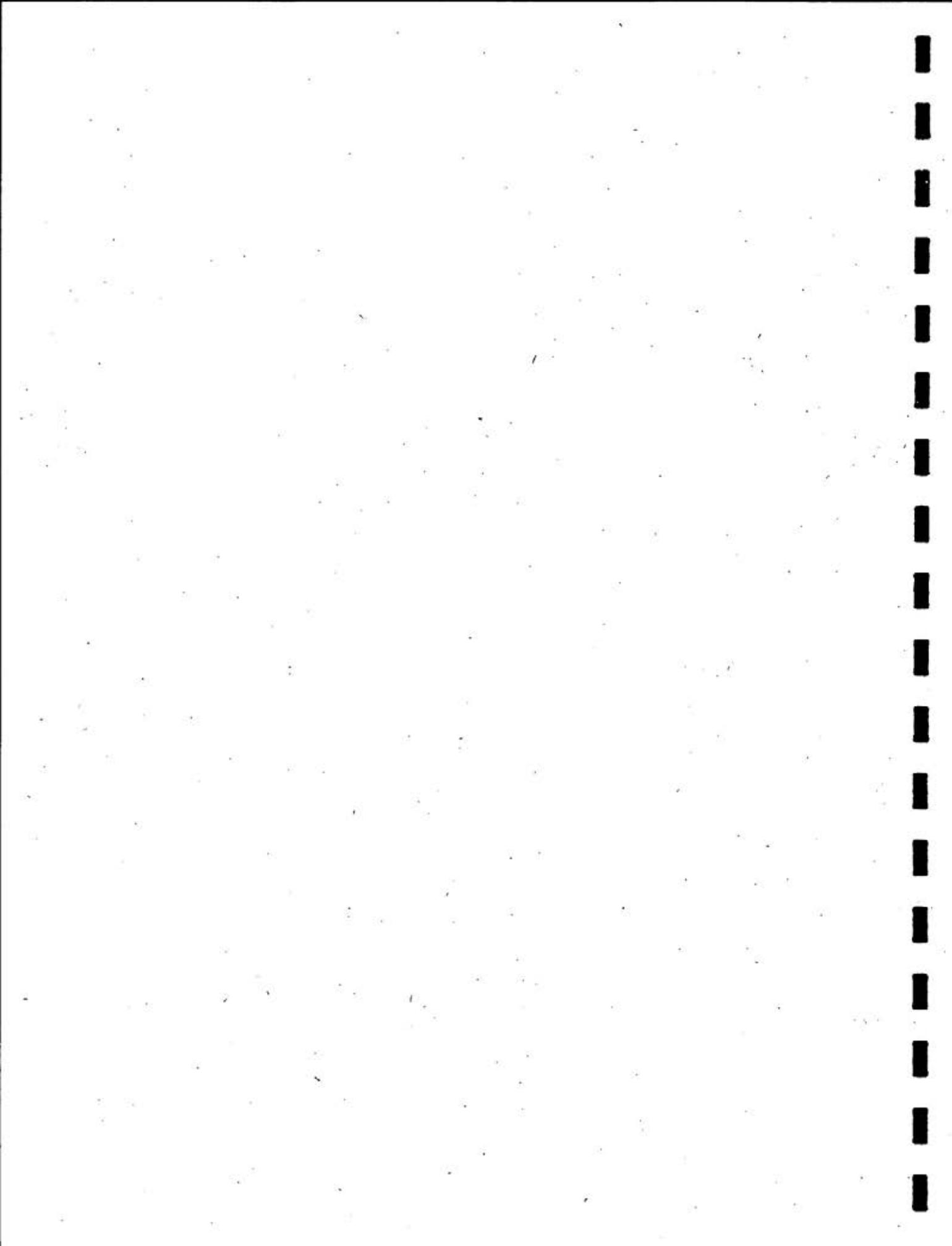
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I. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Kosciuszko House at 301 Pine Street, the historical 172 South Third, was the main residence of the famous Polish hero, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, during his second journey to the United States in 1797-98.

The adjoining "Twin" House at 340 South Third Street was built at the same time as the Kosciuszko House and shares a common center wall. The "Twin" House is not listed on the National Register and should be restored only as needs demand.



II. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

A. Name of Project

Stabilization and Restoration of Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial.

B. Building Name

Kosciuszko House at 301 Pine Street

"Twin" House at 340 South Third Street

The 301 Pine Street House is classified as 2nd order of Significance, and has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

C. Proposed Treatment

The memorial structures--a corner house and an adjacent row house built by Joseph Few in 1775--will be used to commemorate Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who lived in the corner house (301 Pine Street) from November 1797 until May 1798. The entire exterior and part of the interior of the 301 Pine Street house will be restored to this period. The exterior of the 340 South Third Street house will be partially restored, and the interior will be remodeled to provide interpretive facilities and visitor services. Rear yards, sidewalks, and curbs will also be restored.

D. Operation

Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial was authorized by Public Law 92-524, and approved October 21, 1972. The structures were owned by Mr. Edward J. Pizek, who donated them to the United States on October 24, 1974. The memorial will be administered and operated as a day-use area in conjunction with Independence National Historical Park, which will provide parking facilities. Visitors may park their cars on streets near the memorial; however, this will not be encouraged (see p. 5).

E. Cooperative Agreements

An agreement should be executed with an appropriate patriotic or historical society or organization whose activities coincide with the purpose of the memorial. This group could furnish volunteers for tour guides, as is now done at the Todd House, and also might assist in the acquisition of furnishings.

F. Analysis and General Recommendations

The memorial is situated at the northwest corner of South Third and Pine streets in Philadelphia, in an area known historically as Society Hill. It is just four blocks south of Walnut Street, which is the southern boundary of the main portion of Independence National Historical Park where Carpenters Hall and the Independence Hall group are located. At the corner of Third and Walnut streets is the Philadelphia (Merchants) Exchange, which houses the mid-Atlantic Regional headquarters. A short distance west on Walnut Street are the park headquarters, in two historic houses.

Built in 1775--the same year as the Dilworth Todd Moylan House in the park at Fourth and Walnut streets--the memorial houses are among the oldest structures in the park. The only historical significance, however, belongs to 301 Pine Street, where Thaddeus Kosciuszko lived during 1797-98. The house had been used variously as a residence and boardinghouse (in the Kosciuszko period), as a home for several commercial enterprises, and as apartments. Although both structures have been extensively altered, sufficient data are available, or could be obtained, to restore them reasonably close to their 1797 appearance. Therefore it is recommended that the exteriors of both houses be restored. An appropriate architectural and historical context of the interior will thus be established, with one room being furnished and presented as the space Kosciuszko occupied and the balance of the space used for exhibit purposes. Toilets would be located in the cellar.

The "Twin" House at 340 South Third Street would have no interior restoration, and would house space for interpretive facilities such as exhibits, an audio-visual room, and a sales desk. By using both houses, a full program devoted to presenting the Kosciuszko story could be accommodated.

An apartment for a park employee could be provided, using the third floors of both houses. To complete the historic scene, the rear yards of both houses, as well as the sidewalks and curbs, would also be restored.

The houses were built together in 1775 by Joseph Few who sold them in 1776 to William Allison; after Allison's death in 1785, the property passed to his widow. Her heirs apparently leased it to Mrs. Ann Relf, who operated it as a boardinghouse when Kosciuszko lived at 301 Pine Street in 1797-98. Accompanying Kosciuszko at this time were his companion, Julian Niemcewicz, and a servant. It is not known which rooms Kosciuszko or the others occupied.

The Society Hill area is within the Washington Square East Redevelopment Area, a nationally significant urban renewal project whose growth is parallel and inseparably entwined with the development of Independence National Historical Park. A few blocks east is the Delaware River, along which are being developed the Delaware Expressway and Penn's Landing, a multipurpose cultural and recreational center. Below are the Society Hill Towers-- three high-rise apartments--and associated town houses and shops.

Directly across Pine Street is St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, a handsome building dating from 1761 with a spacious and pleasant burial ground. Immediately west is the Old Pine Street Presbyterian Church with its burial ground. Near the memorial begin a series of pleasant walkways that lead north nearly to the park.

Today Society Hill contains a very large number of restored or reconstructed 18th-century and early-19th-century houses. Real estate prices here are probably the highest in the city for residential property. Prime restored houses commonly sell for around \$100,000; one house two blocks away recently brought over \$200,000. Residents have high incomes and above-average educations, are organized and articulate, and are well informed on proposed governmental and private developments in the area.

Residents take up most on-street parking, and there are no commercial lots nearby. The cost of land for a convenient parking area would be prohibitive and surely such action would cause great resentment among local residents. Therefore, visitors should be encouraged to walk to the memorial either from the underground Independence Mall garage or from other parking facilities bordering the park. The walk is a most rewarding experience.

Mr. Edward Pinkowski, the former owner of 301 Pine Street, has given the National Park Service a large quantity of glazed header brick which he salvaged from an 18th-century home demolished some years ago at 919 South Front Street. He has also donated a number of windows, which he had fabricated when he was contemplating restoring the Kosciuszko House himself. This material will be evaluated to determine its suitability for use in the restoration. Mr. Pinkowski also had a large number of period brick manufactured for the same purpose; it might be useful to find out if this brick is still available, and if it is suitable if he would be willing to donate it also for use in restoration work.

Preparation of this report was greatly facilitated by the excellent study report on the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial prepared by Henry J. Magaziner, A.I.A., historical architect for the Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service, February 1973. Also consulted was the interpretive prospectus statement by Martin Yoelson, interpretive specialist at Independence National Historical Park.

G. Archeological Investigation

It is recommended that an archeological investigation be conducted to obtain information on:

- a. the remains of brick vaults in cellar under the present kitchen.
- b. the historic yard under present brick paving at rear of "Twin" House, including traces of privies, any other outbuildings, and a well.
- c. the historic grades at perimeter of Pine Street and Third Street walls.
- d. the original west foundation wall at "Twin" House.

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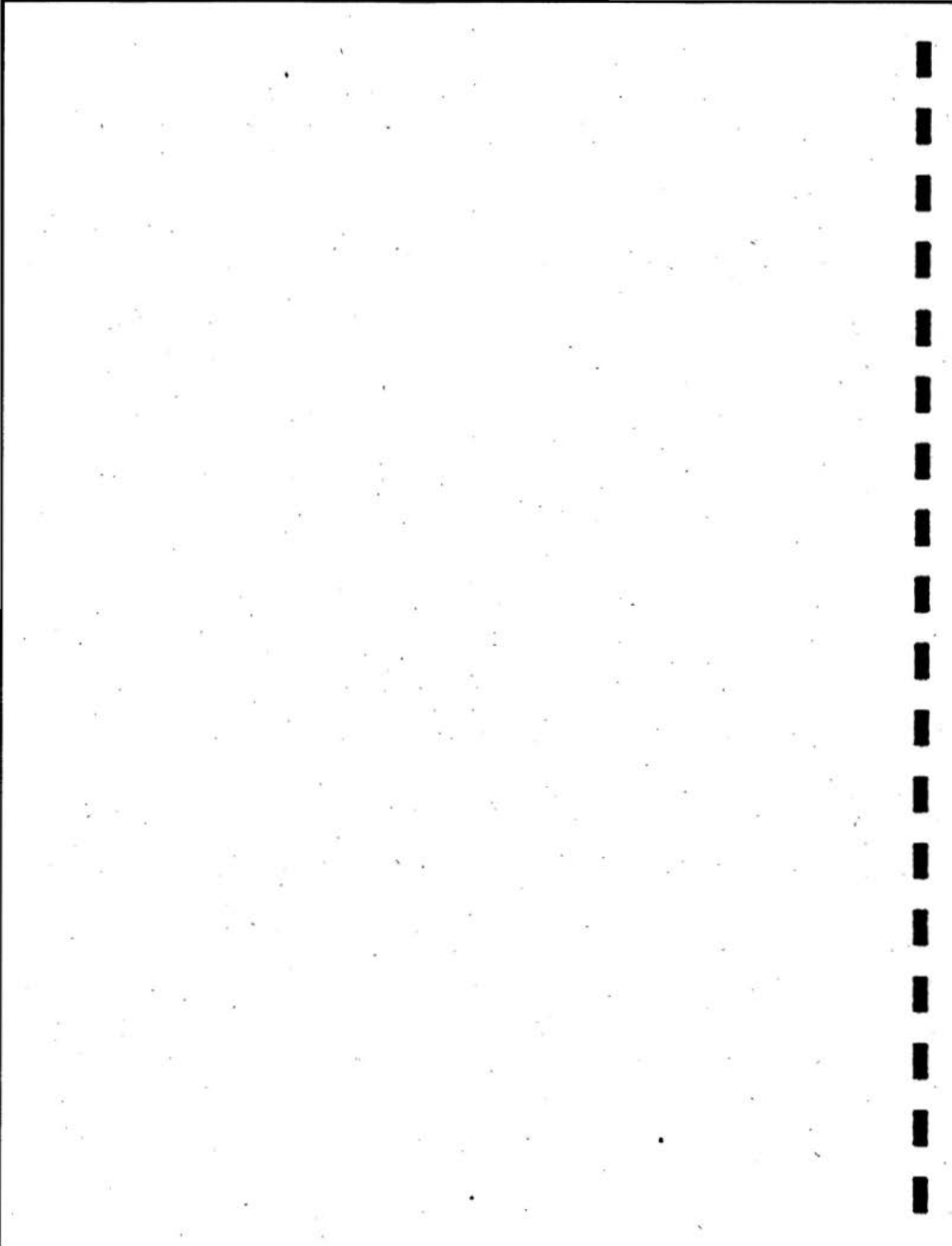
PACKAGE ESTIMATING DETAIL

REGION Mid-Atlantic	PARK
PACKAGE NUMBER 101	PACKAGE TITLE STABILIZATION AND RESTORATION, THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO NATIONAL MEMORIAL

(If more space is needed, use plain paper and attach)

ITEM	QUANTITY	COST
Restore Exteriors Restore West Room, 2nd Floor, 301 Pine Street Adaptive Restoration of Balance of Interiors	Lump Sum	\$505,000
Restore rear yard, sidewalks, and curb		\$10,000
TOTAL		\$515,000

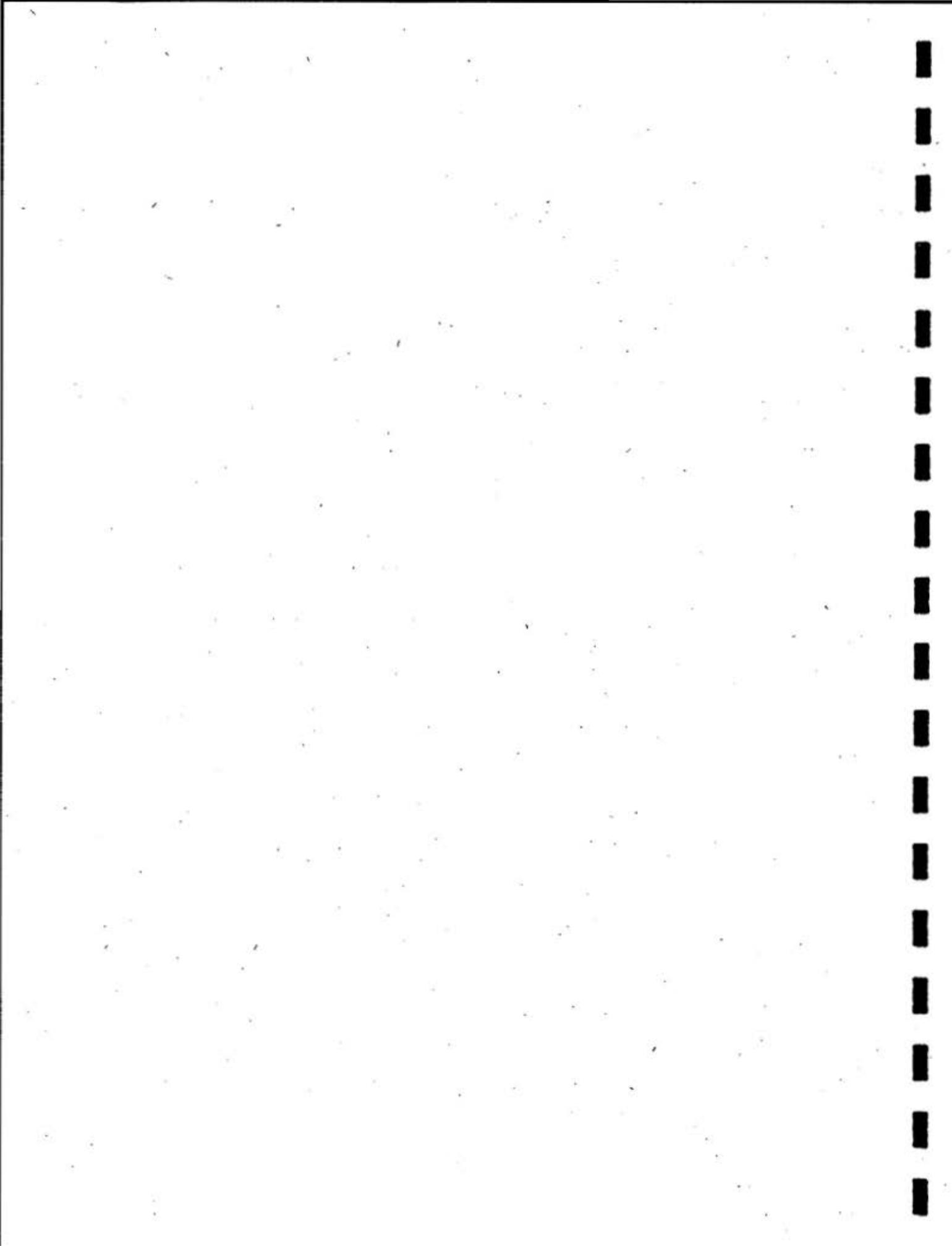
SUMMARY OF CONSTRUCTION ESTIMATES		CLASS OF ESTIMATE		
		A	B	C
		<input type="checkbox"/> Working Drawings	<input type="checkbox"/> Preliminary Plans	<input type="checkbox"/> Similar Facilities
Proj. Type				Totals from Above B & U R & T
52	Museum Exhibits			XXXXX
55	Wayside Exhibits			XXXXX
62	Audio-Visual			XXXXX
89	Ruins Stabilization			XXXXX
91	Construction			\$505,000 \$10,000
92	Utility Contracts			XXXXX
ESTIMATES APPROVED (Signature)		(title)	(date)	
		7		



III. HISTORICAL DATA

by

James Mote



III. HISTORICAL DATA

A. Chain of Title

The house on the northwest corner of Third and Pine streets, in which Kosciuszko resided in 1797-98, was built by Joseph Few in 1775-76. Few was a carpenter and a member of the carpenters' guild, whose Carpenters Hall had become a focal point of revolutionary activity in Philadelphia. In 1774 Few acquired two lots from a clerk, Jacob Duché. One, "being 29 feet 6-2/3 inches on Third Street by 40 feet" [in depth]¹ became the site of the twin houses at 170 and 172 South Third Street, which Few erected as an investment in the rapidly expanding Philadelphia.² Duché had previously acquired these lots in 1767 from the Contribution to the Relief and Employment of the Poor, an early Philadelphia charitable institution.³ The institution had acquired the square block bordered by Third, Fourth, Spruce, and Pine streets in 1721 from Aldren Allen in order to erect an almshouse for the indigent people of Philadelphia. At this time the area was still a "green meadow." In 1767 the "Contributors" constructed an expanded almshouse farther uptown at Tenth and Spruce. They offered the grounds around the old almshouse for sale, including the lots where Joseph Few later built his twin houses.⁴

Few had apparently finished construction of his houses with the common center wall by 1775; a fire insurance survey from March of that year noted that all carpentry work had been done, except for part of the lower floor, and that the outside had been painted.⁵

1. Department of Records, Registry Unit, County Deed Books, Book D, 55:416, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. (Hereafter, cited as Deed Books.)

2. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., s.v. "Philadelphia," by Russell Frank Weigley.

3. Deed Book D, 55:416.

4. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1884), 2:1450.

5. Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, Policy No. 1900, Mar. 22, 1775, files of the City Historical Commission at the City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, Pa.

The houses were not sold, however, until November 1776. At this time William Allison, variously described as a "captain" and a "merchant," bought the two houses, probably for investment purposes.⁶ Apparently a prosperous, retired sailor, Allison had purchased several properties in Philadelphia besides his residence on Front Street.⁷ Allison's "messuages" at Third and Pine were among those investment properties. During the 1790s, Mrs. Ann Relf (sometimes written Relfe or Ralph) rented the corner half of the twin houses from the widow Allison, and operated a boarding-house, renting rooms to "medical students and a few other young apprentices."⁸

The two brick row houses remained in the common ownership of the Allison heirs for another decade after Mrs. Relf moved from the south half of the twin houses in 1800. The widow Allison divided the properties among her four heirs,⁹ who in 1811 sold the twin

6. Deed Book D, 55:416.

7. Register of Wills in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, Will of William Allison, No. 293, Year 1787, p. 1, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. One of Allison's daughters, Margaret, was the wife of James McHenry, Secretary of War under President Adams.

8. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree. Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 with some further account of life in New Jersey, ed. and trans. Metchie J. E. Budka (Elizabeth, New Jersey: Grassman Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 33; Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790. Pennsylvania (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 238; Clement Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory (Philadelphia: James Johnson, 1791), p. 105; James Hardie, The Philadelphia Register and Directory (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1793), p. 119; James Hardie, The Philadelphia Register and Directory, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Jacob Johnson, 1794), p. 127; Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: John Turner, 1796), p. 127; The New Trade Directory for Philadelphia, Anno 1800 (Philadelphia: Way and Graff, 1799), p. 16; James Robinson, Robinson's Philadelphia Register and City Directory for 1799 (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1799); William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1797 (Philadelphia: William A. Woodward, 1797), p. 151; Thomas Stephens, Stephens's Philadelphia Directory for 1796 (Philadelphia: N. Woodward, n.d.), p. 153.

9. Deed Book IC, 16:381.

houses to Rebecca Cox Ralston, a "singlewoman."¹⁰ Common ownership of the houses ended in 1812, when Miss Ralston sold the north house to a merchant, William J. Williams, but retained the corner house until 1815.¹¹ From 1812 to 1845 the houses at 170 and 172 South Third Street (old numbering system) belonged to separate owners. William J. Williams retained his house at 170 South Third for only a year, selling it in November 1813 to a surgeon, Henry Schively. Schively retained ownership of the house until 1841, when he transferred the property to a tailor, John Tack.¹²

John Tack brought the two houses back into common ownership, where they remained for nearly a century, when he purchased the corner house from a miller, John Livezey, in 1845.¹³ This John Livezey had earlier inherited the corner house from his father and uncle who also had been millers and who had purchased the property from the "singlewoman," Rebecca Cox Ralston, in 1815.¹⁴ Tack remained the owner of the two houses (now numbered 340 and 342 South Third Street) throughout the last half of the 19th century. In 1895 John Tack's will deeded the properties to his heirs, and the two houses remained under common ownership until 1942.¹⁵ In that year they were inherited by Louis Brown, the last descendent of John Tack to be connected with the properties. The northern house was sold to X. J. Michael, who retained it until 1967, when it passed to its present owners, Mathew J. and Mary Jane Ryan.¹⁶ The southern house, at 301 Pine Street, was sold by Brown's heir, Martin Brown, to Edward Pinkowski in 1967.¹⁷ Pinkowski, a noted Polish-American

10. Ibid., p. 523.

11. Deed Book IC, 19:523.

12. Deed Book GS, 30:504.

13. Deed Book RLL, 51:249.

14. Deed Book MR, 3:733.

15. Department of Records, Registry Unit, County Abstract Books, Deed Abstract 356-87, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. (Hereafter cited as Deed Abstract.)

16. Deed Abstract, 356-86.

17. Deed Abstract, 356-87.

historian and a member of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, has devoted considerable effort and time to proving that 301 Pine Street (172 South Third) was Kosciuszko's 1797-98 residence in Philadelphia. In 1970 Pinkowski transferred the property to E. J. McAleer and Co.¹⁸

B. Architectural Documentation

The earliest documentation concerning the two houses Joseph Few built at Third and Pine streets is scant. A fire insurance survey from March 22, 1775, indicates that the outside dimensions of 172 South Third Street were 15 by 31 feet by three stories high, with a plastered garret above these. The survey indicates that there were two rooms to a floor and that the outside was painted, which probably refers to the woodwork. The survey also mentions two party walls--one 9 inches thick and the other 4 inches thick. The house was not yet completed, because the survey states that "all of the Carpenters work [is] done except for part of the lower story" and that the fire insurance was to be void if the building took "fire from within while finishing."¹⁹

The "Twin" House next door receives brief mention as well. This house is described as 15 by 28 feet, but "in every other respect the same with the above house."²⁰

Another survey made 7 years later adds little more information: the corner house is described as 15 by 31-1/2 feet instead of 15 by 31 feet; plastered partitions are mentioned, as are stairs "finished in a good plain way"; and a frontispiece on the doorway is also mentioned. The "Twin" House in this 1782 resurvey is described just as it was in 1775.²¹

The major document describing the house is the sketch of its basic plan made in 1796.²² This sketch, drawn for the 3d Survey District of Philadelphia, gives basic architectural details of the two houses at the time Kosciuszko resided there. Although the sketch gives only the ground floor plan of the two houses, other

18. Ibid.

19. Contributionship, Policy No. 1900, Mar. 22, 1775.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Survey of Two houses belonging to the Estate of the late William Allison, Third Survey District, surveyed for John Bleakley on Oct. 8, 1796, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

fire insurance surveys indicate that this plan was repeated on the second and third stories of both buildings. Moreover, this plan most likely reflects the original plan of the building from 1775.

The breadth of the two houses along Third Street was 29 feet 6-2/3 inches--the Kosciuszko House measuring 14 feet 10 inches, and the "Twin" House, 14 feet 8-2/3 inches. The sketch indicated that the depth of the Kosciuszko House along Pine Street was 30 feet 7 inches; a 6-foot 1-inch area behind the house plus an alley 3 feet 4 inches wide made up the remaining depth of the 40-foot lot. The depth of the "Twin" House was only 26 feet 6 inches, with a correspondingly larger area behind the house.

Both houses had central winding stairs which abutted approximately on the center of the party wall. A fireplace is indicated in each of the two rooms of the central hallway that serves the stairway, as is a flue next to the breastwork in the west room.

Entrance to the Kosciuszko House was through a central door on the south (Pine Street) wall; the "Twin" House entryway was at its northeast corner on Third Street. Cellar entrances to the Kosciuszko House from the sidewalk were indicated on the plan to the west of the Pine Street entrance and in the northeast corner on Third Street; cellar entrances to the "Twin" House were located in the rear wall (southwest corner) and possibly (the sketch is unclear) on Third Street, in the southeast corner. Rear entrances are sketched in the plan for each house: in the southwest corner of the Kosciuszko House, and in the northwest corner of the "Twin" House.

Because the Kosciuszko House was built on the corner lot, the sketch shows more windows for it than for the "Twin" House. The Kosciuszko House has windows on either side of the entrance on Pine Street, two windows facing on Third Street and one in the back wall facing west. The "Twin" House shows only one window facing on Third Street and one in the back (west) wall.

Two necessaries (outhouses) located on the back property line behind the "Twin" House are indicated in the sketch; their dimensions are given as 3 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 5 inches, and 3 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 10-3/4 inches.

The northwest corner of Third and Pine may have had a street lantern. According to a 1794 plan of Philadelphia and other related evidence, every street corner in Philadelphia had at

least one lamp.²³ It is not known, however, which of the four street corners at Third and Pine had the lantern.

There is no evidence to tell us how the ground area between the back walls of the houses and the alley on the back lot line was used. Perhaps this open area was used for a small garden and/or sitting area--but this assumption remains pure conjecture.

Additional documentation on the Kosciuszko House and its twin comes from fire insurance surveys made much later than the 1796 sketch. A narration of significant structural changes that occurred in the 19th century would be made clearer by discussing the two houses separately--first, the Kosciuszko House, then its twin.

In 1835 an insurance surveyor noted in the Kosciuszko House policy that a bake oven had been constructed in the cellar. The oven, no longer extant, was apparently large and perhaps used for a bakeshop, because the surveyor states the risk thereby involved was not increased "other than by a private bake oven."²⁴

In 1846 a lengthy insurance survey showed several major changes in the architecture of the Kosciuszko House.²⁵ The main floor of the house had been converted into a store. "Bulk" windows had been installed on each corner front of the house; the entrance had been changed from Pine Street to the corner and the original opening had been bricked in. The stairway had been removed from the center of the building and replaced on the back wall as a straight stairway from the basement to the third story. The second story had been converted into "one room with a passage" now that the stairway was against the back (west) wall; however, the first and third stories remained in two rooms, although the partitioning may have been altered when the original stairway was removed. The garret was described as two rooms, probably its original condition.

The third floor had "two mantle shelves and two closets," indicating that there were one or more fireplaces on the third floor. A "plain winding stair" led from this story to the garret, which was divided into two rooms. From the garret a stepladder led through a trapdoor to the roof.

23. Richard Tyler, Preliminary Survey of the Location of Street Lamps in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: National Park Service, 1961), p. 5, MS copy on file at Independence National Historical Park.

24. Contributionship, Policy for Aug. 8, 1935.

25. Ibid., Policy for Aug. 6, 1846.

The survey of 1846 also describes a dining room and kitchen in the cellar, as well as a mantle shelf, which indicates the presence of a fireplace for use in the kitchen. The two closets there may have been permanent breast closets adjoining the fireplace.

Woodwork and moulding were plain. Single mouldings were used throughout; the flooring was "common wide yellow pine" on all stories. As previously noted, the original stairway was finished in "a good plain way"; presumably the 1846 stairway, relocated to the rear of the building, was no more pretentious than the original. Decorative embellishment in wood was apparently restricted to the dentilling at the eave line on the exterior. Also, filleted pilaster shutters were used on the exterior of the first-floor windows.

Location and size of windows for the Kosciuszko House cannot be determined with certainty from the survey documents. The 1796 survey merely indicates window positions for the ground floor. The 1841 survey gives more information but only for the ground floor, where larger store-front windows had been constructed by this time. These "bulk" windows, one on Pine Street and one on Third Street, had two lights, 26 by 34 inches; four lights, 13 by 17 inches; and four lights, 19 by 17 inches. A "folding sash door" on each street contained glass panes measuring 4-1/2 by 17 inches and 10 by 17 inches. One window with 12- by 15-inch glass panes is mentioned for the back (west) wall.

Descriptions of window and glass sizes for the remaining stories of the house are very meager. For the second and third stories, the only description given is for "glass, 8" x 10". Likewise, the garret had "glass, 8" x 10".

Four more surveys from the last half of the 19th century add further details to the architectural history of the twin houses. An 1853 resurvey indicates modernization in the form of a wood bathhouse built onto the back of the house.²⁶ The 5 foot 3 inch by 7 foot wooden structure sat on stilts two stories high, open, and without siding on the ground level. The tub itself was constructed of wooden planks; water service was provided by a hydrant, presumably from a city source.

An interesting notation comes from the resurvey of August 24, 1865, which states that "the two rooms in the lower story have been thrown into one by the removal of the partition between."²⁷ This

26. Ibid., Policy for May 26, 1853.

27. Ibid., Policy for Aug. 24, 1865.

alteration accommodated the tavern then located on the first floor. The intriguing aspect of this alteration is the mention of only one partition wall dividing the first story into two rooms, rather than the two partitions indicated in the 1796 survey sketch. It cannot be determined from the documents when the other partition wall, which together with the first enclosed the corridor serving the stairway in the 1796 sketch, was removed (if it ever existed).

In 1878 a doorway between the Kosciuszko House and the "Twin" House was cut through the party wall on the second floor. This must have added a spaciousness to the small rooms of the two houses, both of which John Tack had now owned for 33 years.²⁸ This doorway, however, was closed 6 years later, perhaps in order to sublet part of the property.²⁹ At the same time, the bathhouse in back had been enclosed with "grooved boards" on the first-floor level and extended to the north; this one-story extension was also enclosed with the same grooved boards.

Returning to the history of the "Twin" House, the first structural document we have, which relates to architectural changes since the 1796 survey sketch, is an insurance survey for 1841.³⁰ Like the Kosciuszko House at this time, the "Twin" House had acquired bulk (store) windows in front. (The tailor John Tack may have used the first floor for his business.) In 1846 the first floor was still divided into two rooms; a "sash door" between suggests that perhaps only one partition separated them. The back room had a "plain mantle and breast closet" adjoining its fireplace.

The second story was also two rooms with a short passage. The passage probably led from the stairs, now located on the west (back) wall, along the north wall to the east (front) room. Each room on the second floor had a fireplace as evidenced by the notation of "two plain mantles." One room had a breast closet.

The third floor again was divided into "two rooms with a short passage." And as on the floor below, there were "two plain mantles," indicating a fireplace in each room; on this floor, three breast

28. Ibid., Policy for Mar. 4, 1878.

29. Ibid., Policy for Oct. 11, 1884.

30. Ibid., Policy for Dec. 14, 1841.

closets were built onto the flues instead of just one as on the second floor. The garret was in one room of the "Twin" House instead of two as in the Kosciuszko House; it had a "plain base" window in the gable and a trapdoor opening onto the roof.

The "Twin" House also had a kitchen in the basement with a fireplace, a mantle shelf, and a "dresser with doors & Drawers."

The winding stairway in the "Twin" House had been moved from its original location at the center of the party wall to the back half of the north wall; it was now a straight stairway with plain rail and balusters from the cellar to the third story.

Woodwork and trim throughout were plain. The flooring was of common 5/4-inch yellow pine; "single mouldings" were used at the doors and windows. The entrance to the house had an entablature with a plain frieze; wooden dentilling at the eave line continued from and matched that of the Kosciuszko House. All windows had outside shutters; those on the ground floor were perhaps more ornate, with open pilasters and carved brackets.

In 1846, 5 years after this survey was taken, a note was added mentioning a "safely constructed" bake oven in the back of the cellar.³¹ There is no indication that this bake oven was used commercially, as that in the Kosciuszko House might have been.

Windows are first mentioned in all stories of the house in the 1841 and 1855 surveys, though the 1796 survey sketch indicated such openings on the ground floor. As mentioned, bulk windows had been installed on the ground floor; this show window had 20 lights, 12 by 20 inches, and 8 lights, 4 by 20 inches. Apparently inside these windows, behind the showcase, was another set of windows; these inside sash contained 12 lights, 13 by 20 inches, and 4 lights, 12 by 15 inches. The entry door contained 9 lights, each 9-1/2 by 16 inches. The back (west) wall of the first floor had one 12-light window, each pane measuring 12 by 16 inches. No mention is made of a door in the rear.

The second story contained two 12-light windows on Third Street, each pane measuring 10 by 16 inches. The rear wall had one window with 18 lights, each 8 by 10 inches. The third floor had two windows in front, like the second floor, each with 6 lights, 10 by 19 inches. One window in the rear of this story contained 12 lights, 8 by 10 inches. In the garret, the 1841 survey

31. Ibid., Policy for Aug. 27, 1846.

describes a "plain base window in the gable," while the 1846 survey mentions one "nine-light window in the gable end." Two 12-light windows are also mentioned along the stairway on the back wall, presumably on the second and third stories. These windows, with 8- by 10-inch lights, were probably symmetrical with the other windows on the second and third floors.

The 1855 survey, aside from providing window information, gives little additional data on the structure of the "Twin" House.³² On the third floor, two breast closets are mentioned, instead of three as in the 1841 survey. On the other hand, the surveyor refers to a closet under the stairs leading to the garret. He also mentions a trapdoor opening onto the roof, where a clothes-drying flat was located.

Additional information on the stairway indicates that the top four steps of the stairways on the first and second floors were winders. The basement stairway, however, was straight (no winders); the stairway from the third story to the garret was also straight and located between the rooms rather than on the north wall.

A resurvey of the "Twin" House on October 2, 1884, shows that a one-story wooden structure, 11 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 8 inches, had been attached to the back (west) wall. The structure was apparently to be used as a kitchen; "three stew pans set in brick work" were constructed there with an iron flue connecting them to the masonry smokestack in the back room of the "Twin" House.³³ This was a crude structure, with "rough board floors," a tar-covered wooden roof with skylight, and two battened doors.

A necessary is again mentioned, but perhaps it is the same structure at the same location as the one mentioned a century earlier. At least the outside dimensions are the same (3 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 0 inches); however, as with the bathhouse next door at the Kosciuszko House, modernization was noted at the "Twin" House as well, because now the outside privy had a "turn cock water closet," with seat and riser.

Additional but mostly minor changes were effected within the Kosciuszko House and the "Twin" House in this century (electrical wiring, modernization of plumbing facilities, redecoration, etc.). But no major changes were made in the fabric of the houses in this

32. Ibid., Policy for Dec. 6, 1855.

33. Ibid., Policy for Oct. 2, 1884.

century, except for bricking up the corner entrance to the Kosciuszko House and moving it to the west end of the south wall.³⁴

C. Kosciuszko's Second American Journey, 1797-98

1. Thaddeus Kosciuszko to 1797

Tadeusz (Thaddeus) Kosciuszko was born February 4, 1746, near the village of Mereczowszczyzna in eastern Poland. His parents were members of the landed gentry--that lesser nobility that abounded in Poland at this time, and that imparted to their offspring expectations of attaining a higher station in life, if not financial independence. From 1765 to 1769, young Kosciuszko attended the School for Cadets in Warsaw where his military training (specializing in fortress works) was buttressed by mathematics, natural sciences, European history, and German and French. Having distinguished himself at the Warsaw academy, he gained the favor of one of Poland's leading noble families, the Czartoryskis, who supported Kosciuszko for the next 5 years in the École Militaire in Paris and Versailles. Besides the general education open to him here, Kosciuszko once again specialized in the study of fortresses and further developed his natural talents for sketching and drawing.

After a brief return to his homeland, where he found his meager inheritance dwindled to nothing and his courtship of a young lady from a wealthy noble family frustrated by an angry father, Kosciuszko decided to travel abroad. Purchase of a commission in the Polish army was out of reach for the impoverished Kosciuszko, so he traveled to France, where French agents were actively recruiting volunteers for service in the New World against their English enemies.

Kosciuszko's service to the cause of American independence was notable. He arrived in Philadelphia, still young (30) and unknown, in August 1776, and served in the Revolutionary Army until the War of Independence ended in 1783. Unlike Marquis de Lafayette, whose wealth and fame assured him glory in the American army, Kosciuszko became known through his deeds alone.

Soon after his arrival, Congress, which was desperately searching for qualified defense engineers, appointed "Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Esq." an engineer in the American army with the rank of Colonel. Kosciuszko's first service was to help erect defenses at Bellingsport on the Delaware. During the winter of 1776-77 Kosciuszko was in charge of laying the foundations for Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey shore of the Delaware River.

34. Edward Pinkowski to James Mote, Oct. 6, 1973.

In April 1777 Kosciuszko joined General Gates at Fort Ticonderoga. Again serving under General Gates at Saratoga, Kosciuszko planned and executed fortifications on Bemis Heights; the defense works contributed materially to the important American victory over General Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga (1777). In the spring of 1778, Kosciuszko went to West Point, where he stayed for 2 years and helped design fortifications.

Kosciuszko spent the closing years of the war under General Greene's southern command. Kosciuszko explored the Catawba River and was in charge of transportation during General Greene's "masterly retreat" before Cornwallis in the campaign of 1781. His last action came at the battle of Charleston, where he was more active in the cavalry than he was as an engineer. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Kosciuszko was commissioned brigadier general by Congress. He was also a charter member of the Society of Cincinnati, which was formed by the officers of the Revolutionary army in May 1783.³⁵

35. As a colonel in the Revolutionary Army, Kosciuszko was entitled to a land grant of 500 acres. At the close of the Revolutionary War, Kosciuszko, who planned to return to Poland, had little interest in accepting his land grant, nor did he make claim on the pay due him from army service. After his arrival in Philadelphia in 1797, Kosciuszko acquired a land warrant from the government. Kosciuszko was little interested in far western frontier lands; if he were to stay in America, he would undoubtedly wish to settle on the east coast, close to friends and to the center of political activity. Thus Kosciuszko never actively pursued the matter. Stories that he had disinterestedly turned his warrant over to a fellow passenger from the Adriana were false. Shortly before he left the country in May 1798, Kosciuszko had apparently left instructions with Jefferson regarding his land grant. Accordingly, Jefferson engaged Kosciuszko's old Revolutionary War friend, Col. John Armstrong, to locate lands in the Ohio territory, which Armstrong knew well. Armstrong located five 100-acre lots on the east side of the Scioto River in Franklin County, Ohio; President Adams signed the warrant for these lands on May 7, 1800. At first intending to rent the lands cheaply to "one or more farmers of good reputation," Kosciuszko later sold the lands in Paris to a French lady emigrating to America; the sale was witnessed by the American minister, Livingston, on July 29, 1802. Although Kosciuszko's connection with the lands was now officially ended, they retained the name "Kosciuszko lands" into modern times. Miecislau Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile (New York: Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences, 1946), pp. 129-30.

In 1784 Kosciuszko returned to Poland; for 5 years he lived in rural retirement on his small estate at Siechnowicze, which had been well managed by his brother-in-law during his absence. The great Polish reform diet (1788-92) approved a popular army of 100,000 men from all classes of the nation. Kosciuszko was made a brigadier general in this new army. In 1792 Kosciuszko resigned his commission when the Polish king chose not to resist the invading Russians and yielded to their demands to disavow the reforms.

Kosciuszko went to Paris in 1793, where the French Constituent Assembly had conferred honorary citizenship on him, but he was unable to gain concrete aid from the French for a revolutionary Poland, despite his plans for a constitution effecting radical legal and social reforms. In March 1794 Kosciuszko hurried back to Poland at the request of the insurgents to assume dictatorial control over the Polish armies, which were forming to resist full-scale Russian and Prussian invasion. Kosciuszko conducted successful campaigns against superior Russian forces at Raclawice and Warsaw, but he finally had to succumb to overwhelming Russian power at the battle of Maciejowice (October 1794) where he fell wounded and was taken prisoner.

Kosciuszko remained in Russian imprisonment for 2 years--1 year in the dark Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg, and another in the more comfortable surroundings of the Orlow Palace. When Catherine the Great died in late 1796, Kosciuszko and his fellow Polish prisoners were released from their captivity, but only after they had been forced to swear allegiance to the new tsar, Paul I.

Kosciuszko, his close friend and aide-de-camp, Julian Niemcewicz, and another young officer, Libiszewski, who accompanied the party to carry the still-immobile Kosciuszko, left St. Petersburg in December 1797. Traveling by way of Finland and Sweden in a carriage, the party reached Gothenburg, Sweden, where they stayed for several weeks before sailing for London on May 10, 1797. As in Gothenburg, Kosciuszko discovered in London that he had become a famous man. Prominent Englishmen--government figures, nobility, and men of letters and science--paid their respects to the hero of the Polish insurrection.

Kosciuszko and his party stayed in England only 3 weeks. Rufus King, the American minister in London and an old friend from Revolutionary War days, arranged passage for Kosciuszko's party aboard the Adriana, leaving Bristol on June 19 for Philadelphia. Before leaving, however, King wrote letters of introduction for Kosciuszko and his aides:

I have the honor to introduce to you General Kosciuszko who seeks in America that Repose, which he has long desired, as necessary to restore and confirm his health. The General is accompanied by two of his Friends . . . [that is, Niemcewicz and Libiszewski] . . . these Gentlemen merit Esteem and Respect, and will I am persuaded share in those Demonstrations of affectionate attachment with which General Kosciuszko will be welcomed in every Part of our Country.³⁶

2. Arrival in Philadelphia

The entry of the Adriana into the Philadelphia harbor with Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz on board, became an occasion for public celebration. The Revolutionary hero's arrival in American waters on August 18, 1797, had already been announced by a 13-gun salute from Fort Mifflin as the Adriana passed the fort on her way up the Delaware River.³⁷ At the sound of the federal salute, hundreds of Philadelphians crowded around the river front to watch the last leg of the ship's 81-day voyage from England.³⁸ After the Adriana had dropped anchor, the sailing master of the frigate United States, then being fitted out at Philadelphia, approached the Adriana in his barge with the masters of eight other sailing vessels in order to accompany the famous general onto land.³⁹ After arriving on shore and receiving greetings from the president of the Philadelphia Emigrant Society, Kosciuszko turned to the welcoming crowd and expressed his thanks in French: "I regard America as my second homeland and feel very happy when I return to her."⁴⁰

36. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 35. For a review of Kosciuszko's life to the time of his second American visit in 1797-98, cf. Adele Tatarinoff, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte 40 (1967): 343-443; also Miecislau Haiman, Kosciuszko in the American Revolution (New York: Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences, 1943).

37. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 42.

38. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, "American Diary," in Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America, ed. Ludwik Krzyzanowski (New York: The Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences in America, 1961), p. 8.

39. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 43.

40. Tadeusz Korzon, Kosciuszko, biografia z dokumentow wysnuta Wydanie drugie (Rapperswil: Nakladem Muzeum Narodowego w Rapperswilu, n.d.), p. 480.

Kosciuszko was esteemed in America, of course, for his aid to this country during the Revolutionary War, but since then he had gained international fame for his leading role in the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1794. Expressing this veneration for the hero, the crowd then carried Kosciuszko to a waiting carriage, unharnessed its horses, and, as a sign of special admiration, dragged the carriage through the streets of the city to the lodgings on Fourth Street where Kosciuszko and his two associates were to stay.

Niemcewicz, Kosciuszko's traveling companion, described the symbolic aspect of Kosciuszko's return to American Shores:

The members of Congress, then in session--his old compatriots in arms--his friends and acquaintances and citizens generally, hailed his arrival with unaffected pleasure Not only in America . . . but in every European city through which he passed after his liberation . . . all those who cherished in their hearts a love of Liberty and a regard for her defenders, thronged about him and gave him the most lively demonstration of their esteem. Oh, it was grateful to the heart of a Polander to perceive in the honor and respect with which his chief was received, esteem and commiseration for the fate of an unjustly destroyed nation.⁴¹

The next day Claypoole's Advertiser of Philadelphia also reported Kosciuszko's arrival:

In the Ship Adriana . . . arrived here last evening . . . that illustrious Defender of the Rights of Mankind, the brave but unfortunate Kosciuszko, the Polish General, accompanied by two Polish Gentlemen . . . The General appears to be in good spirits, but has suffered very materially from his wounds and inhuman imprisonment. We trust, however, he will long live to enjoy in these peaceful shores, that Liberty and Happiness, which he assisted in fighting for, but which he fought in vain to obtain for his native land. We understand the General is personally known to most of the characters in our Revolution.⁴²

41. Martin I. J. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," Catholics and the American Revolution (Philadelphia: Printed by the author, 1911), 2:188-89.

42. Ibid., p. 189.

The details of Kosciuszko's arrival were gradually circulated among the press of the country. Soon Kosciuszko was in contact with many of his old friends and acquaintances from Revolutionary War days.

Appropriately, one of the first letters Kosciuszko wrote after his arrival in America was to George Washington, who had recently retired from public life and had withdrawn to his estate at Mount Vernon. The retired Washington had grown lax in replying to the many letters he received daily, but his reply to Kosciuszko was prompt and reflected the attention due a man of Kosciuszko's international reputation. Kosciuszko had brought from England a package and notes from the president of the British Board of Agriculture, Sir John Sinclair. When sending them on to Washington from Philadelphia, Kosciuszko added a greeting to his former commanding officer:

I have the honor to pay my respects not only to my Chief Commander, but to a great man whose eminent virtues to his country rendered him dear to every feeling breast.⁴³

On August 31, a week after Kosciuszko's letter was posted, Washington replied:

Having just been informed of your safe arrival in America,

I was on the point of writing you a congratulatory letter on the occasion, welcoming you to the land whose liberties you had been so instrumental in establishing, when I received your favor of the 23 instant from Philadelphia. . . .

I beg you to be assured, that no one has a higher respect and veneration for your character than I have and no one more sincerely wished, during your arduous struggle in the cause of liberty and your country, that it might be crowned with Success. But the ways of Providence are inscrutable, and Mortals must Submit.

I pray you to believe, that at all times, and under any circumstances, it would make me happy to see you at my last retreat, from which I never expect to be more than twenty miles again. . . .⁴⁴

43. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 48.

44. Ibid., p. 49.

Kosciuszko had a similar package from Sir John Sinclair for President Adams. Adams responded on September 4 from his estate in Quincy, where he had taken refuge from the yellow fever raging in Philadelphia:

I have received a letter you did me honour to write on the 24 of last month, and thank you for your care of my Packet from the worthy John Similair [Sinclair] whose benevolent labours promise so much advancement to Mankind.--Give me leave, Sir, to congratulate you on your arrival in America, where, I hope, you will find all the consolation, tranquillity and satisfaction you desire after the glorious efforts you have made on a greater Theatre. On my arrival in Philadelphia I hope to have the pleasure to receive You. . . .⁴⁵

Unfortunately, Kosciuszko's health never allowed him to make the trip to Mount Vernon to visit Washington, and there is no clear evidence that he ever met President Adams personally, despite the fact he lived in Philadelphia, where the seat of the federal government was at that time.

Not all public responses to Kosciuszko's return to America were as adulatory as those already cited. The infamous "Peter Porcupine" (William Cobbett) of Porcupine's Gazette of Philadelphia excoriated Kosciuszko and the radical democratic ideas (from Cobbett's viewpoint) for which he stood. Cobbett, a temporarily transplanted Englishman who reveled in the use of the poisonous pen,⁴⁶ exemplified the harsh tone of American politics during the 1790s and the division between Democrats and Federalists which had arisen. Even before Kosciuszko arrived in America, Cobbett complained of Tsar Paul's liberality in allowing Kosciuszko to leave his imprisonment in St. Petersburg. Likewise, the Whigs' presentation of a sword to Kosciuszko during his transit through England aroused Cobbett's ire at their seeming duplicity: "it is well known that you [Whigs] owe your present rank and pay to your having fought against him, having sought his destruction. . . ."⁴⁷ Anything or any person such as Kosciuszko, who smacked of "radicalism," "French Jacobinism," or democracy of a Jeffersonian tinge was

45. Korzon, Kosciuszko, biografia, p. 480.

46. Scharf and Westcott, Philadelphia, 3:1979.

47. Haiman, Kosciuszko, Leader and Exile, p. 42.

anathema to Cobbett. Thus every aspect of the ceremony attending the arrival of Kosciuszko, who had after all led insurrection in his native land against established authority and was being courted by French revolutionaries for more rebellious undertakings, became a target for Peter Porcupine's barbs.⁴⁸ But even Cobbett had to admit that Kosciuszko was almost universally admired,⁴⁹ and that his more flagrant denunciations of Kosciuszko were disapproved of even by men of his own Federalist persuasion.⁵⁰

The harsh political divisiveness existing in America during the 1790s must have contrasted sharply in Kosciuszko's memory with the unified people he had fought side by side with 15 years earlier. With its political independence won, the nation soon divided into two sharply opposing political camps when defining its goals; securing its foreign friends, and identifying its most dangerous enemies. These camps crystallized in the 1790s into a political party system--regretted by many at the time--which placed Americans either in the pro-British Federalist party or in the pro-French Republican ranks. At the center of the American political storm was the French Revolution, which

seemed to some a clear cut contest between monarchy and republicanism, oppression and liberty, autocracy and democracy; to others, simply a new breaking out of the eternal strife between anarchy and order, atheism and religion, poverty and property. The former joined the Republican party; the latter, the Federalist.⁵¹

Even Jefferson, by no means a fence straddler, complained of the inability of his colleagues in Congress to

separate the business of the Senate from that of Society. . . . Men who have been intimate all their lives, cross the street to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats.⁵²

48. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 188.

49. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 44.

50. Ibid., p. 46.

51. Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenberg, Growth of the American Republic. 6th ed., rev. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 1:302.

52. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 41.

Kosciuszko was almost universally acclaimed, but he could not remain aloof forever from the party dissensions racking America at the time. Although he sincerely venerated his former Commander in Chief, General Washington, and had friends on both sides of the battle, his natural predilections fell in line with the Republican cause. His cordial friendship with Jefferson and their apparent like-mindedness soon became a matter of public record. The Federalist press, aside from the irrepressible Cobbett, gradually came to ignore him while he remained a champion of the Republicans.⁵³ But politics was neither his single nor his most pressing concern at the moment. Kosciuszko was still suffering from the wounds he had received in the Polish insurrection, as well as from the physical and spiritual suffering caused by his subsequent 2-year imprisonment in St. Petersburg.

In the final unsuccessful battle of Maciejowice during the 1794 Polish insurrection, Kosciuszko had been knocked from his horse. He received, according to the eyewitness Niemcewicz, "a deep sword wound on his head and three spear cuts in his back above the hips" from mounted Cossacks rushing by during the charge.⁵⁴

While still in London, Kosciuszko was examined by a staff of eminent English physicians who attempted to diagnose the exact causes of the pain in his head and the lameness in his leg.⁵⁵ Kosciuszko brought their written diagnosis with him to Philadelphia so that his old Revolutionary War friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, now a leading physician in the United States, might better treat Kosciuszko's ailments.⁵⁶

The document, dated June 3, 1797, described in some detail the afflictions Kosciuszko suffered during his stay in Philadelphia:

General Kosciuski received a wound at the lower part of the hind head with a blunt Sabre, which both bruised, and most probably divided the nerve. . . . Since that time the Scalp at the upper and the posterior part has been without feeling . . . [and there have been] considerable pains in the head.

53. Morison, Growth, p. 44.

54. Tatarinoff, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," p. 399.

55. A copy of this report is found in Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, pp. 135-36.

56. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), s.v. "Benjamin Rush," 8, pt. 2, 227-31.

The wounds in the hip were also described by the English doctors:

The Paralytic state of the Thigh and Leg is owing to another wound he received at the same time in the Hip, with a Cossack pike,--This instrument had penetrated deep so as to divide, or injure extremely, the Sciatic Nerve, near the place where it passes out of the great Sciatic Notch.⁵⁷

It is easy to understand why Kosciuszko was barely mobile during his stay in America, spending most of his time lying on a couch with his head bandaged. In their lengthy diagnosis, the English doctors recommended various treatments, including exercise, massage, "tepid bathing," and the passage of electric sparks through the muscles of the leg. For the "proper Evacuation" of the general's body, they recommended an "opening medicine" consisting of sulphur and cream of tartar; Kosciuszko reported that this combination was having the desired effect.

The English team of doctors examining Kosciuszko felt hopeful of his recovery "in a considerable degree," but they warned that recovery of the use of his leg would be slow, especially at first, "and this he must not be discouraged by." They closed by expressing veneration for their martyred patient:

We feel peculiar interest in the success of the plan above used--It gives us the most heartfelt satisfaction to think, that we may possibly contribute to the comfort of a man, whose Character and Exertions in behalf of his country, have called for the admiration of the whole civilized world.

It is not known to what degree Dr. Rush followed the advice of his English colleagues. He was a physician who used independent and sometimes questionable medical methods,⁵⁸ even by the measure of his contemporaries. But he was undoubtedly devoted to Kosciuszko's

57. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 135.

58. Dr. Rush believed strongly in the bleeding of patients to affect cures for all sorts of ailments; he sometimes extracted up to 80 percent of a patients blood. Dr. Rush had a great following and excellent reputation in his time, but was not immune to seemingly justifiable criticism for his extreme methods. cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Benjamin Rush," pp. 229-30.

well-being because, as already noted, he had been Kosciuszko's friend since the Revolution. On August 25 Rush wrote to Gen. Horatio Gates, another friend of Kosciuszko's from the Revolution:

Our old Revolutionary friend General Kusiasko is in our city. . . . I relieve myself from the toils of the day by passing an hour with him every evening. His conversation is a repast of noble republican sentiments.

Rush remarked on the changed political atmosphere in America and on Kosciuszko's reaction to this change:

There has been such a defection from the year 1776 in our country that I fear he will not be as happy among us as he expected. He speaks of some of the customs introduced by the late administration of our government with surprise and horror.

Rush alluded here to the Federalist anti-French attitude, which neither he nor Kosciuszko shared. Rush then urged Gates to visit Kosciuszko in Philadelphia, assuring him that the yellow fever epidemic that had broken out in the city "this day is evidently upon the decline."⁵⁹

This proved to be bad advice. The yellow fever first appeared August 17 and soon reached epidemic proportions. Though not as destructive as the 1793 epidemic, which took some 5,000 lives,⁶⁰ it did cause a general exodus from the city. By early November, when the disease subsided, it had taken approximately 1,300 lives.⁶¹ Rush quickly changed his views and urged Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz to leave Philadelphia for the duration of the epidemic. A little more than a week after his letter of August 25, Rush could already inform Gates of Kosciuszko's departure from Philadelphia:

Our illustrious friend Kusiosco left this city a few days ago and is now pleasantly and hospitably accomodated at General White's at

59. L. H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) 2:798.

60. Scharf and Westcott, Philadelphia, 1:480.

61. Ibid., p. 491.

Brunswick. His wounds are all healed. One of them on his hip has left his thigh and leg in a paralytic state. . . . I do not despair of his being yet able to walk. He will always limp, but what then? To use an ancient play upon words, 'Every step he takes will remind him of his patriotism and bravery.'

I take it for granted you will pay your respects to him at Brunswick [N. J.] How gladly would I witness your first interview. His soul is tremblingly alive to friendship. He loves your very name.⁶²

3. Visit to New Jersey and New York

The trip from Philadelphia to New Brunswick, New Jersey, took a little over a day. Niemcewicz, full of complaints at the inflated prices in America, finally settled with Mrs. Lawson for the 12-day stay at the boardinghouse on South Fourth Street, and arranged for a two-horse carriage to take the general, his servant, Dambrowski, and himself on the 65-mile trip to New Brunswick. The last few days in Philadelphia were hectic; Kosciuszko's wounds needed attention; Niemcewicz contracted gout of the big toe, which forced him to hobble about Philadelphia on crutches while attending to Kosciuszko's business;⁶³ and the yellow fever added to the confusion:

the debates on its origin, the disputes among the doctors about the best way to treat it, the proclamations of the government, the unseemly quarrels of the newspapers, all these affected Philadelphia in the most cruel fashion. The alarms were indeed greater than the disease. . . . We decided to leave the city.⁶⁴

So on August 30 the group left Philadelphia at 6 o'clock in the morning and arrived by way of Princeton and Kingston at General White's in New Brunswick the next morning. General White's fortunes had been on the decline since the Revolutionary War, when Kosciuszko had been his comrade in arms during the southern campaign.⁶⁵ Niemcewicz relates: "Trouble has empoisoned his domestic bless;

62. Butterfield, Letters of Benjamin Rush, 2:788-89.

63. Ludwik Krzyzanowski, ed., Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America, (New York: The Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences in America, 1961) p. 8.

64. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, pp. 4-5.

65. Haiman, Kosciuszko in the American Revolution, p. 160.

his farm is considerably neglected. . . . In the house there is less order than one ordinarily sees in America." General White's small daughter, Niemcewicz reports, was terribly spoiled, "as are most American children. One hears her say sometimes to her mother, 'You damn'd bitsh.'"⁶⁶

Still, despite White's moroseness and the general disorder of his household, Kosciuszko seemed to enjoy his stay there, mainly because of the vivacity of the general's young and beautiful wife. The lame Kosciuszko was happy to sit among the family doing pencil sketches and watercolors, which Mrs. White would gather up and give to her friends.⁶⁷ General White's small daughter remembered in later years the famous Pole's visit:

He was simple and unostentations in his habits, unwilling to be made the object of special attention. . . . He pertinaciously resisted any attempt to obtain his likeness, and one day perceiving a lady stealthily endeavoring to sketch his features whilst he was lying upon a sofa, he immediately threw a handkerchief over his face.⁶⁸

Mrs. White seems to have brought out the lighter side of Kosciuszko's nature, as well as his gratefulness:

I am not at rest Madame before I obtain your Pardon in full extend and force, for the trouble I gave you during my stay at your house. . . . I was perhaps the cause of depriving you a passtime, more suited to your inclination and satisfaction than wyth me; you never was out on a visite; you was pleased to inquire every day, what I like or dislike every wish was complied . . . to make my situation more comfortable and agreeable. . . .

In another letter written later from Philadelphia, Kosciuszko added a touch of humor, indicating the relaxed atmosphere that must have grown up around the hostess and her famous houseguest:

66. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 9.

67. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 52.

68. Ibid., p. 53.

You were pleased to write me that you were happy in my company, and in doing every thing for me, but this only shows the good heart of your; and you do not grant pardon for the trouble I gave you. . . . Send me a pardon madame, in a formal lawyer's parchment, and signed by yourself.⁶⁹

While Kosciuszko was confined to the pleasures of the White household, his friend Niemcewicz was able to perform the social amenities required of an important guest. He visited the prominent townspeople of Brunswick in the 10 days of their visit, and attended a Protestant church, which showed him only "bareness, no pomp, no music" and was "deprived of all that can touch the heart."⁷⁰ He also attended one of the regular Brunswick dinner parties where he met New Brunswick's haut monde, which, besides the Whites, included Colonel Bayard⁷¹ and Judge Patterson⁷² from the local populace.

But the visit to New Brunswick was only a stopover on Kosciuszko's way to New York City and his visit to General Gates, who was perhaps his closest friend from Revolutionary War years. Kosciuszko had served with him at Saratoga and West Point and had developed a deep and abiding affection for him during his first tour in America.⁷³ Shortly after his arrival in New Brunswick, Kosciuszko wrote to General Gates at "Rose Hill" in New York, confirming his intent to accept Gates's invitation. On September 1 Kosciuszko wrote:

I am at Mr. White's house now away from Philadelphia. I propose to see you and before hand I feel great Satisfaction in Embracing you once more, that I never expectet that happines.

69. Ibid., p. 52.

70. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 11.

71. John B. Bayard (1738-1807): Leader in Philadelphia of Revolutionary political forces during the war with Britain; after the Revolutionary War, a leading Federalist statesman. He moved to New Brunswick in 1788 and was elected to the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania in 1785. He was a leader of New Jersey politics after his move there. cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "John Bubenheim Bayard," 1, pt. 2, 67-68.

72. William Paterson (1745-1806): Revolutionary War figure and later a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and a Justice of the Supreme Court. cf. Ibid., s.v. "William Paterson," 7, pt. 2, 293-95.

73. Haiman, Kosciuszko in the American Revolution, passim.

And a few days later, he again wrote Gates:

If you know well my Heart, you ought to expect that I would pay invidably my respects to you at your House, and for that purpose I came out from Philadelphia this way.--I propose to set out in three days from General White's to go at your's and to stay their one Weak, [Kosciuszko continued, injecting some humor], unless you will set your dogs at me, and by force throw me out from your House. . . . I have only one Friend and one Servant wyth me--and wyth suche army I will attack your house, but will surrender imideatly to your good, hospitable and Friendly Heart my best respects to your Lady. Hear I stop for fear you should not be Jeaulous of me.⁷⁴

On Saturday, September 9, Kosciuszko and his two companions, Niemcewicz and Dambrowski, left for New York, passing "through flat countryside, cultivated and inhabited." That night they arrived in Hoboken and stayed in a small inn "filled with sailors and other gentlemen, vagabonds, all a little drunk and in very good spirits." Niemcewicz complained again of the exorbitant prices and bad beds;⁷⁵ but he was mollified somewhat by the fact that tipping, a practice that affronted him everywhere in Europe, was not the custom in America. The next day, after crossing the "North River [Hudson]" and viewing the "towers of New York," the travelers reached Rose Hill, the estate of General Gates a few miles outside New York City. The visitors were impressed by the country houses and gardens surrounding Rose Hill: "soon we found ourselves before a very beautiful facade of Corinthian columns. . . . We found on the threshold the conqueror of Saratoga."⁷⁶

General Gates, though 75 years old, exuded vigor and high spirits at his reunion with Kosciuszko. In contrast to General White, Gates had prospered since the Revolution, making wise use of his land grants as an army officer; besides, his wife had brought considerable wealth into their marriage. Moreover, she was a "real treasure" for the general--50 years old, considerably younger than Gates, she impressed her guests with "a still attractive figure and the most happy disposition that one could hope to see."⁷⁷

74. Both letters quoted in Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, pp. 53-54.

75. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 13.

76. Ibid., p. 12.

77. Ibid.

The 3-week visit with General Gates turned out to be filled with afternoon visits, receptions, and reunions with old friends. Kosciuszko's injuries brought sympathy and admiration, which people of this age willingly gave a romantic hero striving against insurmountable odds. The widow of Richard Montgomery⁷⁸ wrote her greetings to the "Martyr to liberty" via General Gates: "surely there is another world where virtue and the love of our Country will meet other rewards than wounds and death-- . . . else why . . . did the Polish Hero bleed."⁷⁹

Another Revolutionary figure also in partial exile in America, the duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, resided in New York City at this time.⁸⁰ He visited Kosciuszko at the Gates's and praised him later in his diary:

There is no heart friendly to liberty, or an admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name Kosciuszko does not excite sentiments of interest and respect. . . . The consequences of his wounds, which still prevent him from the free use of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement, have impaired his health, but it now begins to be re-established. Simple and modest, he even sheds tears of gratitude, and seems astonished at the homage he received. He sees in every man who is the friend of liberty and of man, a brother. . . . In a word, elevation and sentiment, grandeur, sweetness, force, goodness, all that commands respect and homage, appear to me to be concentrated in this celebrated and interesting victim of misfortune and despotism. I have met few men whose appearances so much excited in me that effect.⁸¹

78. Richard Montgomery (1738-1775): One of the leaders in the expedition against the British in Canada in 1775, he was killed during the assault on Montreal, Dec. 31, 1775. cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Richard Montgomery," 7, pt. 1, 98-99.

79. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 56. Emphasis original.

80. Francois Alexandre Frederic La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1747-1827): A refugee from the terror of Robespierre in Paris, he traveled through the United States at this time and left extensive accounts of his travels. cf. Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Francois Alexandre Frederic, duc de," 13 (1973), 728.

81. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 56.

General Gates's neighbors, the Willetts, also visited Kosciuszko. Mrs. Willett was a famous chess player, Niemcewicz relates, having spirit and education, but for a Quaker a little too fond of the town.⁸² Her fondness for her husband was apparently waning (she was divorced soon thereafter), and she seemed to be casting a favorable eye on Kosciuszko. She wrote him at Gates's house, asking him for a chess lesson and boldly stressing her attachment to him.⁸³

General Gates kept his guest entertained with a constant stream of prominent and lesser-known visitors. He himself may have been strained at times from the burden: "General Kosciuszko . . . is hourly visited by all the best company, which finds me in constant and unremitted employment."⁸⁴ Niemcewicz reported traveling to town with Gates, not only for social calls, but to go to the "market, to buy meat, fish, vegetables, etc. I regarded this venerable old man buying his provision himself with more respect than I would look on a Russian Feld Marshall bedecked with his ribbons, giving audience to a pack of his servants in livery."⁸⁵

The famous Pole's visit brought burdens as well as pleasure. Kosciuszko could not aid in such mundane necessities as grocery shopping. Aside from receiving visitors, he occupied himself with his correspondence, his reading, and his hobby of woodworking. He had Niemcewicz bring him "turning instruments" from the city. He answered letters of welcome, thanked donors for their various gifts, and settled affairs, such as requesting "to leave my baggage in the hands of the Custom house Officers until I will return to Philadelphia."⁸⁶

The Polish visitors returned south on September 29. "We left the house of G^l. Gates with much regret," Niemcewicz wrote. "After embarking G^l. Kosc. [iuszko] with much difficulty we once again embraced G^l. Gates, who had come to escort us to the bank of the North river. . . ."⁸⁷ A few days later Kosciuszko wrote Gates from Elizabethtown:

82. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 14.

83. Published in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 13 (1899): 122.

84. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 55.

85. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 19.

86. Kosciuszko Papers, No. 45, Sept. 20, 1797, Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago.

87. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 19.

I cannot be at rest till I discharge part of the obligation that I owe to your kindness and hospitality I received in your house--if my wishes would correspond to the feelings of my heart, you would be the most happy person on the Globe--believe me that my gratitude never will stop upon any occasion to show you, as well to convince you of my perfect respect, Esteem and affection.⁸⁸

Gates, too, retained a warm friendship for Kosciuszko, the "only pure republican" he ever knew, a man "without any dross."⁸⁹

Waiting for the yellow fever in Philadelphia to subside, Kosciuszko spent 3 weeks in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, at the Indian Queen Tavern. As elsewhere, he received visits from many old friends. One of them was the widow of a Revolutionary War friend from South Carolina, Mrs. Suzan Kean (who later married Niemcewicz after Kosciuszko's departure from America). Another was Shepard Kollock, publisher of the New Jersey Journal, who admired Kosciuszko so strongly that he named his son, Shepard Kosciuszko, after the famous Pole.⁹⁰ In gratitude Kosciuszko gave the boy a golden cross, which the King of Poland had presented to him in 1792.⁹¹

On October 20 Kosciuszko and his traveling companions returned to New Brunswick, where "once again . . . the White family where we stayed [is] as always good, honest and attentive, the family of Bayard and Paterson always friendly and the town always gloomy."⁹² For the next month, until his return to Philadelphia, Kosciuszko led a sedate life, "being all the time confined to his chair." There were, of course, the usual visits and entertainments, but these had to occur in General White's home in order for the lame Kosciuszko to participate. "I send you my warmest thanks for so generous invitation to your [home] and am more sensible of the honour you do me, as I am not yet known by you; my painful and weak state of health not allow me travell so far but stay near the

88. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 193.

89. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 58.

90. Ibid.

91. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 194.

92. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 24.

Chimney Corner with the book. . . ."⁹³ Kosciuszko wrote to one unknown resident of Brunswick who had hoped for a visit from the famous general.

Kosciuszko had written Washington from Elizabethtown regretting that his infirmities would not allow a visit to his former Commander in Chief at Mount Vernon. Washington was sorry that the "pain of your wounds you have received, though glorious for your reputation," would prevent him from traveling. Washington then answered another concern, which was now of considerable importance to Kosciuszko: his finances. Kosciuszko had never received any compensation, rightfully his, for his services in the American army. Responding to inquiries about such pay, Washington wrote:

Whatever I can do as a private citizen, you can command . . . [but] all pecuniary matters must flow from the Legislature and in a form that cannot be dispensed with I am sure that your claim upon the justice and feelings of this country will meet with no delay. Nor do I suppose that the loss of your certificate will be any impediment. Your rank and services in the American army are too well known to require that testimony of your claim and the books of the Treasury will show that you received nothing in discharge of it, or, if any, to what amount.⁹⁴

But Kosciuszko had to wait until after his return to Philadelphia to obtain finally the backpay and other emoluments he had earned as a soldier.

"I found all the inhabitants of the town busy in preparing the reception and dinner for Mr. John Adams, President of the United States," Niemcewicz wrote on November 8 after returning from a 2-week sojourn to the Patterson Falls on the Passaic River.⁹⁵ Writing the same day to General Gates, Kosciuszko also mentioned the impending visit of the President to New Brunswick: "The President dining here to-day and as [I] write this, the canons give notice by their little noise of his approaching near the town. I will expect to see him at

93. Kosciuszko Papers, No. 47, Nov. 3, 1797, Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago.

94. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 194.

95. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 29.

Gen. White's where he will drink tea."⁹⁶ Niemcewicz remarked on the "cool heads and the methodical manners" of the businesslike Americans who prepared a festive dinner for Adams with the same rules they used in "discussing the affairs of State." Despite their orderliness, the city officials were thrown into disarray when Adams arrived 2 hours early--catching the authorities with their wigs askew, the militia running madly about the streets, and the "elegants . . . with their shoes half-buckled." According to Niemcewicz, when Kosciuszko, sitting at his desk writing to General Gates, heard the "canons giving their little noise" to announce Adams's approach, the President was already comfortably settled before a local fireplace.

Although it was his intention, Kosciuszko is not positively known to have seen President Adams in New Brunswick. Niemcewicz did see him, however:

At one o'clock I was presented to Mr. Adams. . . . I saw a dumpy little man dressed wholly in gray, well-powdered hair and a long pigtail. His face appeared to me that of a good and honest man, touched nevertheless with a grain of malice. He received me civilly, asked me news of Gl. Kosc[iuszko]. . . . I passed then into a room opposite and I found there the true counterpart of Mr. Adams. It was his wife. Small, short and squat, she is accused of a horrible crime. It is said she puts on rouge. . . ."97

Kosciuszko's visits with the John Bayard family⁹⁸ in New Brunswick produced some interesting documents relating to the character of the famous Polish hero. John Bayard's daughter, Margaret, was engaged at this time to Samuel Harrison Smith,⁹⁹

96. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 194.

97. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 29.

98. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "John Bubenheim Bayard," pp. 67-68.

99. Samuel Harrison Smith (1772-1845): At this time in the incipient stages of his journalistic career in Philadelphia, he later became publisher of the Washington, D. C., National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser. Smith was a staunch Republican and advocate of Thomas Jefferson. He married Margaret Bayard in 1800, daughter of Kosciuszko's friend in New Brunswick, New Jersey, John B. Bayard. cf. Ibid., s.v. "Samuel Harrison Smith," 9, pt. 1, 343-44.

who was starting his journalistic career in Philadelphia. Both Smith and his future wife were to become famous in Washington, D. C., society during the first half of the 19th century because of their association with the newspaper, National Intelligencer.¹⁰⁰

Already on his first visit to New Brunswick in early September, Kosciuszko had overawed the young and impressionable Margaret Bayard. In a long letter full of reverence for the famous Revolutionary hero, she described to her fiancé her impressions of Kosciuszko, after having spent many hours in his company at the White home:

I feel an irresistible melancholy pervade my mind, & unfit me for conversation or reading. It has been occasioned by too great a refinement of feeling, excited by a contemplation of the great the good, the amiable Kosckusky! I have been at his side the whole day. . . . He was employed in painting or rather sketching a little piece for me. . . . My whole heart seemed to be filled with the most exalted and most tender admiration. . . . I exclaimed with all the warmth I felt "Oh Gen. Kosiusky notwithstanding all your sufferings you must be happy!" "I happy," returned he, "I happy no, no, I am one of the most unhappy of men." "It cannot be, you have suffer'd in the cause of truth, you have suffered for your country; you have gain'd its love, you have gain'd the admiration and respect of all mankind!" "But I have done nothing," replied he, "I was an individual & could do little more than wish, I have fail'd & I see my country miserable. . . ." His eyes were filled with tears, he raised them & extending his clasped hands, he exclaimed with energy: "all this [i.e., praise and admiration] is nothing to me,--but to see my country happy, oh my God, to see my country happy. Then I would care for nothing else, this is all I wish take everything else!!"

Young Miss Bayard was even moved to compose an ode in praise of Kosciuszko. The general seemed to be flattered with her poem and wanted to keep it. She closed her letter to her fiancé repeating

100. W. F. Ames, History of the National Intelligencer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), *passim*.

that she "had never before felt such a degree of enthusiasm inspired by a living character."¹⁰¹

Two months later, in early November, another letter was sent to Samuel H. Smith. This letter,¹⁰² unsigned but perhaps written by Margaret's sister, Maria Bayard, injected a more critical attitude of Kosciuszko, especially as compared with his friend Niemcewicz. She tells of learning French from Niemcewicz and, in turn, of teaching him English:

From the observations I have made I think he [Niemcewicz] has a mind . . . better informed and more penetrating than Kosciuszko; in the most familiar conversation he is reserved, and in anything in which the heart is concerned, he appears to have strong, but not quick feeling . . . he acts more from principle than from feeling . . . how great the contrast which Kosciuszko presents! A mind with quick perception, stor'd with all the blossoms, without having any of the roots of knowledge, always swimming on the surface, and extending its researchers to the universe, but without ever diving into its recesses & its hidden stores & supplying by a fertile imagination what is wanting [in] observation. . . . Yet Kosciuszko is a man and subject to the frailties of his nature. His whole character is tarnished by a trifling & too conspicuous vanity. Tho' innate worth and purity of his heart, raised him superior to the frowns of fortune, the weakness of his mind subjects him to the poison of applause! . . .

101. Margaret Bayard to Samuel Harrison Smith, Sept. 8, 1797, Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 2, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. For the full text of this hitherto unpublished letter, including the poem, see Appendix.

102. Unsigned to Samuel Harrison Smith, Nov. 5, 1797. Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 2. Although the authorship of this letter is uncertain, one cannot rule out Margaret Bayard as the author; if so, her opinion of Kosciuszko in this letter would indicate a marked change from that which she expressed in early September.

vanity! how does it debase even virtue itself. . . .
I visit him often, his company has still many
charms, tho' it has lost the magic which it once
possessed. . . . I esteem & respect Mr. Niemcewicz
the most, tho' only an obscure individual. . . .¹⁰³

This letter reflects an interesting, if decidedly minority, opinion of Kosciuszko's character.

A. W. W. Evans reports in his Memoir of Kosciuszko, which he wrote from the recollections his grandmother and great-aunt had of Kosciuszko's stay in New Brunswick (General White was Evans's grandfather), that while Kosciuszko was at the Whites' he "spent nearly all his time reclining on a sofa, sketching with a pencil and painting in water colors and India ink. . . . He used to wear around his head a black ribbon to hide the scar of a ghastly sabre cut across his forehead."¹⁰⁴

Kosciuszko read with great interest at this time the works of John Dickinson, a leading figure of the Revolution;¹⁰⁵ and on November 24 he wrote the author, agreeing with his ideas, although he was "not accustomed to express my Ideas in so simple and conformable manner to every man's understanding; yet I am of the same opinion, and if the exterior not correspond, in my heart I am a Kwaker too, will do anything for the happiness of Human Kind-- . . ."¹⁰⁶ Kosciuszko hoped to be able to visit Dickinson "under your roof" and have the satisfaction of personally shaking his hand. To another friend from South Carolina, Maj. Evan Edwards, he also sent his greetings and a command to convey 20 kisses to his wife. "if I was their I should take willingly that charge for you."¹⁰⁷

With the onset of winter, the yellow fever finally subsided in Philadelphia. Before leaving New Brunswick and the White home,

103. For the complete text of the part of the hitherto unpublished letter, which pertains to Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz, see Appendix.

104. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 195.

105. John Dickinson (1732-1808): An active political leader in colonial and Revolutionary times, he sought redress of American grievances from the British without resorting to violent action. However when the Revolution came, Dickinson fought actively for the American cause. He was a noted political thinker and writer of the period. cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s. v. "John Dickinson," 3, pt. 1, 299-301.

106. Haiman, Kosciuszko, Leader and Exile, p. 59.

107. Ibid., p. 60.

Kosciuszko wrote another note of thanks on November 27 to General Gates at Rose Hill: "It would hurt my feelings had I not write you leaving this place--and not send you my warmest thanks for your friendship shown me under your roof"; as usual Kosciuszko also remembered his host's wife with "respectful Kisses, Tomorrow I set out for Philadelphia. . . ."108

4. At Third and Pine, Philadelphia

Julian Niemcewicz left New Brunswick for Philadelphia on November 20, 1797, to search for lodgings for Kosciuszko, the servant, Dambrowski, and himself. Arriving in Philadelphia the next day, he stayed in a "dirty & wretched inn," the Eagle and Harpe at Second Street North. He then "roamed the streets, a little like Benjamin Franklin when, coming from Boston and being nearly as rich as I, he walked the streets with his loaf of bread under his arm." Unacquainted with the city and "not knowing a soul," Niemcewicz turned to Kosciuszko's friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, for aid. With the doctor's help, he was able to find "a lodging as small, as remote, and as cheap as my instructions directed."109

This small lodging turned out to be a boardinghouse at the corner of Third and Pine streets, run by the widow Ann Relf.¹¹⁰ The address at that time was "172 South Third [Street]," the present 301 Pine.¹¹¹ Located across from the recently constructed St. Peter's Church, the house was built in 1775 on ground that had once belonged to the elder Jacob Duché, whose son had gained some notoriety as pastor of Christ Church and as a loyalist "turncoat" during the revolution.¹¹² After securing the lodgings, Niemcewicz returned to New Brunswick in order to accompany the general to Philadelphia.

On November 28, Niemcewicz noted in his diary:

We left with many regrets the quiet and hospitable house of Mrs. White and arrived the next day in

108. Ibid.

109. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 32.

110. The name also appears in documents as "Relfe" and "Ralph."

111. Positive identification of the present 301 Pine Street as the historical 172 South Third, the address of Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse, was first established by Edward Pinkowski, Philadelphia historian.

112. Scharf and Westcott, Philadelphia, 1:291-92.

Philadelphia. We lodged at No. 172 South 3 Street at Mrs. Relf's in a very small house where medical students and a few other young apprentices shared common lodging. Its cheapness had made the choice for us. The Gl. [Kosciuszko] had a small room where he could receive only 4 people at a time; I had one even smaller; since no fire was made there, I could use it only for sleeping; this was extremely inconvenient to me. There is nothing more dreary than not having a place of your own, to be obliged to roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write.¹¹³

A few days after Kosciuszko had settled into his room on Third Street, Samuel Harrison Smith paid a visit to the general and received news of his fiancée in New Brunswick. In a letter to her, Smith mentioned seeing Kosciuszko

two or three days ago . . . in a small house in the midst of a [plain] family. This is a style of living he is constrained to conform to because he has refused the compensation offered him by the Emperor [that is, Tsar Paul I of Russia]. He met me with cordiality, and expressed gratitude for the attentions paid him in Brunswick. He told me in a [jocose] way that he brought me the love of my Margaret for which I thanked him. . . . Kosciuszko has [made] considerable attractions for the citizens. More than 40 visited him on one day.¹¹⁴

Everywhere he went Kosciuszko attracted a constant procession of visitors; Philadelphia was no exception. His great popularity was also remarked on by Moreau de Saint-Méry,¹¹⁵ the French Revolutionary figure who, fleeing the wrath of Robespierre, sought

113. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 23.

114. Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Bayard, Dec. 10, 1797, Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 2. This letter has been incorrectly filed under the date "Oct. 10, 1797," due to the extremely unclear hand of Smith. Comparative analysis of Smith's handwriting from various letters, as well as internal evidence (Kosciuszko was not in Philadelphia in October), places the date of this letter in December rather than October.

115. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v., "Moreau de Saint-Méry, Mederic-Louis-élie," 7:157-58.

asylum in Philadelphia. "The Americans received him with great demonstrations of joy," Moreau had written of Kosciuszko's arrival in August. Now that Kosciuszko was once more in Philadelphia, Moreau paid another visit to his fellow revolutionary in exile:

I again called on General Kosciusko. Seven or eight of us went to see him on the same day. Kosciusko had landed with his head bandaged as though he had been wounded. His knee, too, was bandaged. Those who visited him found him either in bed or stretched out on a couch like a sick man. His lodging was a bedroom with a little antechamber before it; and since his bed and couch left no room for more than two or three people, only two or three of us could see him at a given time. If other visitors happened to call, we had to leave.¹¹⁶

116. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, trans. and ed., Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey, [1793-1798], (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), pp. 247-48.

It cannot be established with certainty which room Kosciuszko occupied in the Relf boardinghouse. Historical and architectural evidence, however, indicates that he was probably in the back (west) room of the second floor. His companion, Niemcewicz, most probably had a sleeping room in the garret; there is no indication where the servant, Dombrowski, stayed.¹¹⁷

117. The Relf boardinghouse had, besides Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz, at least six to eight other people living in it. They were Mrs. Relf; probably her son Samuel, who at this time was starting his journalistic career with the Philadelphia Gazette, and for whom no separate listing is made in the city directories until 1801; and the medical students and "few apprentices" mentioned by Niemcewicz. Samuel Harrison Smith's mention of him as "living amidst a plain family" undoubtedly describes well the closeness of the living conditions in the Relf house. Yet, a man of Kosciuszko's international repute most probably had demands for a modicum of privacy and separateness.

The first floor of the house contained two partitioned rooms. The parlor mentioned by Niemcewicz, public in character and always in use, must have been on this floor, probably in the front. Mrs. Relf would have had the other first floor room, as primary tenant of the building and in order to survey more readily the activities of her tenants.

Because of his lameness and having to be carried from carriage to dwelling, etc., Kosciuszko would have remained as close to the ground floor as possible, in this case on the second floor. Architectural evidence indicates that this floor was divided by only one partition, rather than by two, as on the first floor. Hence, it can be assumed that Kosciuszko had the room that provided the most privacy, namely the back (west) room. The front room would, after all, be subject to the noise and curious looks of those people passing through to the floors above and below by use of the stairway, which was not completely partitioned off from the front (east) room.

The third floor, once again because of Kosciuszko's immobility and also because of more austere interior finishing (that is, no cornice moulding or chair rail as on the second floor), can probably be ruled out as Kosciuszko's room.

Niemcewicz probably slept in one of the two garret rooms. He mentioned that "no fire was made" in his room; only the garret was without fireplaces.

The servant Dombrowski's sleeping quarters are unknown. It is not unlikely that he slept in the same room as Kosciuszko, perhaps on his daybed, in order to be close at hand to the ailing general.

The "medical students and . . . few other young apprentices" probably had the least desirable rooms on the second and third floors and in the garret.

John Fenno of the U. S. Gazette, who apparently kept close account of Kosciuszko activities, reported that the most frequent of Kosciuszko's visitors on Third Street were Dr. George Logan,¹¹⁸ Judge Thomas McKean,¹¹⁹ Governor Mifflin,¹²⁰ Senator Stevens Thomson Mason¹²¹ of Virginia, and other Republican members of the Congress.¹²²

Perhaps one of the most memorable visits to Kosciuszko in Philadelphia was that made by Chief Little Turtle of the Miami Indians. Little Turtle was in Philadelphia to negotiate with the federal government over boundary lines and trade with the white men in the north. Niemcewicz found him to be an "extremely sensible man" whose ideas were "sound and correct, not at all perverted by misconceptions and wrong arguments."¹²³ "Do not speak to me," Niemcewicz quotes him as admonishing the government officials, "of your superiority if you do not want to furnish me the means by which my nation may attain the same advantages."¹²⁴ When Little Turtle visited Kosciuszko, he made him a gift of a tomahawk; Kosciuszko in return presented the Indian Chief with his Polish bourka (fur coat), a gift as useful to the Indian Chief from the cold Great

118. Dr. George Logan (1753-1821): Quaker, pacifist, Republican member of the Legislature, Logan was a staunch friend of Vice-President Jefferson, who aided him in his unofficial diplomatic mission to France in 1798 in a largely successful effort to improve French-American relations. "The Logan Act" of 1799 made illegal such nonofficial diplomatic missions by Americans to foreign states, and helped to vent the Federalists' spleen at Logan's undertaking. cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "George Logan," 6, pt. 1, 359-60.

119. Thomas McKean (1734-1817): Member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence, he became an anti-Federalist moderate Republican in the 1790s. At the time of Kosciuszko's visit, McKean was Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. cf. Ibid., s.v. "Thomas McKean," 6, pt. 2, 79-81.

120. Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800): Delegate to the Continental Congress and Revolutionary War hero, he was Governor of Pennsylvania from 1790-1799. cf. Ibid., s.v. "Thomas Mifflin," 6, pt. 2, 607-8.

121. Stevens Thomson Mason (1760-1803): Elected to the U. S. Senate from Virginia in 1794, he was a staunch pro-Jefferson Republican and opponent of Adams and the Federalists. cf. Ibid., s.v. "Stevens Thomas Mason," 6, pt. 2, 374-75.

122. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 62.

123. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 45.

124. Ibid.

Lakes region as the tomahawk was unique to Kosciuszko. Also during the visit, Chief Little Turtle was taken by a pair of Kosciuszko's spectacles and their magical power of enlarging objects. "You have given me new/eyes," he said when Kosciuszko also made him a gift of these.¹²⁵

In February 1798 the young Samuel Harrison Smith again visited Kosciuszko in his room at the Relf boardinghouse. Smith undoubtedly had by now seen the general many times and had gained a certain familiarity that allowed their conversations to touch on more personal things. Smith's visit on this evening with Kosciuszko and "Mr. Nim Sweetz [Niemcewicz]" revealed a touch of bitterness in Kosciuszko, perhaps brought on by his physical ailments and depression over the plight of his native country:

I went to see Genl Koskiosiko, whom together with friend I found without company. As usual he received me with warmth, and told me it was almost a century since he had seen me. After making an apology we entered on more interesting subjects, in which we were occasionally assisted by Mr. Nim Sweetz, whose manners tho' at first impression repulsive, soften down after acquaintance into more ease and familiarity. Koskiosiko does not permit him to say much, but a lot he does say is just and striking and expressed with a precision of language which proves correct as well as comprehensive conceptions. He [Niemcewicz] does not seem in argument to be so ambitious of victory as his friend, but he possesses too much energy of interest, too much confidence in his convictions of truth passively to yield to the sentiments of another. But he forbears, with dignified [moderation], to press his convictions on the mind of Genl. Kosckiosiko. Perhaps he observes the pardonable vanity of his friend, and the unequivocal delight he feels in triumphing over his adversary. Our discourse was lively and without pause at the late hour. The topics, one especially, were of that nature as were calculated to animate the feeling as well as the intellect of Koskiosiko. It was Ro[u]sseau. He became his apologist. He extenuated, and in some measure, justified that morose misanthropy which so fatally clouded his last days. The blasted hopes of friendship, the persecution of enemies, the disappointments of love were enough to convert the child of sensibility into the hater¹²⁶ of mankind. The

125. Ibid.

126. Emphasis original.

emphasis with which this sentiment was exchanged spoke too decided a language and I beheld with regret that Kosciuszko placed himself in the situation of Ro[u]sseau . . . with more than common decision I opposed the inference. I affirmed that true grandeur of soul could never hate mankind, that he who felt bold in virtue would never think the majority of men dishonest, that vice was rare, that we often mistook it for error, and I prayed that however unfortunate my fate in life might [be], I might still cherish the belief that virtue was now predominant in the human heart--I did not however convince my antagonist--would that I had. Let me however do Kosciuszko the justice to say that tho' his ideas may be of this gloomy kind, his heart is still full of philanthropy, and I believe that should any occasion demand his services, he would be the first to abandon his theory. For in practice he must ever be the friend of mankind.¹²⁷

One might note here the contrast between the young Smith, confident in the future of his country, which was recently successful in its revolution, and the aging Kosciuszko, somewhat in despair over his and his country's failure in their attempt to overthrow foreign despotism.

Kosciuszko entertained the thought of visiting old friends in their homes, even in other cities, despite his lameness and difficulty in moving. In January he wrote John Dickinson in Wilmington:

I have spend my time few days in the most agreeable manner by the perusal of your books--It is wrot wyth great force, energy, perspicuity and the knowledge of the human nature--I cannot tell you precisely now, what time I shall have the honour to see you, but I will give you notice before hand.

Later, still unable to make the trip to Wilmington from Philadelphia, Kosciuszko wrote:

127. Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Bayard, Feb. 9, 1798, Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 3. This is another previously unpublished letter from that series.

My health [does] not permit me yet to have the pleasure of shaking the hand [of] a respectable friend at Wilmington, I leave to time my wishes and anxious hope.¹²⁸

Kosciuszko mentioned to General Gates at Rose Hill that he had written another very close friend from the Revolution, Gen. John Armstrong:¹²⁹ "Genl. Armstrong wrote me of a Farme in his neighborhood, I answered him, that in my way to Saratoga Spring I would be glad to see it--but you know in this world we are not sure of anything."¹³⁰ Kosciuszko had apparently thought of buying a farm on the Hudson near General Armstrong's, with the intent of settling there permanently. "How peacefully, how happily we could have lived here, but he scorned it and left," Niemcewicz complained shortly after Kosciuszko departed for Europe.¹³¹ Instead of traveling, Kosciuszko was obliged to stay close to his room, reading and painting.

It even became fashionable for the young ladies of Philadelphia to come to the house at Third and Pine streets to have their portraits done by the famous Polish hero. "In the last beautiful days of March the visits of the young ladies to G1. [Kosciuszko] increased," Niemcewicz remarked. "They were truly flowers appearing at the first puff of the zephyr. All came in order to have him paint them."¹³²

Prominent and frequent guests in Kosciuszko's room were the exiled Orleanist princes, the duke d'Orleans (Louis Phillipe, the later "citizen King" of France, 1830-1848) and his two younger brothers, the duke de Montpensier and duke de Beaujolais. Kosciuszko also occasionally visited them in his rare excursions away from his

128. Both letters quoted in Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 69.

129. John Armstrong (1758-1843): Kosciuszko first gained Armstrong's acquaintance when they served on General Gates's staff during the battle of Saratoga (1777); at the time of Kosciuszko's visit, Armstrong was in temporary retirement, but he later continued his career as Senator from New York, Minister to France (1804-1810), and Secretary of War (1813-1814). cf. Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "John Armstrong," 1, pt. 1, pp. 355-58.

130. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 67.

131. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 199.

132. Ibid.

room; ("I cannot even move from one place to the other without support and help of my crutches and a servant," Kosciuszko complained).¹³³ Before leaving on a trip to New Orleans, the three young princes came to bid Kosciuszko farewell. On this occasion Kosciuszko presented the youngest prince, the duke de Beaujolais, with a pair of fur boots, which he received with "joy and gratitude."¹³⁴

One of Kosciuszko's most frequent visitors was Thomas Jefferson, whose visits to the modest dwelling on Third Street developed into a deep and abiding friendship. They met only briefly during the Revolution, and later when Jefferson was asked about details of Kosciuszko's life in America, he wrote: "I believe I hardly knew Kosciuszko personally during the revolutionary war, our intimacy began on his last visit to America."¹³⁵ Niemcewicz, who undoubtedly attended many of their meetings, also observed that Kosciuszko "had moved into opposition to President Adams and completely alligned himself with Jefferson."¹³⁶ The feeling of esteem was reciprocated by Jefferson.

Their visits in Philadelphia quickly revealed kindred Republican spirits in both men. "I see him often, and with great pleasure mixed with commiseration," Jefferson wrote to General Gates in February 1798. "He is as pure a son of Liberty, as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few or the rich alone."¹³⁷

Jefferson may have hoped that when Kosciuszko was looking for a possible rural residence in the United States, he might settle in his beloved Virginia. Shortly after Kosciuszko's departure, Jefferson assured Niemcewicz that

133. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 195.

134. Niemcewicz, "American Diary," p. 18. Later in life, in his memoirs, Niemcewicz remembered regretfully having turned down a dinner invitation from the young duke of Orleans in Philadelphia: "Could I have known then that I had refused the future King of France."

135. Alexander Kahanowicz, Thaddeus Kosciuszko Memorial Exhibition . . . A Collection of Autographed Letters by . . . [and] . . . about Him (New York: Anderson Galleries, n.d.), no. 97, p. 42.

136. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Pamiętniki czasow moich, Tom drugi, (Warsaw: Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), p. 220.

137. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 198.

the mass of our countrymen have the highest veneration and attachment to his character. This State [i.e., Virginia] would have felt a particular sensibility if he had thought proper to make it his residence.

Veneration and gratitude among Americans toward Kosciuszko for his services to the country did, however, cross party lines, although Kosciuszko's proclivities for the Republican faction were well known. Congress' handling of the arrears due Kosciuszko from his service in the Revolution illustrated how Republicans and Whigs could rise above narrower interests when the occasion demanded. If Kosciuszko was able to consider buying a rural residence near General Armstrong in New York, or close to Jefferson in Virginia, it was because the Congress had decided that a total of \$18,912.03 was owed to Kosciuszko and had passed a bill to that effect January 23, 1797.¹³⁸

Indeed, the settling of financial affairs was uppermost in Kosciuszko's mind when he reached America. This concern was understandable. Kosciuszko had lost all sources of income from Poland and he now had to turn to a monetary source--his "backpay"--to which he would not have otherwise resorted. Already in early October, Kosciuszko broached the subject of his backpay to Washington, mentioning his unforeseen plight and requesting aid from the former President:

Your High Character, Reputation and the Goodness of Your Heart, may give me the liberty to mention a circumstance concerning me and is this--From the United States, I have not received neither the procent for Fourteen years nor the sum due to me; formerly I was independent, but now my only resource is in the Justice of Congress, having lost my Certificate and wyth my Country lost my All--I must Request Sir, you will be so kind to mention my situation to that August Body and entreat, that I may be paid my Just demand; without the trouble of making other Application--¹³⁹

Washington commiserated with Kosciuszko for his plight in a return letter on October 15, but regretted not being able to intercede personally in the affairs of the government from which he had retired:

138. Haiman, Kosciuszko, Leader and Exile, p. 74.

139. Ibid., p. 67.

Whatever I can do as a private citizen (and in no other capacity I can now act) . . ., you may freely Command.-- You will find, however, contrary as it may be to your expectation or wishes, that all pecuniary matters must flow from the Legislature and in a form which cannot be dispensed with--I may add I am sure, that your claim upon the justice & feelings of this country will meet with no delay--Nor do I suppose that the loss of your certificate will be any impediment.-- Your work and services in the American Army are too well known to require that testimony of your claim and the Books of the Treasury will show that you have received nothing in discharge of it--or if any part, to what amount.--140

This "pecuniary matter," so important to Kosciuszko, did indeed have to "flow from the Legislature"; its course there, resulting favorably in the grant of almost \$19,000 to Kosciuszko, considerably eased his financial situation.¹⁴¹ The grant, in the words of an

140. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

141. Representative Dawson of Virginia entered a resolution in the House of Representatives on December 22, 1797, calling for the appointment of a committee to explore ways of handling Kosciuszko's Revolutionary War pay. The Federalist Joshua Coit of Connecticut wished the matter to be turned over to a committee of claims, but this was voted down overwhelmingly. Bipartisan support of Kosciuszko's claims was reflected by the Federalist representative, Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, who as minister to England in 1793 had tried to remit the interest due on his pay to banks in Dresden and Leipzig. Finding out then that Kosciuszko had never received the payments, Pinckney had the money in Europe withdrawn for the general's use in America, where "he was in need of it." Pinckney hoped that the matter of Kosciuszko's backpay could be handled in a manner so "as not to wound the feelings of a man who had deserved so well of this country."

The Department of the Treasury was then directed to report what money was due Kosciuszko and what legislation was needed to grant him his funds. The report directed that Kosciuszko could receive \$12,280.54 for his Revolutionary War pay, plus \$2,947.33 interest for the years 1785-88. Later action in the House, led by Dawson, led to Kosciuszko's collection of \$3,684.16 interest for the years 1793-97, plus back payment for interest on the years 1789-92, which amounted to \$2,947.33. It was a tribute to Kosciuszko's stature that Congress was able to overcome party infighting to agree on reimbursement of Kosciuszko. cf. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, pp. 70-72.

American official, was "not a gratuity, but a simple act of justice, graduated [at that time] by the inability of our country to do more."¹⁴²

5. Departure for France

On a warm, spring evening in early May, Niemcewicz was returning the short distance from the American Philosophical Society to Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse at Third and Pine. Recently elected as a society member, his mind was probably filled with subjects discussed at the meetings, which Thomas Jefferson presided over, such as bones of mammoths or other unknown animals from different parts of the Union, and other subjects of "Science," which would consume the interests of a man of the Enlightenment, such as Niemcewicz. After reaching the house, Niemcewicz was probably hoping to find room at a table in the usually crowded parlor where he could write the evening's events in his diary, when Kosciuszko's servant, Dombrowski, approached and told him that his master wished to speak to him. Afterwards Niemcewicz wrote in his diary about the matter of "extraordinary confidence" he was about to hear from Kosciuszko:

"Mr. Niem[cewicz] you must give me your word of honor that you will tell no one what I am about to confide in you. And that you will do what I ask of you." "You ask nothing dishonorable?" "No, I give you my word." "Then, tell me." "I leave this night for Europe. I leave alone; I leave 100 doll. for my servant. You will dismiss him tomorrow. I leave 200 doll. for you. You may also dispose of my clothes that I leave here, as well as some plate that is at the house of Dr. Rush." Stupefied, petrified at this confidence which came as a bolt from the blue, I wanted, being recovered from my astonishment, to know the reasons for this journey and the place to which he was going. I was told that he did not know himself, neither where he was going nor why. I remonstrated with him, pointing out the dangers one would encounter venturing all alone on a journey of this nature. I urged him to reflect on it--I was silenced--"If nothing can deter you from your plan; rather than to see you chance it yourself in the state of your health, I shall turn a blind eye to all and offer to accompany you." "That is impossible." "Then it was to leave me all alone in this strange land

142. Ibid., p. 72.

separated everywhere by seas that you proposed to me, asked me to come here? Is it such a token of confidence and friendship that you give me, that no more than a few hours before your departure, you disclose to me an idea, a plan that you have had perhaps since Europe? Did you think that I would betray you?" "No, but, but--" "What will they think here of this strange flight?" "I beseech you to tell everyone that I have gone to take the waters in Virginia. You will leave Philadelphia in three days and you will go in that direction saying that it is to rejoin me." "You give me then a fine commission. I must tell lies here; I must run about the country in order to tell more lies. Ah! in what embarrassment you have placed me! Alone, without friends, and without means. No, I will not touch anything that you leave me."

Thereupon a scene was on the point of arising; it was not the moment for it. I held my tongue. The servant was called (nothing was said to him, neither what was being done nor what was being left for him. All this embarrassment was reserved for me.) He had a portmanteau brought to him and put there a few effects, and said that he wanted to rest. I withdrew. Too moved, too agitated by all that I had just heard, I could not close an eye. At one o'clock in the morning I left and roamed the streets, weighed down by grief and by most sad thoughts. 143

Kosciuszko's plans had remained a well-kept secret, with only a few persons privy to them. Among these was Thomas Jefferson, who had materially aided in arranging for Kosciuszko's passage and passports, and in organizing his American financial matters. However, when Kosciuszko decided to leave America, or for what reasons, remains unknown.

A curious hint regarding his true intentions came at almost the moment he set foot on American soil. On August 18, just 2 days after arriving in America, Kosciuszko requested a meeting with the French consul in Philadelphia, Letombe. Letombe reported this meeting in his correspondence to the French foreign minister in Paris:

143. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, pp. 64-65.

I went to the general [Kosciuszko] last night. He wants to go to France. He will go there immediately by a safe way. He is observed here. This Martyr of liberty cannot speak or act, but only with the greatest precaution. He is here only to mislead his enemies. He asked me, Citizen Minister, to inform you of these facts without delay.¹⁴⁴

This feeling seems to conflict with the statement Kosciuszko reportedly made to his guard in December 1794, while in prison in Petersburg, that "should he ever be so fortunate that Our Merciful Ruler [Catherine] would free him from his imprisonment, he would leave that very minute for America, where he would stay for the remainder of his days . . ."¹⁴⁵ But the contradiction is more apparent than real, because the statement meant for Catherine the Great's benefit was made under duress and could not be considered binding. Kosciuszko's first allegiance was to Poland and to the attainment of its freedom. No oath, not even the allegiance he had sworn to Tsar Paul I of Russia in order to gain his release from prison (and under which he suffered), could contravene this higher obligation to his country.

Another piece of evidence in this incomplete puzzle concerning Kosciuszko's real motives while in America has to do with Niemcewicz. In a letter of a military subordinate of Kosciuszko describing the general's return to France in June 1798, a curious statement is made; joy at Kosciuszko's return is expressed, but intrigues are hinted at: "[but the intriguers] know, that Kosciuszko knows of all their cabals. He [Kosciuszko] does not have Niemcewicz with him; this proves that he got rid of Prince Adam's watchman."¹⁴⁶ Prince Adam Czartoryski, a patron of Niemcewicz, was a leading Polish nobleman who, although a patriot, favored Poland's cooperation with Russia as a way out of its dilemma. Hence rumors were apparently afloat that Niemcewicz, a friend of Prince Adam, was spying on Kosciuszko for the Russians. Such a theory could explain Kosciuszko's secretive attitude toward Niemcewicz regarding his return to France.

But the lack of clear evidence makes a final judgment on Kosciuszko's true intentions impossible. It seems improbable, however, that Kosciuszko would have harbored such suspicion and mistrust against

144. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 46.

145. S. M. Goriainov, Zatochenie F. Kostiushki V Kreposti (1794-1795gg.), Moscow: Imperatorskoie Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiyskikh pri Moskovskom Universitetie, 1912), p. 46.

146. Treciesky to Neyman, July 7, 1798, in W. Skalkowski, ed., Z Korespondencji Kosciuszki urzedowej i prywatnej. 1790-1817. (Kornik: Nakladem Fundacji Zaklady Kornickie, 1946), pp. 36-37.

so loyal a friend as Niemcewicz, who had fought with him in battle against the Russians, who had shared imprisonment with him under them, and upon whose release from a Russian prison Kosciuszko made his own freedom dependent.¹⁴⁷

It could have been that Kosciuszko himself had no clear plan for the immediate future when he came to America. Various and opposite courses of action were open to him. He could stay in America, live off his annuities, and wait for his wounds to heal, resisting for the present any urge to bind himself to unpredictable conditions. Hence he could speak of possibly buying a rural estate and living the life of a country gentleman. On the other hand, he could have constantly harbored the secret wish to "someday" return to Europe when conditions were favorable, and to help free his country. Thus, in his distraught and emotional psychological condition, he might also assure Letombe that he intended to return to Europe "immediately," after making a diversionary feint to America for his enemies. That Kosciuszko was in effect following both courses of action, however contradictory in consequence they may have been, was for the time being possible. In reality he was waiting for "events" to decide his course.

Revolutionary events in Europe made the decision for him: Polish legions had been formed in northern Italy, under the aegis of the French Directory, to aid the French in their revolutionary war. General Dombrowski, one of Kosciuszko's ablest generals, headed the legions. The temptation to return to the scene of action, where hope once again flared up for a liberated Poland, must have been too great for Kosciuszko to resist. At the same time, America's relations with France were strained to the point where the "XYZ affair" and harassment of American shipping by the French led the nations close to war. Jefferson and Kosciuszko, both Republicans and friendly to France, were anxious to improve relations between the two revolutionary nations.

Possibly Kosciuszko undertook his return to Europe not only in hopes of serving his own Poland but also to aid, privately and unofficially, in bringing America and France closer together. "Jefferson considered that I would be the most effective intermediary in bringing an accord with France, so I accepted the mission even if without any official authorization," Kosciuszko is reported as saying some years after the event.¹⁴⁸

147. Tatarinoff, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," p. 410.

148. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, pp. 73-74.

It must have been sometime in March 1798 that Kosciuszko decided to leave for Europe.¹⁴⁹ He made his plans, as Niemcewicz could testify, in utmost secrecy. Even in late April, Samuel Harrison Smith detected no outward sign of Kosciuszko's secret during a visit to his room:

I paid a visit to Gen'l Koskiosiki and Mr. Niemcewicz, to whom I communicated his election as a member of the Philosophical Society. He [Niemcewicz] received the intelligence with that modesty which is the [illegible] confession of merit. . . . Somehow or other my regard for these unfortunate men is always on the [increase]. They love merit. They love virtue. Koskiosiki is full of attraction. I love him. His manner is, now affectionate and yet dignified . . . How strange that virtue . . . that talents so distinguished should sink beneath [ignorant] and brutal power!¹⁵⁰

The contrast Smith detected in Kosciuszko's manner--"now affectionate"--when compared to the embittered man he described 6 weeks earlier probably reflected the peace of mind Kosciuszko felt from his resolve to return to aid his countrymen. Still unsuspecting of Kosciuszko's destination,

149. According to the memoirs of A. W. W. Evans, the descendant of General White who heard many admiring tales about Kosciuszko's stay in the White home, Kosciuszko had received a "package of letters from Europe" in the spring of 1798. "On reading one he became greatly excited and sprang from his couch into the middle of the room; until then he had not moved without assistance. . . . He said to General White, 'I must return at once to Europe.'" This story by Evans, colorful and dramatic, is most probably apocryphal; Kosciuszko was after all not at General White's in New Brunswick at this time; the embellishment of the story with details--the description of his action, the quote to General White--tend to emphasize its spuriousness, rather than its accuracy. cf. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 196.

150. Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Bayard, Apr. 25, 1798, The Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 3.

Smith noted on May 6 that "Koskioisko has left the city. He departed rather sooner than expected. Mr. Niemcewicz leaves us also in a few days."¹⁵¹ Kosciuszko's secrecy proved successful.

Kosciuszko relied heavily on Jefferson's help in arranging for the trip to Europe. In March he wrote Jefferson:

You had the goodness to take me under your care and protection. I beseech to continue to the end.-- . . . I must know six or ten days before I go to prepare the things and in the maner that nobody should know it.--it is requisit that I should have passports on the name of Mr. Kann from Ministers English, Portugal, Spain, French. . . .

Jefferson attended to Kosciuszko's deceptive request, arranged for the passports with the various ministers involved, and changed the name, for some unknown reason, to "Thomas Kanberg,"

a native of northern Europe (perhaps of Germany), . . . Known to Thomas Jefferson these twenty years in America, is of a most excellent character, stands in no relation whatever to any of the belligerent powers, as to whom Thomas Jefferson is not afraid to be responsible for his political innocence, as he goes merely for his private affairs. . . .¹⁵²

Kosciuszko now had his passports, but he grew more restless as time drew on. "I afraid to hurt your feelings by my reiterated importunities," he again wrote to Jefferson,

but I am so enxiuous of going away, that not one moment in a day I have a rest, if this occasion fall [fail] of going to Bordeau, I should prefer [to go] to Lisbon to avoided being taken by the English . . . I beg you . . . for information how and when I expect to go.¹⁵³

While he nervously awaited arrangements for his passage, Kosciuszko had other affairs to clear up before leaving. At the urging of Jefferson, Kosciuszko chose John Barnes, Jefferson's private banker, to handle investments of his American estate and to see that regular payments were made to him in Europe. Barnes performed the task "on a most honest and disinterested manner" until Kosciuszko's death

151. Ibid., May 6, 1798.

152. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 74.

153. Ibid., p. 75.

in 1817. For the trip, Kosciuszko chose to take \$3,600 with him--
"Six hundred eighty four out of the whole money will serve to pay
my passage the rest out of this I would wish to have by me in hard
cash. . . .¹⁵⁴

One of the most remarkable bequests Kosciuszko had to make before leaving the country was contained in a will which Jefferson helped him to draft. It was Kosciuszko's request that, upon his death, his money remaining in American banks should go toward the freeing of slaves, their education, and maintenance. Jefferson rewrote Kosciuszko's original draft in suitable English and had the will attested to on April 30, 1798, the day he received power of attorney to handle Kosciuszko's financial affairs.¹⁵⁵ The quaint English of Kosciuszko's original draft reveals his benevolent attitude toward mankind, a trait attested to often by those who knew him:

I beg Mr. Jefferson that in case I should die without will or testament he should bye out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant Sum should be Sufficient to give them education and provide for their maintenance. That is to say each should know before, the duty of a cytyzen in the free Government, that he must defend his Country against foreign as well internal Enemis who would wish to change the Constitution for the vorst to inslave them by degree afterwards, to have good and human heart sensible for the sufferings of others, each must be married and have 100 ackres of land, wyth instruments, Cattle for tillage and know how to manage and Gouvern it as well to know how behave to neybourghs, always wyth kindness and ready to help them--to them selves frugal to their Children give good education I mean as to the heart and the duty of ther Country, in gratitude to me to make themselves happy as possible. T. Kosciuszko.¹⁵⁶

The blacks, who for the most part received little more than "bread, water and blows" from their masters, compared unfavorably even with the sad plight of the Polish serfs,¹⁵⁷ for whom Kosciuszko

154. Ibid.

155. Edward P. Alexander, "Jefferson and Kosciuszko. Friends of Liberty and of Man," in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 92 (1968): 87-103.

156. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 76.

157. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 101.

had shown great sympathy during the Polish uprising he led in 1794.¹⁵⁸ Hence it was not out of character for Kosciuszko to concern himself in his American will with the downtrodden blacks.¹⁵⁹ In so doing, he proved himself to be in the forefront of enlightened opinion, even in America--a believer in equality for all men.

158. Kosciuszko had chosen the white cloak of the typical peasant as his uniform to symbolize his solidarity with this hitherto ignored element of the Polish population. cf. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, pp. 22-23.

159. Unfortunately, the will never came into effect.

Kosciuszko's will of 1798, the first of four wills he wrote, was nullified by a later will of 1816. He also made a will in 1806, by which he bequeathed a sum of money to Kosciuszko Armstrong, son of his friend Col. John Armstrong. In 1817, shortly before his death, Kosciuszko made his fourth and last will. The matter of Kosciuszko's American estate was fought over in American courts for 25 years after his death. Jefferson, who had power of attorney for Kosciuszko, foresaw difficulties in litigation as early as 1819 and, mindful of his own advanced years, passed the duties onto the Orphan's Court of the District of Columbia. In December 1852 the U. S. Supreme Court finally decided that Kosciuszko had died intestate regarding his American estate, which by then amounted to some \$50,000. This sum reverted to his prime European heirs, the descendants of two of Kosciuszko's sisters.

Even if Kosciuszko's American will providing for the freeing and education of slaves had been declared valid, it is doubtful whether his intentions could have been fulfilled. Racial prejudice would probably have kept his plan from succeeding. Kosciuszko was ahead of his time, but his intentions were not mere gestures. He likewise arranged to have the serfs on his former estates in Poland freed; they were also given the lands which they tilled. This act also predated the freeing of the serfs in Russia by almost half a century. cf. Tatarinoff, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," p. 434; Benjamin Howard, Reports of cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, December term, 1852, 2d ed. (New York: Banks and Brothers, Law Publishers, 1885), 14:427.

Before leaving, Kosciuszko dispersed those personal effects he had not yet presented to his many well-wishers, hosts, and friends in America. Most of these items, including a sable fur from Tsar Paul I and a "Bear Skin as a Token of my Veneration, respect and Esteem for your [for] ever," went to Jefferson;¹⁶⁰ later Niemcewicz sent other items, including table linens, a carpet, and some clothing, to Jefferson for sale.¹⁶¹ One hundred dollars was left for the servant, Dombrowski; Niemcewicz, who was disheartened and somewhat embittered by Kosciuszko's sudden departure, refused his \$200 from the general and gave it also to Dombrowski.

After wandering the streets all night in despair, Niemcewicz returned to Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse early in the morning just in time to see Kosciuszko's final departure from Philadelphia and America.

At 4 o'clock a covered carriage arrived with Mr. J[efferson] inside. K[osciuszko] got in without embracing me. In spite of all these goings on the idea of a separation, perhaps forever, the idea of the dangers to which he exposed himself in his condition and without any help, reduced me to tears. With my eyes I followed the carriage as far as I could. They took a route completely opposite from that to the harbor. I do not know for whom this precaution was taken for all the world still slept. I learned later that they had gone by land up to New Castle, where a boat awaited him.¹⁶²

Kosciuszko returned to Europe to continue the struggle that had originally brought him to America and for which he had sacrificed himself in his native Poland: the struggle for national independence and individual freedom.

D. A Note on Kosciuszko's Final Years

Kosciuszko returned to Paris with high hopes for a reunited, liberated Poland. Alliance with revolutionary France, which had already supported the formation of the Polish legions under General Dombrowski in Italy, promised the greatest possibility of fulfilling his hopes. But these hopes were darkened by the rise of Napoleon.

160. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 79.

161. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine, p. 68.

162. Ibid., p. 66.

Although other Poles, including Kosciuszko's friend Niemcewicz, continued to trust in Napoleon for a free Poland, Kosciuszko turned away from the French emperor early in his career.

The first obligation Kosciuszko wanted to attend to was the matter of the tsar's gift of 12,000 rubles, made to him on his release from prison in St. Petersburg in 1796. Kosciuszko only accepted the gift originally to appease the tsar and thus not endanger his own and other Polish prisoners' release. Already in Philadelphia he discussed returning the gift with Niemcewicz, who advised against its return for the same reasons that moved him to accept it in the first place. Now Kosciuszko felt free to rid himself of this burden to his honor. He sent the sum twice to the tsar, once via Berlin and another time via Vienna. The tsar refused to accept the money from Kosciuszko, who was now in his eyes a "traitor" for abjuring his oath of allegiance, and returned the money to an account in a London bank in Kosciuszko's name. Finally, in 1817, Kosciuszko willed the money to the French family Zeltner, which had provided him a home for the final years of his life. But with the tsar's refusal of the money, Kosciuszko felt free of any obligation and proceeded to work against him to free Poland.¹⁶³

Kosciuszko's first contacts with General Dombrowski and the Polish legions, who still looked to the former leader for guidance, were hopeful. Working from Paris, Kosciuszko became the focal point of the Polonia irredenta. But when Napoleon assumed total power in France in 1799, Kosciuszko no longer believed that Poland could receive anything of lasting value from the French. Kosciuszko made his cooperation with Napoleon dependent upon three conditions: (1) a parliamentary system of government for Poland; (2) the freedom of the Polish peasants; and (3) the restoration of Poland's pre-Partition borders. Napoleon rejected these demands, so Kosciuszko refused his aid to the French emperor. Years later, in 1815, Kosciuszko once again pursued his aim of a restored Poland. He traveled to the Congress of Vienna to plead with Tsar Alexander I of Russia, now arbiter of Poland's fate, for a free Poland. Again unsuccessful, Kosciuszko left Vienna for Switzerland, disillusioned finally of all hopes for his native land.

Although again in Europe and primarily concerned with Polish affairs, Kosciuszko did not turn his back on his American friends. He continued correspondence with many of them, especially Jefferson, until his death. Jefferson's banker, Barnes, also remained devoted to Kosciuszko and handled his American financial affairs punctiliously.

163. Tatarinoff, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko," pp. 415-16.

In 1800, at the request of Gen. William Davie, American envoy in Paris, Kosciuszko prepared instructions on "Manoeuvres of Horse Artillery," which was published at West Point in 1808. The War of 1812 was fought in accordance with Kosciuszko's "Manoeuvres," which won for him the title "Father of the American artillery."¹⁶⁴

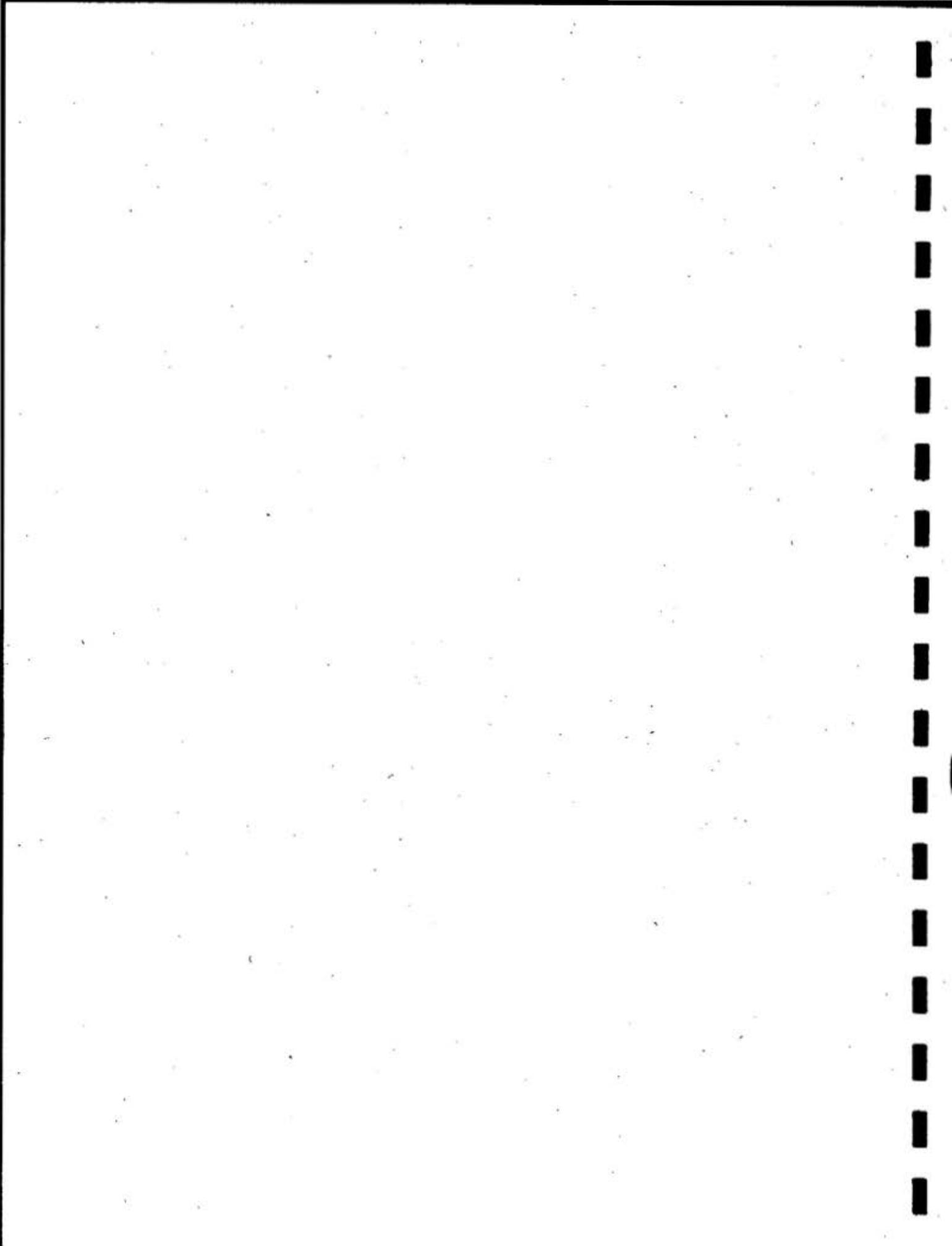
When Jefferson became President in 1800, Kosciuszko was full of praise and congratulations for him. "A statesman like you, and, above all, with your disposition and your learning, must strive to give unity of action to his notion and to establish [its] respectable and strong character. . . ." Contemplating his own and Poland's experience, he also wrote Jefferson: "Do not deceive yourself, it is pusillanimity and indecision which destroy nations, but never their valor and ardor."¹⁶⁵

Upon Kosciuszko's death on October 15, 1817, Jefferson wrote: "To no country could . . . [Kosciuszko's death] . . . be more afflicting . . ." and speaking personally, he added: ". . . nor to any individual more than to myself."¹⁶⁶

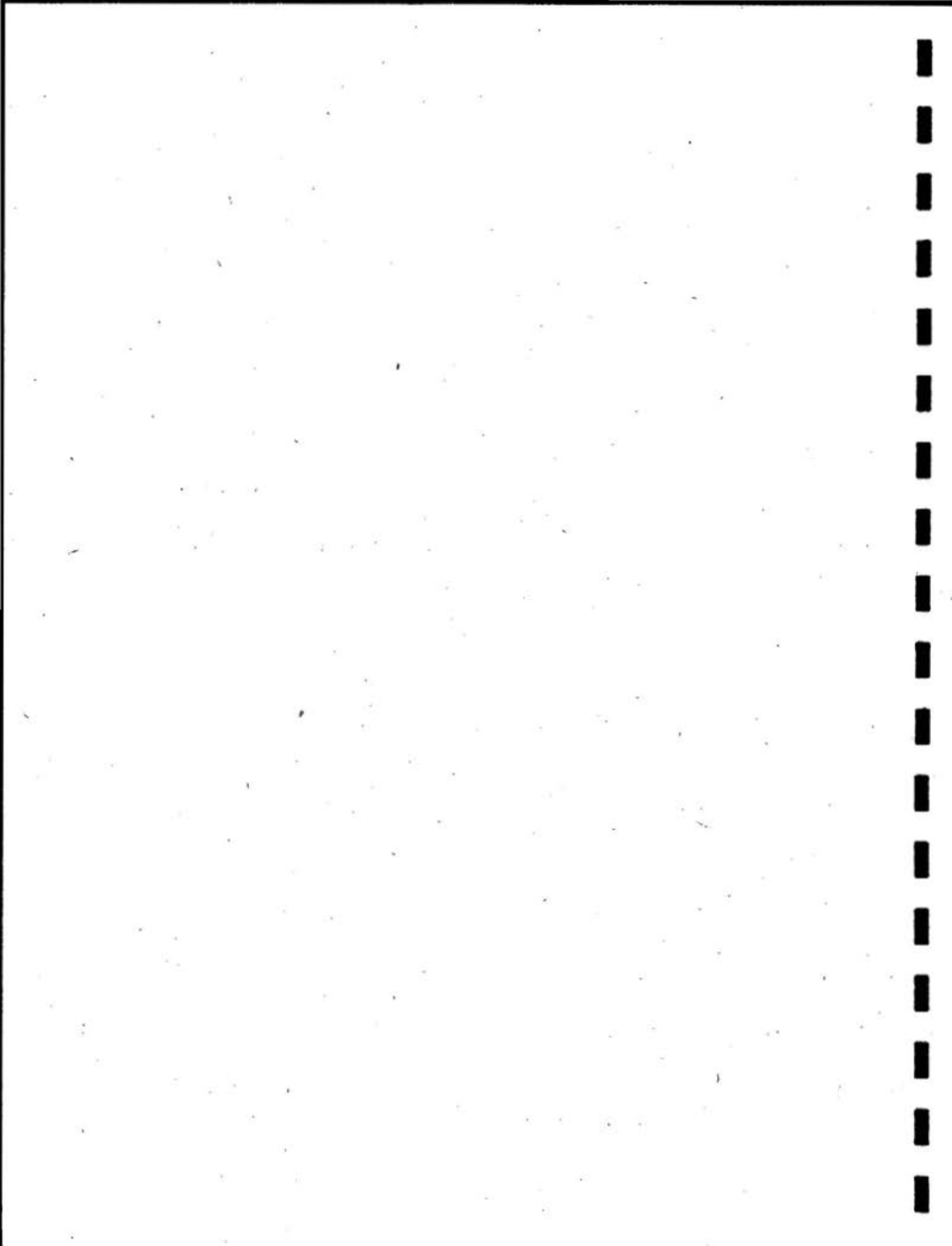
164. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," p. 206.

165. Haiman, Kosciuszko. Leader and Exile, p. 95.

166. Ibid., p. 115.



APPENDIX



Margaret Bayard to Samuel Harrison Smith, Sept. 8, 1797.

"I feel an irresistible melancholy pervade my mind, unfit me for conversation or reading. It has been occasioned by to great a refinement of feeling, excited by a contemplation of the great the good, the amiable Kosciusky! I have been at his side the whole day. I have gazed on him, with sensation altogether new to me. He was employed in painting or rather sketching a little piece for me, tho' it did not prevent his talking, yet it did conversation; Maria, Gen. W. Mr. N. L.--2 others were in the room thro' the morning, they all talk'd but it was unusaly silent; the Gen.--in his laughing way attributed my gravity to your absence, & insisted on it that my thoughts were travelling to N. York; it was in vain that I assented, what however was realy true. That neither my thoughts were not absent, but were all confined to himself--My whole heart seemed to be filled with the most exalted & most tender admiration--frequently thro' the morning would the tear start in my eye; and there was one moment, when my feelings overcame restraint, & became visible it was after the company had all left the room, & I was at one with him, I was kneeling at his side for the greater facility of marking the progress of the painting, the tears were rolling silently over my face, when K_____ky look'd at me, and seemed to enquire the cause; silence here would have caused an error, and I exclaimed with all the warmth I felt, Oh Gen. Kosciusky not withstanding all your sufferings you must be happy! I happy returned he, I happy, no, no, I am one of the most unhappy of men. It cannot be, you have suffer'd in the cause of truth, you have suffered for your country; you have gained its love, you have gain'd the admiration & respect of all mankind! But I have done nothing replied he, I was an individual & could do little more than wish, I have fail'd & I see my country miserable But you exerted yourself, you suffered to make it happy, this sentiment & the admiration & love of all who know or have heard of you, this must be a sufficient reward. His eyes were filled with tears, he raised them & extending his clasped hands, he exclaim'd with energy, all this is nothing to me,--but to see my country happy, oh my God, to see my country happy. Then would I care for nothing else, this is all I wish take everything else!!_____ Someone enter'd and the scene changed. After he had done drawing, I took up the pencil & wrote the following lines, I afterwards mentioned to let him see them, he seemed pleased & insisted or [hearing] then, I in vain urged the want of merrit, of correction, & even the bad writing, for my pencil was an indifferent one, he kept them till this evening, when I so earnestly regretted them that he returned them.--

"These glowing colours soon must fade
And your production time impair;
But the impression you have made
Not ages from my heart shall tare!

"When history's records filled my mind
and I've upon its portraits gazed,
Tho' truth the likeness had designed
It only admiration raised.

"But when great man on Thee I gaze
What different passions glow!
My heart to you its homage pays,
For you the tear of rapture flows!

"Long shall this little sketch be dear
Which you to me have given,
It oft shall raise the wish sincere
[For you] to bountious heaven!--

"I fear you will be surprised at my showing such imperfect lines to the General; indeed I am myself, but they were the production of the moment, the impulse of my heart, written without reflection, & shown with as little. They served as an explanation for the tears I had shed, & marked my admiration of him, without any appearance or pretence to merit in themselves, he saw the goodness with which they were written, the sincerity with which I requested there return, so, I hope that my presumption for it must have [appeared] as such, will not make a bad impression on his mind. I would not that he should think ill of me. I have never before felt such a degree of enthusiasm inspired by a living character. He this morning left Brunswick for the seat of Gen'ral Gates, where he expects to remain about a fortnight, & then he may return to B. Tho' it is as yet uncertain. . . ."

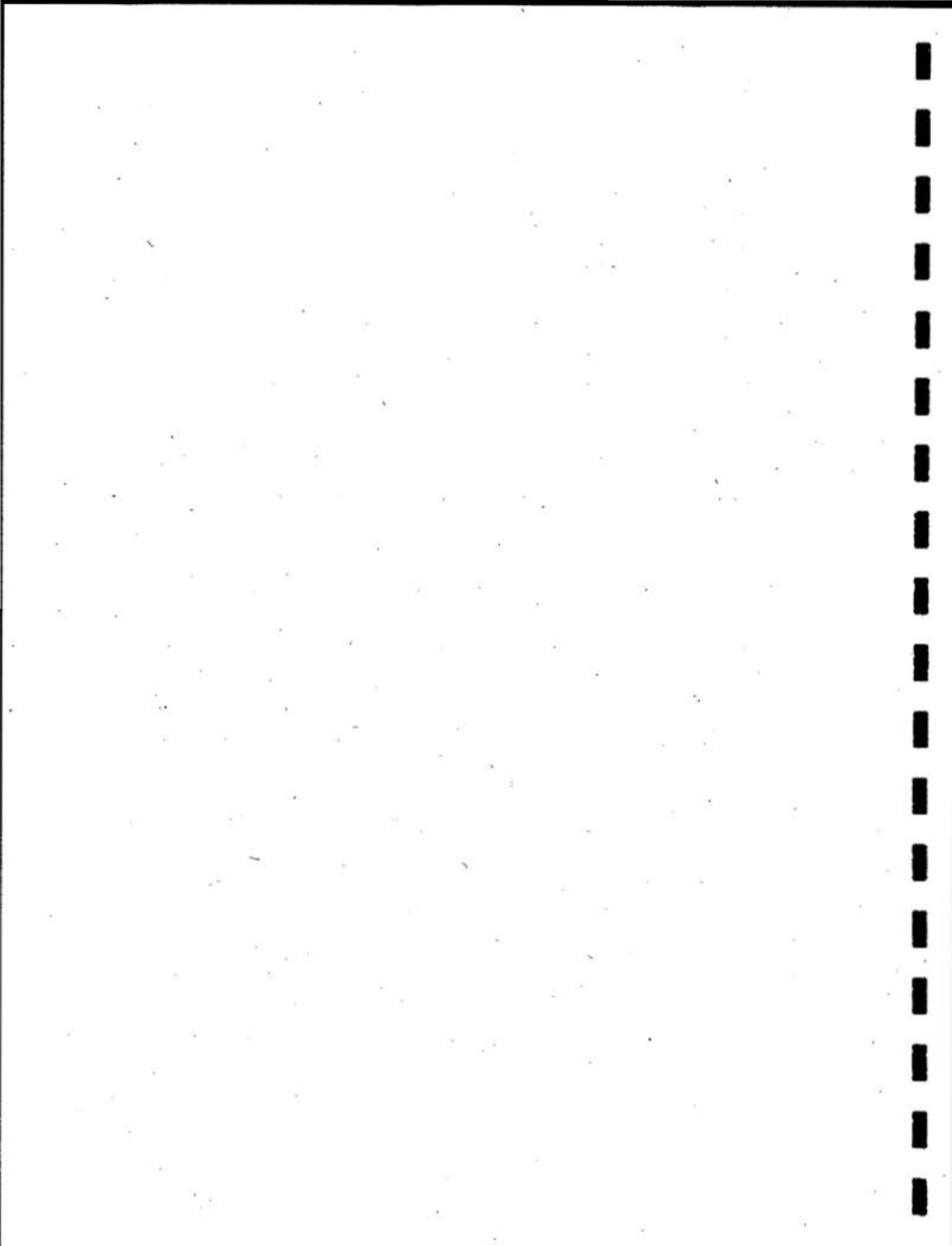
Letter of unknown origin to Samuel Harrison Smith, Nov. 5, 1797.

" . . . From the observations I have made I think he [Niemcewicz] has a mind . . . better informed and more penetrating than Kosciusky; in the most familiar conversation he is reserved, and in anything in which the heart is concerned, he appears to have strong, but not quick feeling--he has not much ardour, but great constancy of attachments, he acts more from principle than from feeling, strong judgement & decision of mind but no enthusiasm. . . . How great the contrast which Kosciuski presents! A mind with quick perception, stor'd with all the blossoms, without having any of the roots of knowledge, always swimming on the surface, and extending its researches to the universe, but without ever diving into its recesses & its hidden stores and supplying by a fertile imagination what is wanting observation. Enthusiastic in every pursuit, with feelings quick, impetuous & irresistable--A heart made to love, & using its affections in the acquisition of knowledge, as, of friends--Yes, it is because he loves nature that he needs her in her abodes; The savage wild where art has not [confronted] her, he has contrasted with the states of civilization in which he is bound, & rising above the prejudices of education, yielded his heart to her power, and to the assertion of her liberty, but [illegible] all his researches, the abode in which he most delights to meet with her is the heart & mind of man--with what enthusiasm has he here studied, here adored her; till at last he became the slave irresistable charms & has devoted himself to break away the fetters tyranny had bound on the human mind and to dissipate the gloom with which ignorance had darkened it! But was it the exertion of his judgement? Was it the constant, penetrating [?] exercises of his mind, which discovered to him the wealth of nature? No, it was the fervent affections of his heart, which pure & uncorrupted, which adored & which discovered her truths, even, before reflection or observation could have there importance. It is to the heart then & not the head of Kosciuski to which the world is indebted! In every conversation I discovered more & more that he wants strength & solidity of mind; but [this] deficiency is well supplied by the unbounded benevolence of his disposition. His heart is so filled with goodness, that it is open to every observer, like the bounties of heaven are every where displayed on the face of nature. Free from vice, he is likewise free from sorrow. Virtue & misery are never united; the lustre of the former is so brilliant ever to be shaded by [torn page] of the latter, & tho' Kosciusky was frowned on by the world loaded with all the calamities of life, he could never be unhappy, for Kosciuski is good! Wonder not then, that with cheerfulness & gaiety he accepts the effects of disappointed hope, or smiles amidst frowns of adversity! Yet Kosciuski is as man and

subject to the frailties of his nature. His whole character is tarnished by a trifling & too conspicuous vanity. Tho' innate worth and purity of his heart, raised him superior to the frowns of fortune, the weakness of his mind subjects him to the poison of applause! How do those elevated sentiments of admiration excited by the history of his life, sink, when we behold him as great a slave as those whose chains he has broken. Pride & conscious worth may be united with greatness, but vanity!--how does it debase even virtue itself. When I heard, and for the first hours in which I listen'd to Kosciuski I loved & revered, but every interview diminishes the reverence for the hero & the respect for the man; and love is so united to respect, that to tell the truth, he who inspired such enthusiasm & admiration; has now sunk on a level with others around me, and I must call reflection to my aid, before I can pay that homage which in truth he deserves. I visit him often, his company has still many charms, tho' it has lost the magic which it once possessed. I have shown to you, what I cannot conceal from myself, I esteem & respect Mr. Niemcewatz the most, tho' only an obscure individual. . . ."

Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Bayard, Friday, Feb. 9, 1798.

"After last evening calling upon Maria without finding her at home, and being equally unsuccessful in some other calls, I went to see Gen'l Koskiosico, whom together with friend I found without company. As usual he received me with warmth, and told me it was almost a century since he had seen me. After making an apology we entered on more interesting subjects, in which we were occasionally assisted by Mr. Nim Sweetz, whose manners tho' at first impression repulsive, soften down after acquaintance into more ease & familiarity, Koskiosiko does not permit him to say much, but a lot he does say is just and striking and expressed with a precision of language which proves correct as well as comprehensive conceptions. He does not seem in argument to be so ambitious of victory as his friend, but he possesses too much energy of interest, too much confidence in his convictions of truth passively to yield to the sentiments of another. But he forbears, with dignified moderation, to press his convictions on the mind of Genl. Kosckiosiko. Perhaps he observes the pardonable vanity of his friend, and the unequivocal delight he feels in triumphing over his adversary. Our discourse was lively and without a pause at the late hour. The topics, one especially, were of that nature as were calculated to animate the feeling as well as the intellect of Kosciuousko. It was Rousseau [sic]. He became his apologist. He extenuated, and in some measure, justified that morose misanthropy which so fatally clouded his last days. The blasted hopes of friendship, the persecution of enemies, the disappointments of love were enough to convert the child of sensibility into the hater of mankind. The emphasis with which this sentiment was exchanged spoke too decided a language and I beheld with regret that Kosciuszko placed himself in the situation of Rosseau . . . with more than common decision I opposed the inference. I affirmed that true grandeur of soul could never hate mankind, that he who felt bold in virtue would never think the majority of men dishonest, that vice was rare, that we often mistook it for error and I prayed that however unfortunate my fate in life might [be] I might still cherish the belief that virtue was now predominant in the human heart--. I did not however convince my antagonist--would that I had. Let me however do Koskioisco the justice to say that tho' his ideas may be of this gloomy kind, his heart is still full of philanthropy, and I believe that should any occasion demand his services, he would be the first to abandon his theory. For in practice he must ever be the friend of mankind."



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This bibliography represents only the works actually consulted for the research underlying this report. A more comprehensive bibliography on the subject of Kosciuszko in America can be found in the two-volume work by Mecislaus Haiman, listed below.

Haiman's researches, three decades ago, fairly exhausted the material to be found on Kosciuszko's American journeys; they also filled a gap in the otherwise authoritative biography of Kosciuszko by the Polish historian, Tadeusz Korzon. Haiman and Korzon have filled out the Kosciuszko historical picture rather completely, and have obviated the need for further historical research. However, bits and pieces concerning Kosciuszko or his residence at Third and Pine streets could intermittently turn up. Such was the case in this report with the letters referring to Kosciuszko in the Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith in the Library of Congress. Further evidence, perhaps relating to the physical appearance of the Kosciuszko room or to the specific circumstances surrounding his departure, may at some time turn up. But it is difficult to believe that the main outlines of Kosciuszko's stay in America have not already been uncovered. Haiman's thorough searches in the archives, especially those of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Archives of the Roman Polish Catholic Union in Chicago, the New York Public Library, and the New York Historical Society, have fairly well exhausted the resources on the Kosciuszko story in America. No major surprises await the researcher in this area.

The Korzon biography of Kosciuszko is a thoroughly researched, comprehensive work covering Kosciuszko's life in Europe. As mentioned above, the only weaknesses of Korzon's work are in those sections dealing with Kosciuszko's American experience; this resulted from Korzon's lack of access to the American sources. Between the time of Korzon's work (1896) and that of Haiman's (1943-46), other attempts were made to fill in the picture of Kosciuszko's American years. W. M. Kozlowski published three articles on Kosciuszko's service in the American Revolution and one on his visit in 1797-98 ("Pobyt Kosciuszki . . .," 1906). The latter, of interest to the present study, contained correspondence from the Gates and Jefferson collections, as well as excerpts from Niemcewicz's memoirs. The Kosciuszko correspondence was later handled more thoroughly by Haiman; and the appearance in 1965 of Niemcewicz's American diary, Under their Vine and Fig Tree, Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 with some further account of life in New Jersey, translated and edited by

Mitchie J. E. Budka, superseded Kozlowski's researches in the Niemcewicz memoirs. At about the same time as Kozlowski's researches, an American, Martin J. J. Griffin, published the results of his researches on Kosciuszko in his Catholics and the American Revolution. This valuable addition to the Kosciuszko literature was, however, also superseded by Haiman's definitive works.

Monica Gardner's biography of Kosciuszko (1920) follows Korzon closely, but is, besides the works of Haiman, one of the few treatments of Kosciuszko in English. Adele Tatarinoff's long article on the Polish hero is also a valuable survey of his life, but also suffers from its scanty treatment of Kosciuszko's American career and, written in German, is less accessible to an English-speaking audience.

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